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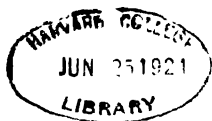
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No. 1

MEXICO AND THE DOCTRINE OF INTERVENTION

By CLYDE EAGLETON

The question of intervention in Mexico has an importance far greater than that of mere patriotism, or national honor, or revenge, for it strikes at the very heart of the great international problem of today. If we incorporate the right of intervention into the constitution of the League of Nations, to be used as an authoritative weapon, we abandon both our long-standing theory of absolute sovereignty, and our deference to the principle of nationality—concomitant principles which are as firmly fixed in our international system as the laws of the Medes and the Persians. Since the time of the Holy Alliance the rule of non-intervention has prevailed; and many sincere advocates of peace are convinced that upon the rock of intervention any international ship of state is doomed to inevitable shipwreck. This is especially true in the United States, where the cardinal principle of foreign policy was conceived in opposition to the interventions of the Metternichian system. It is this feeling, accentuated by the Monroe Doctrine, which lies at the root of all the sincere and intelligent opposition to the League of Nations; and it accounts for the anomalous position in which we now find ourselves. At the entrance of the new international structure we stand hesitant upon the threshold of intervention.

Now, then, can we intervene in Mexico? Have we any legal basis for such an action? And if so, what becomes of

our whole international system, founded as it is upon absolute sovereignty and unrestrained nationality?

I

As a matter of fact, we do have a right to intervene in Mexico, according to the views of a majority of eminent publicists. The rule of non-intervention is anomalous and totally impossible in practice. Intervention is equally as necessary for the preservation of order between states as for the maintenance of peace between individuals. Absolute liberty is just as impossible with the state as with the individual; and the necessary abridgements of this liberty mean interference in the domestic concerns of a state, just as in those of an individual. It is not possible under the existing international system to dispense with intervention, and the dispute of publicists in this respect is purely an academic one. The real dispute is not whether, but how far, intervention should be made permissible.

Perhaps the most representative summary of permissible interventions, whether from the viewpoint of varying opinions or that of advancing public opinion, is that found in Hershey's textbook, *The Essentials of Public International Law*. Armed interventions, he says, are permissible under three heads, in varying degrees: humanity, legality, and policy or self-interest. The first of these justified the intervention of the Powers in Bulgaria, or that of the United States in Cuba. The second includes the right of self-preservation, which is really above law; the maintenance of treaty rights, which may be justified as support of the law; interference to end an illegal intervention, as in the case of Maximilian in Mexico; and finally a far more doubtful matter, to protect nationals or their interests abroad. Still less certain is the third category, which would permit intervention in the support of such a policy as the Monroe Doctrine or the Balance of Power, or to

prevent the spread of a political heresy such as Metternich combatted.¹

With such an assortment of pretexts to choose from, it is evident that a justifiable cause of intervention can be found by any state desiring one, and the United States should have little difficulty in finding a legal argument for invading Mexico. Geographical proximity, large investments of capital, and a great number of our nationals in Mexico combine to give us a peculiar interest in that state which would perhaps add emphasis to our arguments.

Upon the ground of humanity, intervention in Mexico may be compared in interesting fashion to that one in Cuba which we call the Spanish American War. The claims of humanity laid down by President McKinley in his special message to Congress (and his other arguments as well) apply in such striking fashion to Mexico as to merit quoting:

"The grounds for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows: First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unwilling or unable to mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door. Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection. Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the trade, commerce, and business of our people and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island. Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of Cuba is a constant menace to our peace and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us and with which our people have trade and business relations; when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in

(1) There is, of course, a divergence of opinion upon this subject limited only by the number of opinions expressed, but most publicists admit at least that the classes of interventions mentioned above must be recognized as in common use, if not strictly legal in theory. Lawrence, for instance, (*Principles of International Law* pp 125 et seq.) admits only the right given by a treaty or the Law of Nations as strictly legal, but names imminent danger, humanity and the Balance of Power as interventions which cannot claim legality but which international law must excuse or even approve of.

constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading ships are liable to seizure and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation, the expeditions of filibustering that we are powerless to prevent altogether, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace, and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.”²

Practically every word of this indictment applies to our relations with Mexico, and if it may be taken as a justifiable pretext for intervention in the one case, the presumption is that it is equally applicable in the other case, should we care to apply it.

In the second category, self-preservation heads the list of legal grounds for intervention. There can be little doubt that self-preservation is a justifiable ground, but it is rather supra-legal, and it must be proven beyond a doubt that national existence is actually threatened. The confiscation of the Danish fleet in 1807 was justified for this reason by the English, but it has been severely criticised by foreign critics. How dangerous this pretext may be is shown by the German invasion of Belgium in 1914; and it can hardly be urged that Mexico has endangered our national existence, much as our national peace of mind may have suffered. Treaty stipulations for some time gave us the right of crossing the frontier with our troops, but it is more than doubtful whether any could be found which would apply today to the circumstances existing. It is legal to intervene to end an illegal intervention; but no such condition now exists in Mexico; and the lesson of the Holy Alliance is against intervention to suppress—or aid—revolution.³

If, however, we place the protection of our nationals and their interests abroad under this head, it might be possible

(2) *Foreign Relations* 1898, 750. It should be borne in mind at this point that we have been severely censured for entering upon the Spanish American War.

(3) No matter how much we may sympathise with a liberal movement in Mexico “our Government cannot properly intervene in its behalf without violating a cardinal feature of our foreign policy.” *Cass to McLane*, March 7, 1859, Moore. *Digest of International Law*, Vol. VI, Sec. 58.

to justify an intervention, for undoubtedly our citizens have suffered greatly, both in lives and in finances, because of the disturbed conditions in Mexico. In this case it would be necessary to prove that we had exhausted all local remedies, or that justice had been denied when such efforts were made. American statesmen have not always followed the wise policy of the outspoken Seward: "The people who go to these regions and encounter great risks in the hope of great rewards, must be regarded as taking all the circumstances into consideration, and cannot with reason ask their government to complain that they stand upon a common footing with native subjects in respect to the alleged wants of an able, prompt, and conscientious judiciary. We cannot undertake to supervise the arrangements of the whole world for litigation, because American citizens voluntarily expose themselves to be concerned in their deficiencies." It has been impossible frequently for American citizens to obtain justice in Mexico, but in this respect they were upon the same footing as Mexican citizens; and to intervene for them was to ask special favors. It is extremely difficult to differentiate between intervention as a principle of international law and intervention as a fact in international practice, but statesmen are inclined to act in accordance with practice rather than theory. Intervention for the protection of our nationals, while of questionable morality, may perhaps be justified upon the basis of precedent; and certainly foreigners have suffered in Mexico.

In the third place, it seems to be reluctantly conceded that interventions are permissible in support of important international policies, such as the Balance of Power, in Europe, or the Monroe Doctrine in America. It is difficult to find a theoretical basis for such an act, and it seems to have been conceded rather as a necessity in practice than as logically or ethically correct. Possibly it is more warrantable in the case of the Balance of Power, for this is to some degree an agreement for the preservation of peace in Europe, while the Mon-

roe Doctrine is simply a primacy in America, based upon our own selfish interests, and distinctly absolutist in its application to the other American states. But either seems to be recognized in international practice, and should the Monroe Doctrine require our entry into Mexico this would be sufficient warrant for an intervention.

The Monroe Doctrine cannot be so interpreted, though in the mind of the average American citizen that Doctrine actually obligates us to restore order in Mexico. Some months ago a special writer in the *Chicago Tribune* declared that our intervention in Mexico was inevitable because of the European interests at stake. The Monroe Doctrine, he said, makes it impossible for foreign powers to protect their own interests in America, and it therefore devolves upon the United States to care for such interests themselves. This statement represents a misconception which one would hardly expect to find in a writer of ability. In the first place, common-sense alone would forbid any such interpretation. By it the United States would be called upon to stand good for all the faults and sins of the Latin American states. It would make it possible for them to commit almost any international crime with impunity, sheltering themselves behind the widespread folds of the American flag. We should then be called upon either to expend our resources in expiation of the misdeeds of others, or we should be in the unpleasant attitude of backing them up in their violations of international law, making ourselves, in fact, accessories before that law. It would, briefly, put us in the position of the maiden hen which rushes madly about, invading other coops and arousing the indignation of their owners and the ridicule of spectators, in a distracted effort to find children to mother.

As a matter of fact, it was not the intention of Adams or Monroe, nor has it been the intention of any of their successors, that we should act *in loco parentis* for all the junior states of this hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine came into ex-

istence because of the fear which we had of European monarchies; but there is not a word in it forbidding the establishment of a monarchy upon the American continent. Equally, it fails to prohibit any outside nation making war upon one of our proteges. Far from prohibiting the prosecution of a just quarrel, the Monroe Doctrine expressly disclaims responsibility. The sole prohibition is against colonization; the sole requirement is that no European nation shall extend its system in the Western Hemisphere. So long as the political independence and territorial integrity of the Latin American republics remains undisturbed, the United States will take no umbrage.⁴ The Monroe Doctrine never intended for us to shoulder the duties of foreign countries in Mexico; and it can not be interpreted in any other way so as to justify our intervention. It should be remembered, too, that the Monroe Doctrine has never been recognized as part of international law, nor does it meet with the approval of the Latin states of America: consequently, however right we might regard our intervention, the other parties concerned might well call it intrusive impertinence.

We may conclude, then, that we do have a legal right of intervention in Mexico, according to existing international law, but not upon the grounds usually advanced. The Monroe Doctrine affords no such basis; and the clamor for the protection of our citizens and interests in Mexico falls more properly under that class for which, says Lawrence, strict legality cannot be claimed, but which international law must condone, or even approve. The best legal ground for intervention is for the sake of humanity, the one most rarely urged in America. The usual cry in America is that Mexico constitutes a nuisance which should be abated; and while this

(4) "The United States have contracted no engagement, nor made any pledge to the governments of Mexico and South America, or to either of them, that the United States would not permit the interference of any foreign powers, with the independence or form of government of those nations: nor have any instructions been issued authorizing any such engagement or pledge". Report of Clay, Secretary of State, March 29, 1836, 13 Br. and Foreign State Papers, 1835-6, 484. "The United States have neither the right nor the disposition to intervene by force on either side in the lamentable war which is going on between France and Mexico. On the contrary, they practise in regard to Mexico, in every phase of that war, the non-intervention which they require all foreign powers to observe in regard to the United States".

cannot be regarded as an ideal motive, nor one supported by the civilization we claim to represent, it does, in the present status of international law, justify intervention.

II

Nevertheless, it would not be morally right or politically expedient for the United States to intervene in Mexico. It is manifest from even the brief summary above given that the law of intervention stands badly in need of revision. At present, a justifiable cause of intervention can easily be found by any state desirous of aggression. Even though some publicists may deny the right to intervene in behalf of an injured citizen, or a policy, or even for the sake of humanity, none can deny the right of self-preservation, and this is susceptible of the widest interpretation at the hands of the individual state concerned. This being the case, it is hardly possible to speak of a rule of non-intervention. "The whole modern, or Gro-tian, system of International Law rests upon the doctrine of the legal equality and independence of sovereign states. This doctrine presupposes full liberty of action on the part of each sovereign within his own sphere of jurisdiction, and non-interference in the internal or external affairs of other sovereigns." And yet, as we have just seen, there are innumerable opportunities afforded for just such interference. Our present system of international relationship is anomalous: its theory fails to conform with its practice. The so-called rule of non-intervention is ineffective.

We may go further and assert that this is as it should be. Intervention is absolutely inevitable: it is only so that the peace and order of the world can be maintained, and present day practice recognizes this truth. Absolute liberty is as impossible between nations; and yet the principle of nationality demands absolute unrestraint. Can civilization afford to grant such demands?

The principle of nationality was conceived in the reaction against universal and absolute dominion which produced the modern states system in the seventeenth century. Naturally, and perhaps, necessarily, in their opposition to the ancient theories, statesmen went to the opposite extreme. The results were for a time fair enough. Where popular control existed the principle was constructive and centralizing; where absolutism reigned, it was destructive and decentralizing. It has been a dynamic force since the time of the French Revolution, and, until our own day, has done more than any other force, perhaps, to promote the ideal of self-government.

And yet, in the organic development of history, nationality has about outlived its usefulness. In this evolutionary progress the great political forces have one by one played their part upon the stage of history, and then been relegated either to a subordinate part or to oblivion. Such was the fate of world empire and of monarchic control; and that fate now awaits nationality. Without confining ourselves to a strictly economic interpretation of history, it is a fact insufficiently recognized by the rather insular American that, just as increasing interdependence between individuals tore down manorial walls and brought their inhabitants together into nations, so this same interdependence is now tearing down national walls, and bringing peoples closer together into international organization. It is a process inevitable, as Bismarck would have said, in the logic of history; and to this change our political institutions must adapt themselves.

Nationality needs restraints today. Like the Monroe Doctrine, or the protective tariff, it was in the beginning of inestimable value, but has developed to such an extent as to defeat its own end. Nationhood no longer is the goal of national ambition; on the contrary, exuberant national energies promptly seek new fields of endeavor, and so often in the field of territorial expansion that this aggrandizement seems now an inevitable corollary of nationalism. The nation at this

stage becomes a sort of fetich. It is sacrosanct and inviolable, and whatever it desires is right. The great high priest of this religion was of course Treitschke, and it was his hyperbolic patriotism which taught that his state had an inherent right of expansion, and brought about our great war. Such expansion must of necessity be at the expense of some other nation, whose integrity is guaranteed by the principle of nationality itself. This is carrying national development to such an extent as to kill it—the *reductio ad absurdum*. Sooner or later the nations would all disappear before the strongest power, and we would have universal empire again. A combination of nations, unorganized and informal, was necessary against Germany; an organized combination would have been far better.

But it is not only in the case of Germany that nationalism has become autophagous and that measures have become necessary to protect its own offspring. Most of the discords between the Balkan Powers have been due to overzealous pressure of national claims. Italy's pretensions to the Dalmatian coast stretch nationalistic grounds into attenuated threads. Poland no sooner becomes a nation than it establishes itself as the supreme judge of its borders, and aggresses upon a still younger nationality. Ireland claims independent nationhood while in the same breath she denies a case equally clear in Ulster. Nor, inconoclastic as it may seem to the student of the ordinary American history textbook, can the United States be set forward as a perfect specimen of nationality. Few nations have supported more eagerly than we the theory of absolutely irresponsible national existence; and yet few have sought in such determined and reckless fashion as we the realization of our national desires. The cry "54-40 or Fight" took into no consideration the possibility that England might have a just claim to the territory in question; and surely there has been nowhere in history a more unscrupulous theft than

that of Panama from a neighboring nation. The treatment of Mexico in 1846-48 is difficult of extenuation; and, conscious as we may be of the uprightness of our motives in the Spanish American War, other states have not hesitated to point out that we gained materially in the peace which ended it.⁵ The pharisaical Monroe Doctrine, even while pretending to uphold nationality, sets drastic restrictions upon the national sovereignty of the other American states. Nationality is essentially selfish; and so long as no superior authority exists to judge its quarrels, the only justice for which we can hope will be that of the mightier sword.

Finally, nationality is an abstract conception and incapable of political definition. What is a nationality? It cannot be stated in terms of kings or peoples or territorial boundaries or political institutions. It is a segment of the public opinion of the world; and, like all public opinion, is easily susceptible to the wiles of demagogues. With no authority above it, the temptations to abuse its power are more than it can ordinarily resist. An essential part of the definition must imply the co-existence of separate and independent states; but this is emasculated by the fact that nations do not in practice recognize this undisturbed sovereignty on the part of others, emphatically as they may assert it for themselves. Unless it can be guaranteed to them—and it is not at present—the definition must fail.

Viewed, then, in the light of historical development, or present day practice, or essential definitions, nationality is anomalous and even dangerous, and should be restrained. Such restraint means not the extinction, but the salvation of the national principle. Far from being incompatible, nationalism and internationalism are absolutely necessary to each other. They are complementary forces; nationality can only

(5) It is equally true that no power has urged the claims of nationality more eagerly than we, unless it be England. Theory and practice, as we have seen above, are in strait disagreement; but it may at least be said that we have given vigorous support to the *theory*. Every nation forgets its theories when its interests are involved.

reach its full and just realization under the protection afforded it by internationalism. The former has carried its development as far as it can by itself, and its present tendency is to plunge us into anarchy. Unless the weaker states are protected in their rights by the stronger, the growth of the stronger nations will lead us back into world empire. It is for the weak that law is made: the strong man does not need protection. Only by the use of intervention can protection be secured for the weak against the strong, and justice from the weak for the strong. Thus intervention becomes not only a right but a duty.

But this means collective and organized intervention. The irremediable fault of the present system is that each nation is the sole and supreme judge of its own quarrels. The only power above it is that of superior force, and to this arbitrament the world is forced. Collective intervention gives at least the approval of some other nations, and a more impartial judgment. It is true that collective intervention has meant even grosser betrayal of popular liberties than a rule of non-intervention such as we now have; but this is not necessarily true of the future. Intervention is simply a weapon; it may be the sword of justice, or it may be the sandbag of the thug. It is our work to see that it becomes the weapon of justice; but this is impossible so long as the selfish decision of individual intervention is permitted. Collective intervention means the will of the majority as opposed to the will of one; and it gives a sanction of right to the person undertaking the intervention. In order to be truly effective, collective intervention should only be authorized by a regular organization between nations. Whether this machinery be the Balance of Power or a League of Nations is merely a question of machinery; but the application of the Monroe Doctrine, or the isolated intervention of the United States in Mexico cannot be taken as expressing the will of society.

III.

Under present conditons, then, the United States should not intervene in Mexico. Not we alone have been affected by the anarchy in that unfortunate little country, and other voices in addition to our own must share in the judgment upon it. The Monroe Doctrine does not load upon our shoulders the sole responsibility for Mexico; and if it did, it should be disregarded as immoral and discreditable to us. It is neither our right nor our duty to pass sole judgment upon her; for her misdeeds she should face the court of the society of nations. If we intervene alone, it should be as the deputy of this court; and this intervention would count toward our share in policing the world. Such an intervention would be legal, and it would be a far more logical and justifiable mode of procedure. Just as Russia has been recognized as the protector of the Balkan states, or England of Belgium or Portugal—in either case, of course, by international law—so the United States has become recognized as the arbiter of America. If a mandatory is to be chosen, the lot would logically fall upon us; but if we act without authority the same obloquy will fall to us as darkened our history in the Mexican War of 1846.

By such a course both Mexico and the United States stand to gain. It is to the advantage of the former in that she secures a more impartial decision. There has been so much friction between the two states that jingoism in the United States would push our claims to unfair extremes, and make impossible a judgment acceptable to Mexico. A change of venue is necessary. We, on the other hand, gain in our good reputation. If our case is good, we should not fear to present it at the proper court; if not, we have set ourselves up as champions of fair play frequently enough to lay our chauvinism aside and play fair. No matter how good our intentions may be, as in the Spanish American War, they are certain to be traduced by outsiders when we act independently against

our smaller neighbors. The decision of an international court would give a sanction which would render our course of action irreproachable. Justice is not encouraged by the judgments of individual nations, fair as they may strive to be. The nation knows that whatever its decision may be, selfish motives will be attributed to it; and this fact makes it the more willing to fall into the customary international grab policy.

We should not, then, intervene in Mexico without the approval of the society of nations. Such a course would demand that two long accepted traditions go overboard. The first is the theory of non-intervention, which as we have already seen, is going rapidly into discard in practice; and the second, our refusal to cooperate with European nations in their quarrels with the American republics, is rapidly thawing out both in our employment of the principle of arbitration, and in the Wilson policy of cooperation. The way is prepared; but even were it not, the crisis of reorganization which now faces us would demand the abolition of many longstanding traditions, and the substitution of new principles, better fitted to the new order. Whether or not we approve of it, the world is inevitably being drawn closer together. It is no longer possible to live in narrowly selfish isolation; nor can we continue our policy of guardianship over wards now grown to maturity. If we are to continue as a great nation we must assume the responsibilities which will fall upon us as a member of the society of nations. This will mean the surrender of our claim to special jurisdiction; but it will mean, on the other hand, the assistance of the other nations of the world in our troubles, and the approval instead of the criticism of history. Perhaps Mexico should be punished, certainly she should be reconstructed and made orderly, for she has long been a nuisance. But we, the United States, are neither her parent nor her judge; if we take over her chastisement, it should only be upon the mandate of the society of nations.

HELEN HYDE AND HER JAPANESE PRINTS*

By LUCIA B. HARRIMAN

For an American artist to have achieved distinction in an art peculiarly Japanese; to have caught the magic of Oriental coloring, boldness of line and peculiarities of perspective and composition and to have added to these an individual charm, a humanizing touch, interpreting that art in terms understood by the Occidental, is an accomplishment to which the American art world may well point with pride.

It has been a score of years since Miss Helen Hyde's first Japanese color prints were exhibited in the United States and ever since they have been winning steadily in favor until they are now familiar to collectors and print-lovers the world over.

For "The Chase," a delightful study of a Japanese child in pursuit of a black cat, she was given honorable mention in the Paris salon, while "Baby Talk" won her instant recognition when exhibited in Paris and made her a life member of the Original Engravers Society of Paris, a distinction shared by but one other American artist, Charles King of Detroit. "The Monarch of Japan" won first prize in the Mumbusho exhibit in Tokyo in competition with native artists. As an evidence of the Japanese point of view it is interesting to know that the award was made, not for its composition, drawing or human sentiment but because of a distinctive brush stroke—that of the famous Kano school. For a short time Miss Hyde had been a student of Kano Tonomobu, the ninth in line of the famous Kano school and it was at his suggestion that she exhibited "The Monarch." Her handling of the special brush—broad, stiff and scraggly—which had been characteristic of the Kano painters but had been little used by present day artists, won her the unusual honor and so greatly admired

*Miss Hyde died early in 1920, while spending the winter in California.

was the technique of that same brush stroke that there was a scramble among dealers to buy up the entire first edition. Added to these honors are gold medals granted at the various American expositions and recognition from artists' and engravers' societies throughout the country.

In connection with her recognition by the Original Engravers Society of Paris it is an interesting coincidence that it was a picture of a Dutch market, done in color by Rafaelli, the president of that society, that gave Miss Hyde inspiration for color work. This was early in her career, after her return from several years spent in Germany and France, and when, on being refused admission to the Paris salon, she came home convinced that she was a failure. But Fate decreed that her unusual gifts, developed by years of training under Emil Carlsen at the California Institute, under Franz Skarbino in Germany and Albert Sterner and Raphael Collins in Paris, were not so easily to be buried.

The success of a Dutch *genre* picture exhibited in San Francisco and bought by a committee of the Art Institute of that city, gave the young artist her first encouragement and assurance of a possible future. It was shortly after this that she began sketching the picturesque Orientals in San Francisco: studies of fond, pig-tailed fathers with baby sons held proudly in arms, of quaint little Chinese children in holiday dress, romping along the foreign looking streets of that most famous Chinatown.

The possibilities of etching these in color appealed to Miss Hyde so strongly that she began to express herself in this form, which has since won her permanent fame, although her first attempt found her so little confident of its worth that she was afraid to offer it to a dealer and coaxed a friend into performing this mission for her.

As her interest in this medium of expression developed, her heart quite naturally turned to Japan, the home of the wood-block color print, or *Nishikiye*, and in response to a

sudden longing she one day sailed for the land of Moronobu, Utamaro, Hokusai and Hiroshige. Here, undaunted by the difficulties encountered in dealing with engravers and printers who could not understand a word of her language, thwarted in many ways by curious customs and precedents, she worked for three years, making a special study of Japanese color, of the peculiarities of line as produced by their wonderful brushes, and of the daily life of the people about her picturesque Japanese studio in that most picturesque spot in all Japan—Nikko.

During her three years stay in the land of cherry blossoms she accomplished results of such eloquent promise that on her return to the United States she was urged by art critics and her friends to go back to Japan and carry out her specialization of the Japanese color print. This she did, returning to Tokyo, where she built a charming Japanese house and studio, which, for fifteen years was eagerly sought by all foreigners who visited Japan and from which she dispensed hospitality to a large and ever increasing circle of friends.

While not the first American artist to make wood-block prints in color, Arthur Dow being the pioneer in this field, Miss Hyde was the first to make wood-block prints after the Japanese method, using Japanese subjects, and until her death she held first place as exponent of the school which today has *no* native artists of ability or note, Hiroshige, who died in 1858, being the last of the really great painters of the *Ukiyoye*.

Fully to appreciate Miss Hyde's accomplishment one must know something of the status of the print in Japan and the subjects treated by their artists. The name *Ukiyoye* is the Japanese equivalent for *genre*, the subjects being taken from the life of the people. The men who used these subjects and expressed them in color print form were not regarded as artists by the art world of Japan. In fact they were scorned and their work ranked with that of the artisan. The real artists of the period, their masters of the brush, under the

patronage of the Imperial family or Shogunate and wealthy daimyos, the feudal lords of the nation, following along the precedents of the Chinese, to whom they were indebted for their classics, their religion and their arts, confined their efforts to temple decorations, Buddhist altar pieces, mural decorations and the richly beautiful screens for temples and palaces.

The etchings in color, made by Moronobu, who died in 1638, were the first single-sheet prints produced. They were originally in black only, but later dashes of red and green were *applied*. It was not until the time of Horunobu, the latter part of the 18th century, that the tints were carried over the whole surface and the beautiful, unrestricted color schemes produced, paving the way for the full development of the *Nishikiye* as the color print is now known in Japan.

Recently a Japanese color print sold at auction in New York City for \$1500. One hundred and fifty years ago, original prints from the same block were wrapped about a piece of dried fish by the merchant and taken home by the countryman as a souvenir of his visit, being regarded in much the same light as were the picture advertising cards of this country a generation ago, or the post cards of today. It was years before these prints were held worthy of preservation and even now print collecting is looked upon largely as a foreign fad.

Despite the low estimate placed upon them by the Japanese themselves they are the most perfect specimens of the printer's art which the world has seen and the best of the artists worked with a knowledge of draughtsmanship, of the value of light and dark masses and possessed a sensitiveness to beautiful harmonies of color and grace of line that has won them unqualified admiration in the Western world.

As artists of the *genre* school they have preserved for posterity the customs and habits of their people covering a most interesting phase of their history, while the landscape artists, chief among them being Hokusai and Hiroshige, have interpreted poetic Japan to thousands who have never stepped

foot on her shores or worshiped at the shrine of Lafcadio Hearne.

Who that is fortunate enough to possess one of the thirty-six views of Fuji, by Hokusai, but has absorbed something of the Japanese attitude toward Fuji-san, and the lofty and ennobling worship of Nature's handiwork; or who, familiar with Hiroshige's pine trees, so prominent in his famous *To-kaido* series, can ever again admire a tree butchered into symmetry by a Western fanatic on pruning? The peace of a tiny, thatched village under its weight of new-fallen snow; the restful calm of moonlight flooding the country-side, a kimono-clad figure's difficulties in breasting a driving Nippon shower, a stately daimyo procession—these are the touches that print-makers have preserved for us and that make a more powerful appeal than bedimmed screens showing the Thousand-Handed Kwannon (Goddess of Mercy) or the oft-executed Amida, the favorite Buddhist deity.

The Torii school founded by Torii Kiyonobu, depicted theatrical subjects chiefly and many of the prints which seem grotesque to a Westerner, represent a famous actor of the period, possibly a *No* dancer, in his favorite role, or an actor masked to assume a woman character, until recently always played by male actors. These stage artists and the celebrated courtezans of the time were favorite subjects and it was in this class that the print-maker moved, reproducing with infinite detail the niceties of costume and pose, of house and stage furnishings—photographing for the centuries what would otherwise have been lost.

At no time in the art life of Japan has motherhood met with recognition or idealization as in the Western world, probably due to the Buddhist attitude toward woman—this despite the fact that the joys of parenthood, the love of little children and the effort to make childhood happy constitutes the main spring of Japanese domestic life and is a recognized national trait. This fact makes doubly interesting Miss Hyde's contri-

bution to the Japanese art, for she has interpreted for us, in the form of the color print, characteristic domestic pictures, which their own artists have failed to value as artistic subjects.

Living among them for sixteen years, studying their daily life, catching through sympathetic understanding, their poesy and love of beauty, she has been able faithfully to reproduce them. No other foreign artist has so accurately caught the characteristic poses—the joy and pathos of their lives. She knew to a nicety too, the style of *obi* a five-year-old prattler should wear and the correct arabesques and coloring of the kimono for a man-child of three months. Her mothers do not appear in a coiffure that precedent has established may only be worn by a girl of eighteen and her baby models trudge through rain on proper high *geta* and not in house *sori*, which an artist, unfamiliar with the country and its rigid adherence to custom, might place upon little feet.

The pageantry of the seasons, the festivals that mark the year's progression, the toys that baby fingers reach for most eagerly, the national games, these Miss Hyde knew and depicted with instinctive fidelity in her prints, which are marked with a depth of feeling and a delicacy of sentiment that give them unique distinction.

Her "Monarch of Japan," that delightful study in which his royal highness, a Japanese son and heir, is held aloft in his proud mother's arms and worshiped by a group of admiring relatives, is a theme which touches a responsive chord the world over. It has been called the "Japanese Madonna" and the *zokin* or halo suggested about the head of the mother carries out the idea.

"Baby Talk" which won her recognition in Paris shows a mother kneeling over her cooing babe, lying on the floor. The two are interchanging the sweet nothings which mothers and babies understand in every part of the world. "Komeido Bridge," one of the favorites of the 1916 group, shows the famous rainbow bridge of Komeido temple, where in the

spring, crowds gather from every part of Tokyo to view the blossoming wisteria, yard long sprays of bloom swinging pendant from trellis and bridge, being reflected in limpid pools beneath. All day brightly clad, butterfly-like children clamber up and down the great round bridge and peer at their reflections in the water. The quaint charm of it all has been caught in pleasing fashion by the artist.

"Cherry-blossom rain" as the Japanese poetically term the falling blooms of their favorite flower, is the season of festivals and in the print by that name Miss Hyde has shown a typical group of children and mothers indulging in sweeties, tea and cakes underneath the cloud-like masses of pink blossoms. "In Their Holiday Clothes" is a print reminiscent of former years in San Francisco, showing the Chinese father with his little son arrayed for the New Year's holidays. The "Furious Dragon" is another glimpse into Chinese life, while tired little "Poppy-Blossom," weighted down with baby brother, is a characteristic touch of life in Japan, where babyhood are the most decorative bits on the landscape, a fact which began to be widely recognized after Miss Hyde brought their picturesqueness within reach of the world.

THE MATHEMATICAL OBLIGATIONS OF PHILOSOPHY

By CASSIUS J. KEYSER

In this article each of the great terms—Mathematics and Philosophy—will be employed in its most embracing sense.

How much mathematical training—how much mathematical knowledge, discipline, and habit—may be reasonably regarded as indispensable to the proper equipment of a philosopher? A complete discussion would involve many considerations differing greatly in weight. I shall ask attention to such of them as seem to me cardinal and decisive.

The first consideration grows out of the fact that a philosopher is a human being. It is immediately evident that the proper equipment of a philosopher must include as much mathematical training as is essential to the appropriate education of men and women as human beings. How much is that? Be good enough to note what the question precisely is. I am not asking how much mathematical discipline is essential to a "liberal education," for this fine term, though clearly defined long ago by Aristotle in terms of spiritual interest and attitude, has in our day lost its significance even for the majority of academic folk, who ought to be ashamed of the fact. That great man, the late Lord Kelvin, used to tell his students that among the "essentials of a liberal education is a mastery of Newton's *Principia* and Herschel's *Astronomy*." On the other hand such educators as Matthew Arnold, John Henry Newman, Thomas Huxley, though differing infinitely in their outlooks upon the world and their estimates of worth, yet unite in denying Kelvin's contention impetuously or even with scorn. Let us so frame our question as to avoid that debate. The question is: How much mathematical discipline is essential to the appropriate education of men and

women as human beings? This exceedingly important question admits of a definite answer and it admits of it in terms of a supremely important and incontestable general principle. A clue to the principle is found in the phrase I have just now employed: education of men and women as human beings. Before stating the principle it will be convenient to give it a name. I shall call it the Principle of Humanistic Education as distinguished from what has come to be designated in our day as Industrial Education. I say "as distinguished from" because the two varieties of education, whether they be compared with respect to the conceptions which lie at the heart of them or with respect to the motives which actuate and sustain them, are widely different. In order to set the principle in a clear light, let me indicate briefly the obvious facts lying at its base and leading naturally to its formulation.

What the individuals composing our race have in common falls into two parts: a part consisting of those numerous instincts, impulses, traits, propensities and powers which we humans have in common, not only with one another, but with many of the creatures constituting the world of animals—a sub-human world; and a second part consisting of such instincts, impulses, traits, propensities and powers as are distinctively human. These latter, we may say, constitute our Common Humanity. They present indeed an endless variety of detail but in the long course of man's experience with man he has learned to group them, in accordance with their principal aspects, into a small number of familiar classes. And accordingly the nature of our common humanity is fairly well characterized by saying that human beings as such possess in some recognizable measure such marks as the following: a sense for language, for expression in speech—the literary faculty; a sense for the past, for the value of experience—the historical faculty; a sense for the future, for prediction, for natural law—the scientific faculty; a sense for fellowship, cooperation, and justice—the political faculty; a sense for

the beautiful—the artistic faculty; a sense for logic, for rigorous thinking—the mathematical faculty; a sense for wisdom, for world harmony, for cosmic understanding—the philosophical faculty; and a sense for the mystery of divinity—the religious faculty.

Such are the evident tokens and the cardinal constituents of that which in human beings is human. Such are the human faculties that make it a truly fundamental and immeasurably harmful error, as Count Korzybski has pointed out in his momentous book (*The Manhood of Humanity*¹), to regard human beings as belonging to the class of animals; human beings have indeed animal propensities, marks or properties, but humans are no more animals on this account than a surface is a line because it has line properties, or than a solid (say a cube) is a surface because it has surface properties, or than a plant is a mineral because it has certain mineral properties, or than an animal is a plant because it shares certain properties with plants. To destroy the ages-old false conception that human beings are animals and to teach ourselves (and those we teach) to conceive and habitually to regard humans to be what they are in fact, is the supreme obligation of education. When we learn to keep that obligation, the world will cease to regard human ethics as a branch of zoology, and a new epoch in human life will begin. It is essential to note that to each of these senses or faculties there corresponds a certain type of distinctively human activity—a kind of activity in which all human beings, whatever their stations or occupations, are obliged to participate. Like the faculties to which they correspond, these types of activity, though they are inter-related, are yet distinct. Each of them has a character of its own. Above each of the types there hovers a guardian angel—an ideal of excellence—wooing our loyalty with a benignant influence superior to every compulsive force and every authority that may command. Nothing more precious can enter a

(1) E. P. Dutton & Co.

human life than a vision of these angels, and it is the revealing of them that humanistic education has for its function and its aim. Stated in abstract terms the principle is this: Each of the great types of distinctively human activity owns an appropriate standard of excellence; it is the aim of humanistic education to lead the student into a clear knowledge of these standards and to give him a vivid and abiding sense of their authority in the conduct of life.

It is plain that this conception stands in sharp contrast with the central idea of industrial education. For humanistic education has for its aim as I have said, the attainment of excellence in the things which constitute our common humanity. On the other hand, industrial education is directly and primarily concerned with our individualities. It might, therefore, be more appropriately called individualistic education. It regards the world as an immense camp of industries where endlessly diversified occupations call for special propensities, gifts, and training. Accordingly its aim, its ideal, is to detect in each youth as early as may be the presence of such gifts and propensities as tend to indicate and to qualify him for some specific form of calling or bread-winning craft; then to counsel and guide him in the direction thereof; and finally, by way of education, to teach him those things which, in the honorable sense of the phrase, constitute the tricks of the trade.

What are we to say of it? The answer is obvious. Industrial education, rightly conceived, is essentially compatible with the humanistic type; it *may* breathe the humanistic spirit; the two varieties of education are essential to constitute an ideal whole, for human beings possess both individuality and the common humanity of man. Industrial education, when thus regarded as supplementary to humanistic education, is highly commendable; but when it is viewed as an equivalent for the latter or as an ideal substitute for it, it is ridiculous, contemptible and vicious. For the fact must not be concealed

that a species of education which, in producing the craftsman, neglects the man, is, in point of kind and principle, precisely on a level with that sort of training which teaches the monkey and the bear to ride a bicycle or the seal to balance a staff upon its nose or to twirl a disc.

These considerations are no doubt obvious. I should not dwell upon them at so great length but for the fact that in the excitement and confusion of our industrial age the most obvious of important facts and the most evident of important principles are so commonly lost sight of that they require to be cited again and again and again. Nowhere is the confusion of the time more evident than in the somewhat noisy and sometimes acrimonious discussion that has been recently and still is going on throughout our country regarding the value of mathematics as a subject in secondary and collegiate education. The instigators of the discussion, that is to say, those who advocate so reducing mathematical requirements as practically to abolish the subject from curricula of general education, are not malicious nor insincere; many of them, I do not doubt, are well-meaning citizens. And if their rather voluminous discourses are often singularly lacking in coherence, in clarity and in depth, the defects are not due to evil intentions but rather, I suspect, to confusion and a lack of just that sort of discipline which the subject the authors are engaged in depreciating is peculiarly qualified to give. Perhaps we should not be astonished. If the saying of Sir Oliver Lodge be true that "the mathematical ignorance of the average educated person has always been complete and shameless," one ought not, I suppose, to be too much astonished, if in a vast, crude, formless, sprawling democracy like ours a way to educational leadership is sometimes found by men whose innocence not only of mathematics but of the other great subjects, including the principles of education, is well-nigh complete and shameless. And yet, despite familiarity with the phenomenon, it is sometimes a bit hard to avoid astonishment and even a loss

of patience. Not long ago a high-placed counselor of a well-known college of liberal arts challenged me, with defiant confidence and unfeigned solemnity, to give any good reason why college students should be required to pursue a course in algebra rather than one in some *practical* art, as (say) the art of cooking mutton chops. On receiving such a challenge from a grown man, what should a grown man do? Confess his astonishment? Betray an exhaustion of patience? Fly to the easy refuge of ridicule? Any such reaction would probably have been misunderstood. In dealing with a solemn question, no matter how stupid, it is usually the wiser course to treat it with respect—if possible. I might have responded in the fine words of Professor Whitehead, that

“Algebra is the intellectual instrument which has been created for rendering clear the quantitative aspects of the world. . . . Through and through the world is infected with quantity. To talk sense, is to talk in quantities. It is no use saying that the nation is large,—How large? It is no use saying that radium is scarce,—How scarce? You can not evade quantity. You may fly to poetry and to music, and quantity and number will face you in your rhythms and your octaves. Elegant intellects which despise the theory of quantity are but half developed. They are more to be pitied than blamed.”

It did not seem to me, however, that one capable of issuing such a challenge as that to which I have alluded could feel the weight of such a response, and I did not make it. It is, you observe, a response in terms of quantity. Quantity is indeed omnipresent in our world; but so, too, is quality, and of the two things, the latter is perhaps the more universal in its appeal. Algebra indeed is essential to the theory of quantity and the theory of quantity is essential to the subjugation of natural resources to the uses of man; of quality, on the other hand, algebra is not a science but, though it is not a science of quality, it *has* a quality, a human quality, to which it owes its high rank in the spiritual hierarchy of human disciplines. And so I endeavored, with poor success I fear, to answer the

challenge in terms of quality. I invoked the principle which in this paper I have been calling the principle of humanistic education. I sought, that is, to make it clear that, in contrast with the practical arts, the science of algebra as a discipline possesses a certain quality by virtue of which, if the subject be rightly administered, the student is gradually brought into the presence of one of those great standards of excellence by which, as we have seen, distinctively human activity in all its principal types is to be guided and judged. The standard to which I refer is the standard of excellence in the quality of thinking as thinking—the standard which mathematicians are accustomed to call Logical Rigor—clarity, that is, precision and coherence.

And now the mention of that great term may serve to reassure the reader, should he have begun to suspect that in the course of this rather long excursion I may have forgotten the question initiating it. The question is: How much mathematical training is essential to the appropriate education of men and women as human beings? I have said that the question admits of a definite answer in terms of a supreme and incontestable principle. I have stated the principle as well as I can and have tried to signalize its importance for a general theory of education. It remains to apply it to the specific question before us. The task is not difficult. It is plain that one of the great types of distinctively human activity—perhaps the greatest type—is what is known as Thinking—the handling of ideas as ideas—the formation of concepts, the combination of concepts into higher and higher ones, discernment of the relations subsisting among them, embodiment of these relations in the forms of judgments or propositions, the ordering and use of these in the construction of doctrines regarding life and the world—in a word, the whole complex of activity involved in the discourse of Thought. It is essential to the argument I am making to keep steadily in mind that this kind of activity, our sense for it, our faculty for it,

the need to which it ministers, the joy it gives, and the obligation it imposes, are part and parcel of what we have been calling our common humanity as distinguished, on the one hand, from that which is animal in man, and, on the other, from such special propensities or other marks as give the differing specimens of humankind their respective individualities. Thinking is not indeed essential to life but it is essential to *human* life. All men and women as human beings are inhabitants of the *Gedankenwelt*—citizens, so to speak, of the world of ideas, native citizens of the world of thought. And now what shall we say is there the prototype of excellence in Thinking? What is the hovering angel wooing our loyalty to what is best in thinking? What is the muse of life in the world of ideas? An austere goddess, high, pure, serene, cold towards human frailty, demanding perfect precision of ideas, perfect clarity of expression, and perfect allegiance to the eternal laws of thought. In mathematics the name of the muse is familiar: it is Rigor—Logical Rigor, which signifies a kind of silent music, the still harmony of ideas, the intellect's dream of logical perfection.

Can the dream be realized? I am well aware that most of the things which constitute the subject-matter of our human thinking—that most of the things to which our thought is drawn by interest or driven by the exigencies of life—are naturally so nebulous, so vague, so indeterminate that they cannot be handled in *strict* accordance with the rigorous demands of logic. I am aware that these demands can not be *fully* satisfied even in mathematics, the logical science par excellence. Nevertheless I contend that, as the *ideal* of excellence in thinking, logical rigor is supremely important, not only in mathematical thinking, but in *all* thinking and especially in those subjects where precision is least attainable. For without this ideal, thinking is without a just standard for self-criticism and without light upon its course; it is a wanderer, like a vessel at sea without compass or star. Were it

necessary, how easy it would, unfortunately, be to cite endless examples of such thinking from the multitudinous writings of our time. Indeed, if the pretentious books produced in these troubled years by men without logical insight or a sense of logical obligation were gathered into a heap and burned, they would thus produce, in the form of a glorious bonfire the only light they are qualified to give. "Logic," it has been said, "is the child of a good heart and a clear head." We know, however, that an evil heart is not essential to a fool and that, on the other hand, few heads are naturally so clear as not to require discipline.

Now, it so happens that the term mathematics is the name that discipline which, because it attains more nearly than any other to the level of logical rigor, is better qualified than any other to reveal the prototype of what is best in the quality of thinking as thinking. And so, in accordance with the principle of humanistic education, we have to say that the amount of mathematical training essential to the appropriate education of men and women as human beings and essential, therefore, to philosophers as human beings, is the amount necessary to give them a fair understanding of Rigor as the standard of logical rectitude and therewith, if it may be, the spirit of loyalty to the ideal of excellence in the quality of thought as thought.

Such is my answer to the question that has detained us so long. It is, the reader will observe, a qualitative answer in terms of a great ideal and a sovereign principle of education. If I must add a word touching the strictly quantitative aspect of the question, if I must, that is, attempt to indicate the extent of courses and the length of time necessary and sufficient to yield the required quality and degree of training, I do so with less confidence and far less interest. For so much, so very much, depends on the pupil's talent and the quality of instruction. A considerable degree of native mathematical ability is much more common than is commonly supposed.

Born mathematical imbeciles are rare. Youth of fair mathematical talent constitute an immense majority. I venture to say, regarding the question of time and the extent of courses, that, for pupils of fair mathematical endowment, a freshman collegiate year or even a high school senior year of geometry and algebra, if the subjects be administered in the true mathematical spirit, with due regard to precision of ideas and to the exquisite beauty of perfect demonstration, is sufficient to give a fair vision of the ideal and standard of sound thinking.

Herewith I have come to the end of what I desired to say respecting the mathematical equipment essential to a philosopher in so far as its measure depends upon the fact that philosophers are human beings. It remains to enquire what further mathematical attainments are to be regarded indispensable to the proper equipment of a philosopher as a philosopher. It is evident that the answer must be sought in the nature of the philosopher's vocation. It would be presumptuous in me, as a student of mathematics, to offer to teach those who are students of philosophy the nature of their vocation, but I may remind them of it for it is necessary to have it clearly in mind if we are to see its bearings upon the question in hand. No one, I suppose, has conceived the philosopher's vocation more justly and nobly or characterized it more clearly and truly than Plato, as no other has drawn, with such clarity and charm, with so perfect a union of finesse and amplitude, so beautifully and so truly, the spiritual portrait of the genuine philosopher. Students of philosophy are, of course, familiar with the characterization and the portrait, which together give for all time a vision of the great ideal: what genuine philosophy is, and the philosopher ought to be. I wish to remind them of such elements of it as our present task requires.

The genuine philosopher, says Plato, "has magnificence of mind"; there is in him "no secret corner of illiberality"; he is "noble, gracious, the friend of truth, justice, courage, temperance"; he aims at being a "spectator of all time and all

existence" and so he is a lover and seeker of "wisdom," which does not consist of sense-impressions nor of the "tempers and tastes of the motley multitude" nor of fickle "blinking opinion" begotten of time-born appearances and events destined to the doom of things that perish in "the sea of change," but consists in knowledge of things that abide—of true being—of whatsoever in the world is eternal: pursuit of such wisdom is the philosopher's vocation, sustained by the two-fold hope of coming at length into the full-shining presence of the Beautiful, the True and the Good and of bringing light from them into the lives of the children of men.

From that conception of the genuine philosopher's vocation and character, what conclusion follows regarding his obligation to mathematics? An important conclusion, as I hope to show if the reader agrees with me in thinking that we ought to ascertain what it is.

It is the great Platonic marks of the genuine philosopher that determine the latter's mathematical obligations and enable us to measure them. For what is Mathematics? What is that science which Plato called "divine," which Goethe called "an organ of the inner higher sense," which Novalis called "the life of the gods" and which Sylvester called "the Music of Reason"? The question is not intended to call for a complete description of the science, much less for a definition of it. What it seeks is a partial description. I wish merely to draw your attention to one feature of mathematics—to that feature of it which all competent judges agree in signaling as the chief aspect of the science viewed as an enterprise. The aspect in question I endeavored to point out some years ago in the following words: "As an enterprise mathematics is characterized by its aim, and its aim is to think rigorously whatever is rigorously thinkable or whatever may become rigorously thinkable in course of the upward striving and refining evolution of ideas."² The same feature is indicated, even more

(2) The Human Worth of Rigorous Thinking.

clearly perhaps and somewhat poignantly, in a striking utterance by Mr. Bertrand Russell: "Pure logic, and pure mathematics (which is the same thing), aims at being true, in Leibnizian phraseology, in all possible worlds and not merely in this higgledy-piggledy job-lot of a world in which chance has imprisoned us."

The reader knows, at least in a general way, that in pursuit of that enterprise and aim through the centuries the mathematical spirit has achieved immense results and that today the science of mathematics, as a body of permanent knowledge regarding things eternal, is a veritable continent of expanding doctrine. And so it is pertinent to ask: How can one aspiring to be a philosopher, unless he explores that growing continent of knowledge respecting what is "true of all possible worlds," be in any proper sense "a spectator of all time and all existence"? One may wish to reply: That, owing to his other obligations, the philosopher can not make the exploration fully; that indeed, owing to the nature of the continent, he cannot, without exploring it step by step, gain even so much as a clear knowledge of its contour and relief; that, however, notwithstanding the endless diversity of the things that are there, they have a certain essential character in common; that for the philosopher's vocation knowledge of that common character is sufficient; and that such knowledge does not demand exploration of the continent in all its length and breadth and height and depth but may be gained by examination of representative parts and especially of the elements which fundamentally compose the whole.

That reply, if we rightly interpret the meaning of its terms, is just. But their meaning is momentous. The mathematical knowledge which they tell us is sufficient for the purposes of the philosopher is neither slight nor simple nor easy to gain. The questions it must answer determine its nature and its scope. What are the idiosyncrasies of mathe-

matics as a body of content? As a system of methods? As a type of activity? As a distinctive enterprise among the great kindred enterprises of the human spirit? If the science be logical, what are its relations to Logic? If it be beautiful, what are its relations to Art? If it employ hypothesis, observation and experiment, what are its relations to Natural Science? If it be purely abstract and conceptual, what are its relations to the concrete world of Sense? If it be theoretic, what are its relations to Practical Life? If it be a wisdom respecting infinite and eternal things, what are its relations to Religion? If it have limitations, what are its relations to the dream of Universal Knowledge? To the challenge of these great questions and their kind, no one having "magnificence of mind," no one called to be "a spectator of all time and all existence," can fail to respond. And so we see that the mathematical obligations of the philosopher confront him with two difficult close-related problems: the problem of *definition* and the problem of *evaluation*: he must endeavor, that is, to ascertain what mathematics essentially is and endeavor to estimate, in the terms of spiritual Worth, the rank and the dignity of the science in the hierarchy of knowledges and arts.

It is a radical error to regard these two kindred tasks of definition and evaluation as belonging to the proper function of mathematicians as such. The term mathematics is the name of an immense class of logically related terms and most of these the mathematician must indeed define but the term mathematics, which names the class, is not among them; the class is not a member of itself for no class can be; the name mathematics is not a mathematical term; the mathematician would be none the less a mathematician, had he never heard of it; it is a philosophical term, used by mathematicians as a convenience but never as a necessity. The proper activity, the distinctive function, of the mathematician is to mathematicise, as that of a swimmer is to swim; or that of a farmer, to farm; or that of a poet to make poetry; or that of a trader,

to trade. And it is as little the business of the mathematician to define and evaluate the peculiar type of his proper activity as it is that of the swimmer or the farmer or the poet or the trader to do the like for his. The philosopher, therefore, may not rightly look to mathematicians as such for a definition of mathematics nor for any appraisalment of its significance or its worth.

Is it not true nevertheless—the reader may wish to ask—that nearly all real advancement made in course of the centuries in these tasks of definition and appraisalment has been made by mathematicians? The answer is yes, even if we do not forget or underrate the relevant contributions of Plato and Aristotle, for knowing, as they did, what was then known of mathematics, they must be counted among the mathematical scholars of their day. It must be noted, however, that, though the advancement in question was made by mathematicians, it was made by them, not in their character as mathematicians, but in their capacity as philosophers. There is nothing in the fact to astonish. For a man is greater than any occupation, and a mathematician, like a physician or lawyer or poet or statesman or farmer, may be—indeed he must be, in some measure—a philosopher as well. It is not, then, strange or a matter for wonder that there have been mathematicians who, in relation to their proper subject taken as a distinctive whole, have played the role of philosopher. Nay, even *within* the subject, in relation to its parts, the role is very common; for whenever a mathematician, having acquired competence in two or more branches—say algebra and geometry—pauses to compare them, seeking to ascertain the essential nature of each, what they have in common, their respective worths and their joint significance as forms of activity, his interest and his attitude have then become for the time, whether long or short, those of the philosopher. The fact is that such minor alternations of the scientific and the philosophic interests may be constantly witnessed even in the activity of such mathema-

ticians as ignorantly affect to spurn philosophy and to scorn its achievements; but they are not aware of it.

Of the two tasks with which, as we have seen, the mathematical obligations of the philosopher confront him, the task of definition is far more advanced than that of evaluation; and, though the work of the former is not yet complete, we know much better today what mathematics is than what it is worth. That it should be so is natural, for a just appraisal of worth depends, of course, upon the nature of the thing appraised. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that researches concerning the essential nature of mathematics have been prosecuted, especially in recent times, far more resolutely and systematically than such as aim at a critical estimate of its significance and value. In Plato and in Aristotle, as the reader knows, research of both kinds produced results of great importance. I shall not speak of the great Greek mathematicians, for their interest centered, not in the philosophy of their subject, but in the science of it. They were swimmers and not merely non-aquatic students of swimming. It seems incredible that, after Plato and Aristotle, no important contribution to the philosophy of mathematics was made in the course of twenty hundred years. Yet that is the fact. Even the brilliant and exquisite *De L'Esprit Geometrique* of Pascal is thoroughly Aristotelian. The great revival had to await the appearance of Leibniz—of him who said: "*Ma Metaphysique est toute mathematique.*" Students of philosophy know that throughout his life this marvelous man was haunted by a magnificent dream—the dream of "a universal mathematics." In his manifold endeavors to make the dream come true is found the origin of that great critico-constructive movement which has done more than all previous centuries to disclose the essential nature of rigorous thought and which, after notable vicissitudes of fortune, is known today in all scientific countries of the world under the characteristic name of Symbolic Logic.

The leading names of its pioneers and contributors—Leibniz, Lambert, DeMorgan, Boole, Jevons, Schroder, Peirce (C. S.), MacCall, Frege, Peano, Russell, Whitehead, Hilbert, Huntington, Couturat, and others—sufficiently indicate its international interest and the variety of genius to which it appeals. The growing literature of the subject is large. Fortunately it is not necessary, except for the historian, to examine it all, for it has been refined, assimilated, and all but the later developments, superseded in the monumental work of Whitehead and Russell—*Principia Mathematica*—the present culmination of the movement. This work, however, which has not yet been completed, the philosopher must examine minutely if he would understand, as a philosopher ought to understand, the fundamental nature of mathematics as disclosed in the best light that has been thrown upon it and especially if he would rationally indulge the hope of being able to improve the light, which is not yet perfect. The symbols employed are at first repellent; they tend to frighten but are not in fact difficult to master.

They are things of so frightful mien
That to be hated need only be seen.
But often seen, familiar with their face,
We endure them first and then embrace.

Theoretically the symbols are not essential, a sufficiently powerful god could get along without them; but practically they are indispensable as instruments for economizing our intellectual energy.

No kind of work, whether philosophic or scientific, can be severer in its demands. None surpasses it in respect of the toil involved, nor in patience, nor in depth of penetration, nor in subtlety, nor imagination, nor analytic finesse, nor in the demand it makes upon the *constructive* faculty, and none can give to the competent student a serener vision of eternal things. If on this account it seem, as it may seem, a little strange that the majority of mathematicians have lit-

tle interest in such work and are not familiar with it, it is sufficient to reflect that, though its results as results are strictly scientific, strictly a part of mathematics, they are deeply tinged with philosophic interest and owe their discovery primarily to the spirit of philosophic enquiry. In mathematics, as in other subjects, fashions change; it is, moreover, so large a subject that a student is obliged by his limitations to specialize in a branch of it or in a group of branches; and it so happens that a large majority of mathematicians are disqualified—some of them by breeding, more of them by temperament—for study or research in that branch which deals with the foundations of their science as a whole. Such disqualification is not to be imputed to them as a fault; often no doubt—oftener than not, perhaps—it is only a defect of a quality; at all events, a mathematician may not be rightly blamed for the temperamental bent of his scientific interests. The same may not be said of those who are inclined to depreciate other interests than their own. I refer to the type of mathematician—such as one may sometimes meet—who, as if to mitigate his sense of guilt for being consciously innocent of symbolic logic and so to protect his self-respect, will occasionally ask you, in a somewhat disparaging tone, to tell him, if possible, of any important service rendered by symbolic logic or of any important proposition established by it or any important method devised by it for the use of mathematicians. If you disregard the spirit in which such questions are sometimes asked, it is easy to answer them in a way satisfactory to any candid and competent enquirer. The answer, as I conceive it, is, in brief, as follows:

(1) Symbolic logic has established the thesis that all existing mathematics (and presumably all potential mathematics) is literally a logical outgrowth of a few primitive ideas, and a few primitive propositions, of logic; and, that, accordingly, logic and mathematics are spiritually one in the sense in which the roots, the trunk and the branches of a tree are physically one: a proposition which, though philosophical and

not mathematical, is, in respect of human significance, unsurpassed.

(2) In the course of the work establishing the foregoing proposition, symbolic logic has discovered and rigorously demonstrated a long sequence of theorems respecting propositions, classes, and relations, which theorems constitute an immense new genuinely mathematical body of doctrine underlying mathematics as commonly understood and they are open to inspection by all critics, whether friendly or unsympathetic.

(3) Symbolic logic has not promised nor pretended to devise methods to facilitate mathematical research except research in mathematical foundations; in such research the effectiveness of the methods employed is patent in the results.

(4) Finally, symbolic logic is simply the latest fruit of the critical spirit in mathematics—fruit of the refinement—the inevitable refinement—of that spirit which has led to so many mathematical developments familiar to all mathematicians—the postulational method, for example, the birth of non-Euclidean geometries, the theory of manifolds including the hyperspaces, the so-called arithmetization of mathematics, and similar phenomena throughout the history of the science. To depreciate symbolic logic is to oppose the progress of the spirit of constructive criticism and that means opposition to the progress of science; for Cousin's famous *mot* is just: *La Critique est la vie de la science*.

In saying that the philosopher's mathematical obligations require him to familiarize himself with the methods and results of symbolic logic, I have not quite finished the tale. One point remains to be stressed. Before presenting it let me remind the reader of a certain fairly obvious distinction which Bergson has employed and has elevated, rightly I believe, to the level of an important principle of knowledge. I may best make it clear by an example. You *know*, as we say, how to move your arm. This knowledge is not a part of, and is not derived from, your "scientific" knowledge of physiology, ana-

tomy and physics, though this knowledge, too, may tell you much respecting the motion in question. The latter knowledge is indirect and external—a knowledge from without; the former is immediate and internal—a knowledge from within; it is a living instinct—of the essence of your life; the other is only a superadded understanding. Complete or perfect knowledge of anything involves both of these kinds of knowledge. In the illustration I have used, the thing to be known is a part of the knower—the mobile arm is yours and its life is yours. But most objects of knowledge are not thus parts of the knower. Of such objects complete knowledge, even if we suppose the element of “understanding” to be perfectible, is unattainable; for to attain it, to gain the other element—the instinctive element, the inner kind of knowledge—would require the knower to make the object’s life an intimate part of his own; and this, it is plain, cannot be done perfectly. But—and here is a fact of the utmost importance—it can be done approximately. Do you ask, How? The answer is: By the noetic agency of love; by the means which Bergson has so finely described as “intellectual sympathy” with the object’s life. The reader’s thought, I fancy, runs ahead and already sees the bearing of the point upon the philosopher’s obligations to mathematics. In a sense more than figurative this science has a life of its own. Else how could it grow? To acquire such knowledge of the science as the philosopher’s vocation demands, to know it from within as it instinctively knows itself, he must acquire such intellectual sympathy with it as will enable him to feel its proper life as part of his own. Sympathy so living and intimate, embracing the instincts, and feeling the impulses and moods, of an alien life, is not easily acquired. In the case of mathematics, collegiate courses in algebra, geometry and trigonometry can not give it, except to the born mathematician, who has it already; neither can it be given adequately by symbolic logic for this study is too meditative for the purpose, too introspective, being more con-

cerned to understand, than to live, the life of mathematics; no, if the student of philosophy would acquire that kind of knowledge of mathematics which can come to him only through intellectual sympathy with its life, he must share its life; he must penetrate it deeply enough to feel the touch and thrill, the push and sweep, of its conquering tide; he must at least plunge into Analytical Geometry and the Infinitesimal Calculus where the science first won, and its votaries first win, a worthy sense of its power and its destiny.

In the light of the foregoing considerations the mathematical obligations of the philosopher appear to be heavy. They are heavy; but they are not too heavy for those whose native talents qualify them for a vocation demanding "magnificence of mind." It is consoling to know that a student who faithfully keeps the obligations will have two great rewards: the joy of an insight and a power not to be otherwise gained; and the joy of representing and perpetuating a noble tradition of his kind—the tradition, I mean, of mathematical competence as illustrated by the heroes of philosophy in every important age. In relation to that tradition, it is indeed true that there have been many philosophers of great learning, some of them important thinkers, whose ignorance of mathematics has been virtually complete, and these have differed widely in kind; of their mathematical ignorance some of them have not been aware; some have deeply regretted it and humbly confessed it—our own beloved William James, for example; in some it has been not only complete but shameless as well, even haughty and defiant, as in Sir William Hamilton and Schopenhauer, whose false and malicious diatribes against mathematics I have dealt with elsewhere⁴, and in case also, I am sorry to say, of Benedetto Croce whose fine literary and artistic culture and true elevation of spirit have not availed to restrain him from speaking with strange confidence and very disparagingly of a science which his fellow countrymen,

(4) *The Human Worth of Rigorous Thinking.*

by brilliant researches, have done so much to honor and which he has not qualified himself to understand even slightly .

It is edifying to compare such representatives of philosophy with its towering heroes, its men of "summit-minds": with Plato, for example, who knew perfectly the mathematics of his time, whose sense and revelation of its spiritual significance has never been surpassed, and whose influence in his own and all succeeding ages has given his name a permanent place in mathematical history; and with Aristotle whose discussions of such fundamental questions as the nature of mathematical definition, hypothesis, axiom, postulate, and subject-matter, are of high value even today and whose great contributions to logic must now be regarded, in the light of modern symbolic logic, as being, though he did not know it, genuine contributions to mathematics; and with Descartes, discoverer of important mathematical propositions, and chief inventor of analytical geometry—second in scientific power to only one among mathematical methods; and with Leibniz, father of modern symbolic logic and co-inventor with Newton of the infinitesimal calculus, justly characterized by Professor W. B. Smith as "the most powerful instrument of thought yet devised by the wit of man"; and with Spinoza to whose lot it fell to try the great experiment, inevitable in the history of thought, of clothing ethical theory—highest of human interests—with the strength and beauty of mathematical rigor and form, and, in trying it, to exemplify in a singularly noble way the fact that illustrious failures fall to the lot of none but illustrious men; and with other great philosophic personalities, if I did not fear to weary you in naming them, who by their mathematical competence worthily represent the heroic tradition.

FOUR POEMS

By HILDA LAURA NORMAN

Fear

There was murder last night.
The rain said so
Beating on the eaves. . . .
Blood and black hair
And wide open eyes that did not move.
The rain sobbed
And beat on the roof
Trying to get in
Away from the dead thing:
And the wind crept into my room. . . .
I felt its hands cold with fear
When it huddled under my pillow to hide.

And I had no pity for the dead thing
I was so afraid.

Vivre terre a terre

It does seem so unfair
That "vivre terre a terre"
Should always be applied
To men who've only spied
The ruts along the road
The gardens neatly hoed. . . .
Why not to men who know
That glow worms in the row,
That phosphorus in the sod
Are the very smiles of God?

Then that praise would be rare. . . .
"Cet homme vit terre a terre."

Starved Eyes

Eyes closed. . . .
Yellow light beating on my lids
Then yellow light.

My starved eyes open wide
To kiss the green and blue
Shadows as I pass a row of trees
Of grass and sky
And even the dull gray whiteness
Of the dust.

My eyes are gluttons!
Blind eyes would be glad
For just that yellow light
Shaped with shadows.

Huysache

Every branch and twig
A mass of honey-sweet yellow. . . .
I wonder that men crave gold
With the huysache blooming.

PAN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

By G. W. UMPHREY

The recent unveiling of the equestrian statue of Simon Bolivar in Central Park, New York, was the fitting occasion for the expression of satisfaction by President Harding and other eminent speakers with the rapid development in recent years of friendly relations between the Latin-American republics and the United States. It was in the fertile brain of the great Venezuelan statesman that the Pan American ideal of continental solidarity first assumed concrete form.

So rapid has been the growth of Pan Americanism in recent years that many people are wont to look upon it as a new phase of international politics. As a matter of fact it is a century old. The first suggestions of New World solidarity may be found in the Chilean Declaration of Independence in 1810, and a few years later in the speeches of Henry Clay in favor of the Spanish colonies that were struggling for their independence. The Monroe Doctrine, recognizing the right of the American republics to development without interference from monarchical Europe, presupposed a certain community of interest among the peoples of the New World. Nevertheless, it is to the South American Liberator that we owe the conception of Pan Americanism as a practical principle of international politics. Even before he had brought the War of Independence to a successful conclusion, Bolivar was already giving careful thought to the international relations of the new republics with respect to each other and with respect to the other parts of the American continent. As soon as conditions were sufficiently settled he asked all the republics, and in addition England and Holland because of their American colonies,

to send delegates to a Pan American Congress in Panama in 1826, for the discussion of questions of common interest, notably the adoption of arbitration and mediation for the settlement of international controversies. When the Assembly met there were present delegates from Colombia, Central America, Mexico and Peru, who made an unsuccessful effort to organize a General Assembly to which international disputes might be referred for settlement. The lack of adequate representation, especially the absence of delegates from the United States, was a great disappointment for Bolivar. He had confidently counted upon the cooperation of the older republic. The warm sympathy that it had shown for the other Americans in their struggle for independence, so eloquently expressed in the speeches of Henry Clay from 1817 to 1820, and the formal recognition of their independence in 1822 gave a clear indication of friendship toward the new republics; but as the result of petty politics and the fear of "entangling alliances" against which the country had been warned by Washington, the appointment of delegates was so delayed that before they had time to reach Panama the congress had adjourned.

This failure of the United States to take part in the Panama Congress was the beginning of a long period of misunderstanding and considerable friction, so that Pan Americanism made little progress until near the end of the century. There was in the United States general indifference to Latin America, so absorbed was the country in its own internal development. This selfish indifference, accompanied by widespread ignorance and crude misconceptions of the other Americans, made Pan Americanism impossible and resulted on more than one occasion in just cause for resentment on the part of Latin Americans. Suspicions of ulterior motives of actions due solely to carelessness and indifference fostered dislike and mistrust of the northern republic. Congresses were held intermittently at Lima and Santiago, but the United States was

not invited to send representatives, since the purpose was not Pan Americanism, but rather Hispano-Americanism, a closer union among the Latin-American republics to offset the growing and menacing power of the United States.

Beginning with the Lincoln administration a decided change is noticeable in the growing desire for more friendly relations. This desire kept growing, so that in 1889 James G. Blaine, one of the most enthusiastic advocates of Pan Americanism, considered the time ripe for the calling together at Washington of an International American Conference. Every republic except Santo Domingo was represented, so that this may well be called the first Pan American Conference, the first practical step in the direction of cooperation and solidarity. The most important result was the establishment of a permanent organization at Washington, the Bureau of American Republics, now known as the Pan American Union, an organization that has done and is doing excellent work in bringing about mutual understanding and appreciation. Three other conferences have been held since, at Mexico City in 1901, at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 and at Buenos Aires in 1910. If the practical results of these conferences have been disappointingly small for the reason that the important measures adopted by them still lack ratification by the various governments, they have done much toward the development of a deeper sentiment of solidarity.

Until recent years the development of Pan Americanism was slow because of the many handicaps that retarded its progress and because of the many obstacles that had to be overcome.

When in 1823 President Monroe formulated what has come to be the famous Monroe Doctrine, the main purpose of the note was self-protection; incidentally, it offered friendly protection to the new republics against the sinister designs of the Holy Alliance, and as such was gladly accepted by them. As the Doctrine gradually assumed the form of a permanent

protest against European aggression in the New World, the emphasis was shifted from self-protection to protection of the other republics. Because of changing conditions and new interpretations the Doctrine came to mean for the more progressive Latin-American republics officious interference with their sovereign rights. It came to be identified with the imperialistic tendencies of the United States in the closing years of the last century and aroused fear or resentment in Latin America. The advocates of Pan Americanism began to realize that something would have to be done with the Doctrine: some were in favor of throwing it overboard in its entirety; others were of the belief that it could be so interpreted as no longer to give offence to the other republics, that it might even be converted from an obstacle to Pan Americanism into one of its essential bases. One method of interpreting it was simplicity itself, merely to strip it of the false ideas that had gathered about it. This was the course taken by Elihu Root, the statesman who has done more than anyone else except Woodrow Wilson to dispel the illusions in Latin America regarding the so-called imperialistic intentions of the United States. The Wilson administration went still farther in order to remove all cause for fear or resentment and attempted to convert it into a Pan American policy affecting each and every American republic in the same way. This broad interpretation, carrying with it the assurance that the United States claimed no special rights nor privileges because of superior strength, gained for the Doctrine many enthusiastic advocates in Latin America. Dr. Baltazar Brum, President of Uruguay, in a notable address delivered in the University of Montevideo a year ago, declared that the Monroe Doctrine as it had been recently interpreted might well become the basic principle of a Pan American League of Nations. "If any other American republic felt that the Doctrine endangered its autonomy, let it make a similar declaration of foreign policy and be

ready to go to the aid of any other American nation threatened with European intervention."

The misinterpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, the cause of such wide-spread mistrust in Latin America, was the outcome of our ignorance of the Latin Americans and of their point of view. Out of this same ignorance had come the many prejudices and misconceptions that were fast becoming traditional. More discouraging than ignorance to the discerning few who really understood and appreciated what many Latin American republics had accomplished along political, social and cultural lines, was general indifference, much harder to combat than ignorance. This indifference has at last, fortunately, disappeared and ignorance is being rapidly lessened. During the last ten or fifteen years there has come to the United States the realization that the Latin Americans are well worth knowing and that the future welfare of the country demands the understanding and appreciation of what they are doing and thinking. Numerous agencies are actively engaged in fostering this awakening interest and in meeting its demands for reliable information about the other Americans; countless books and articles are spreading information more or less reliable; thousands are studying Spanish in our schools and colleges where formerly there were hundreds, mainly because Spanish is the language of all but two of the Latin-American republics.

The prejudices and misconceptions that became current in Latin America regarding the people in the United States as individuals and as a nation were not due to indifference; they were the result, rather, of racial dissimilarities, of the resentment aroused in a courteous and refined people by crude manners and bluntness of speech. The rapid commercial and industrial expansion of this country, the high-handed actions of our government toward some of the nearer and less powerful republics, the frequent lack of diplomatic tact toward all of them resulted quite naturally in distrust of our motives as

a nation and misunderstanding of the ideals of our people as individuals. Anyone acquainted with Latin-American literature of twenty years ago knows how general and deep-rooted was the antagonism toward the United States and the lack of appreciation of the best elements of our civilization. Many editorials, articles and books were published with the purpose of making Latin Americans realize the danger to their civilization of the materialistic conceptions of life in the Anglo-American republic and the necessity of meeting with united front the menace of political domination by the "Colossus of the North." Hispano-Americanism, the union of the Spanish and Portuguese countries of America for mutual protection, was making rapid headway.

Fortunately this antagonism has now almost disappeared. The sincere desire of our statesmen in recent years to gain the friendship of the Latin-American countries and the more general understanding and appreciation in this country of Latin-American civilization have produced excellent results. The realization by Woodrow Wilson of the supreme importance of continental solidarity and his unwavering determination to promote friendship by all honorable means gained for his administration the admiration of all right-thinking Latin Americans. Not being infallible, he made mistakes, but the sincerity of his motives has never been doubted.

The entrance of the United States into the World War in the Spring of 1917 served to put an end to many of the misconceptions that were current in Latin America; it served also as a test of the progress that had already been made in continental solidarity. The rest of America could not but feel that the interests that the United States was determined to defend and the ideals that it was championing were the interests and ideals of All America. Of all the Latin-American nations only six remained to the end of the war in a state of neutrality, and in the majority of these the moral support was freely given. That Pan Americanism had become a dynamic

force was made apparent by the actions of many of the other republics and in the published statements that followed the breaking of relations with Germany. The President of Brazil, for example, in a note to the friendly powers, said that "the Republic recognized that one of the belligerents is an integral part of the American continent, and that we are bound to this belligerent by traditional friendship and the same kind of political thinking, in defence of interests that are vital to America, and of the accepted principles of international law." Similarly, the new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as a Pan American policy received confirmation in the declaration of Uruguay that "no American State, if engaged in war with an European State in defence of its rights, shall be treated as a belligerent by Uruguay."

The willingness to protect to the full extent of its resources the common inheritance of the democratic ideals of the New World gained for the United States a moral leadership such as it had never before possessed. Some of this prestige has been lost during the last two years by the drifting policy of our government and the evident attempt to shift from its shoulders the responsibility of leadership. All the other American republics except Mexico, Santo Domingo and Ecuador became members of the League of Nations and could not altogether understand the reasons for our "splendid isolation"; there can, however, be no return to the unjust conceptions of the United States so prevalent a few years ago. The fact that this country did not enter the war for any material interest and was actuated wholly by an ideal of international justice and democracy broke down for all time the belief that the Anglo-Americans had no ideals above the accumulation of wealth as individuals and the desire for domination as a nation.

The press of Latin America offers abundant proof that the general attitude toward the United States has undergone a decided change. Many publicists who a few years ago were most severe in their criticism of the materialistic tendencies

of the Northern Republic have confessed their former lack of appreciation of the real United States, and a few others who have always been able to find high idealism underneath our apparent materialism have become more enthusiastic in their admiration. A Central American publicist told his readers a little more than a year ago that "the veil that had covered their eyes had at last fallen and they were enabled to see in the great collective soul of the North American nation a vivid flash of noble and generous ideals." A month later the President of Uruguay declared, in the address already referred to, that more than ever he believed in the rightness of the motives of the United States in her international relations "after having seen that country rush into war with all her blood and wealth, moved by a noble idealism, in order to defend the rights of all peoples." According to the Chilean journalist and literary critic, Armando Donoso, Ariel, and not Caliban, is now directing the course of Anglo-American civilization. A similar idea is expressed by a Venezuelan journalist who says in a recent article that "the War has reduced to dust the ancient legend of the Calibanism of North America." Even Colombia, still smarting under the injustice done her many years ago in the acquisition by this country of the Canal Zone and impatient with the tardiness of reparation, is represented in the chorus of admiration. In a recent editorial published in Bogota, the writer urges his readers not to confuse the high idealism of the people of the United States and the occasional imperialism of its government; "everything summons us," he says, "from geographical fatality to the march of universal progress, to a closer and closer cooperation with the nation of the north." The eminent Peruvian, Dr. Javier Prado, President of the University of San Marcos, speaking to the graduating students two years ago in his commencement address, analyzed the spirit of justice and democracy that fitted the United States for world leadership and pointed out how Peru, by imitating the Northern Republic, might enter upon a "new life

of progress, the life of work and of true democracy that is so potent for the renewal of the energies of a nation." The closing words of his address contain the highest compliment that could be given to any country. "I have considered it my duty," he said, "to present in this university and in the presence of the young men who have in their keeping the future of the country, an analysis of the spirit, the growth and greatness of the United States, a nation that reveals all that can be achieved by a people possessing the energy, capacity and vision of its destiny. I believe there is nothing more important for the future of Peru than to follow that admirable example in the national work of reorganizing our democracy for work, for liberty and justice."

Adverse criticism is also found, but it is usually of the helpful kind, since it is inspired by friendly interest. This kind of criticism is well illustrated by the keen analysis of our diplomatic mistakes by Dr. Zeballos, Dean of the National Law School at Buenos Aires, in an article published by the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, Paris, September 1920. In the closing paragraphs of the article we find a frank expression of the new spirit of criticism that animates Latin-American publicists. "We South Americans criticize at times certain acts of the United States; but we do it in a spirit of friendship, on the basis of equality, and for the purpose of mutual understanding. We do it in the same spirit with which we criticize our own senators and deputies and cabinet officers, in order to arrive at wise conclusions, which will best promote international harmony."

Even more convincing for the present writer, with respect to the changed attitude of Latin America toward the United States, is the personal impression gained by a recent tour of South America. As representative of the Institute of International Education I had an excellent opportunity to meet the most influential educationists and publicists of the five countries visited and was gratified to hear on many occasions

expressions of friendly feeling and admiration for my country; that they were sincere was apparent in the enthusiasm that went far beyond the demands of perfunctory courtesy. Moreover, the daily press of the larger cities, the surest register of public opinion as well as its most influential guide, was almost invariably well-disposed in the treatment of news, in editorials and special articles. Criticism there was, mainly with respect to the refusal of Congress to follow the lead of the Chief Executive in European affairs; but the desire to maintain friendly relations and to advance the cause of American solidarity was evident. I am entirely convinced that the Argentine writer, Manuel Ugarte, who a few years ago made a lecture campaign up and down South America with the purpose of urging Latin America to meet with united front the Anglo-American peril of the North, would now find a very different reception.

There are some students of international questions who see a menace to Pan Americanism in the Pan Hispanic movement that has been steadily growing in Latin-American countries. This movement, the development of international friendship among Latin-American countries, Spain and Portugal, on the basis of racial affinities, will have good results provided that there is no attempt to unite the Latin-American republics as a counterbalance to the Anglo-American Republic of the North. The disastrous results of European diplomacy based on the "balance of power" should serve as a warning against any attempt at continental equilibrium. Solidarity, not continental equilibrium, is the only basis of lasting peace. There is, however, no necessary conflict between Hispano-Americanism and Pan Americanism. The racial and sentimental solidarity of Latin America, if properly directed, can easily find a place in the larger solidarity of the New World.

It may, then, be said that the foundation of Pan Americanism, mutual understanding and appreciation, has already been laid as far as concerns the small intellectual class in each

country. What is now needed, and what must become a reality if the movement is to have the desired result, is the extension of this mutual understanding and appreciation far beyond its present limits; it must become an essential part of the mental outlook of the majority of the people of the twenty-one republics of the New World. We are already bound by treaties with fifteen of the other republics to submit all international disputes to joint commissions for investigation during the period of one year; but for effective solidarity the cooperation of governments alone is not sufficient. Just as a national conscience is needed in each country to insure genuine democracy in government, an American conscience, that is, Pan American public opinion, is needed to insure the complete cooperation of all the American republics.

Cooperation, for what purpose? the reader may ask. The answer involves some discussion of the essential principles underlying Pan Americanism as well as an attempt at definition.

Certain writers and speakers who assert that the movement is wholly artificial and has no genuine *raison d'etre* confuse Pan Americanism with other movements in which the prefix Pan indicates a community of interest based on racial or religious affinities, Pan Germanism, Pan Islamism, Pan Anglicism; they do not see beyond the natural prejudices caused by differences of race, language, religion and customs; they fail to see the more essential and permanent reasons for Pan American solidarity.

The adjective "New" in "New World" does not refer merely to the time of its discovery; it indicates also a new way of envisaging life, in its social and political aspects. In the New World are twenty-one nations, all of them comparatively young, all working out their own salvation in new lands, all living under a republican form of government. Similarity of history in respect to their relations to the Old World with its monarchical traditions; similarity in their

ideals of justice and democracy; similarity in their aspirations with respect to social and political conditions; similarity in their desire for international peace on the basis of international democracy and in their faith in the efficacy of arbitration for its maintenance: this is a sufficient basis for solidarity of sentiment and effective cooperation.

Pan Americanism may be defined, in general terms, as the free cooperation of all the American republics for the realization of whatever affects the welfare of all, on the basis of peace, mutual sympathy and good-will. The definition lacks precision, and purposely so. It has been suggested that the ultimate purpose of Pan Americanism is the formation of a confederation of American republics, ruled by a representative body and by an international high court of justice at Washington. If the movement were to take this concrete form, it would probably defeat its essential purpose because of the dominant position that the United States would naturally assume in such a confederation and because of the antagonism it would arouse in other countries. The movement does not contemplate a definite political alliance of the American republics as a counterbalance to Europe or any other continent; its immediate purpose is cooperation of the American republics for mutual benefit; its ultimate purpose, in the minds of its sanest advocates, is cooperation with the rest of the world for the benefit of all humanity. In the words of the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Relations, Dr. Gil-Borges, in his address at the recent unveiling of the Bolivar statue, Pan Americanism means "the cooperation of effort and solidarity of interests which will cause to arise, clear and forceful, that new civilization which, starting on this continent, must needs be the future of the world."

The importance of Pan Americanism in international politics is now a recognized fact. Latin-American statesmen recognize its importance in its bearing upon their own countries, and the recent statement of its supreme importance in

the international policies of the United States by the eminent Argentine diplomatist Sr. Romulo Naon will be generally accepted in this country. "In European questions, the political interests of the United States are merely circumstantial, no matter how important they may become at critical moments; the political interests in America are, on the other hand, permanent and pressing. Hence my inalterable conviction that there is no political interest more essential to the United States than the consolidation of the Pan American idea as an element *sine qua non* of her international policy."*

The many problems that are facing the world today and demanding immediate solution are keeping Pan Americanism for the present in the background of international politics; its eclipse will not be of long duration. The peace and welfare of the New World necessitate its continued development, and the solidarity of a continent will be a strong factor in the establishment of universal peace. To quote once more from Senor Naon: "Pan Americanism, with the twenty-one nations of the continent, respectable by reason of the solidity and consistency of their internal political institutions, of the effective organization of their socio-economic systems, and of the broad development of their enormous resources, as well as of the solidary organization of the system of their international relations, would then constitute an irresistible moral force in the world, and, against its will, the violation of universal peace would have reached a point but little short of impossible."

*The Columbia University Quarterly, April 1919.

SOME SIDE-LIGHTS ON RECONSTRUCTION

By EDWARD McMAHON

The Congressional plan of reconstruction unfolded during the winter of 1866-67 consisted of two parts that were developed nearly simultaneously. One part was devoted to the effective assertion of the supremacy of Congress over the judicial and executive branches of the government; the other consisted in the effective assertion of Congressional supremacy in the conquered South.

A brief consideration of this program only in so far as it applied to the assertion of Congressional supremacy over the judiciary is here presented. As a matter of fact little legislation was actually enacted as to the judiciary but more was initiated and held in suspense awaiting the necessity for further legislative action. It so happened that the little that was enacted was sufficient to intimidate the Supreme Court. The proposed but unenacted measures and the views and criticisms of the Court by leading Republicans throw an interesting light on what might have been done had the necessity continued. This early Republican attitude toward the judiciary is doubly interesting in the light of the reactions caused a half century later by the threats of Bryan and his followers to swamp the Court in 1896, and the attacks later by Roosevelt and his followers. Apparently the earlier Republican attitude was unknown or forgotten or, perhaps, consistency became less a virtue.

The Republican party if not born in, was at least cradled in opposition to the Supreme Court. Called into being in 1854 by the failure of the Whig and Democratic parties to represent the growing Northern opposition to the extension of slavery the Judiciary Act of February 5, 1867, and the Court held in into the territories the new party almost at once clashed with

the Supreme Court over the doctrines of the Dred Scott decision. In that decision the Court held that an act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning slave property in the territories of the United States was not warranted by the constitution and therefore void. The Republican platform of 1856 had insisted that Congress had sovereign power over the territories of the United States and denied the authority of Congress or a territorial legislature "To give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States." This authority was as firmly denied after the Dred Scott decision as before and the denunciation of the decision varied with the temper of the denouncer. Thaddeus Stevens considered it an infamous decision. Lincoln's opposition was much more temperate but no less definite. "We think the Dred Scott decision is erroneous. We know the Court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this. We offer no resistance to it." On another occasion he reaffirmed his opposition and added, "All that I am doing is refusing to obey it as a political rule. If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should Somebody has to reverse that decision, since it is made, and we mean to reverse it, and we mean to do it peaceably."

Lincoln resented Douglas' statement that he favored a war on the Court but he maintained in his first inaugural address that "the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." In the light of the "erroneous" Dred Scott decision, it

followed that no Republican would be willing to resign any important part of the governmental policy into the hands of the Court at least as then constituted.

At the time the Dred Scott decision was made the reverence entertained for the Supreme Court was profound. The Court had held in the public estimation a loftier place from the time of the Dartmouth College case to the death of Chief Justice Marshall, for Marshall was one of the world's greatest judges. One fatal decision, however, destroyed its prestige, and the utter disrespect that Lincoln showed toward the decision of the Chief Justice in the case of John Merryman was, in part at least, due to the Dred Scott decision.¹ So completely now had the Court been discredited that during the Civil War, although it still continued its decisions in cases of private law, it avoided decisions which had a bearing upon the great questions then before the country.

Whatever of unwillingness to acquiesce in the decisions of the Court existed because of the personnel of that body was removed almost entirely by the end of the Civil War. In 1857 the Court was composed of five Democrats from the slave states, and two Democrats and two Whigs from the free states. The majority of the Supreme Court, on the other hand, that was called upon to decide the constitutionality of the measures growing out of the reconstruction of the Southern states was Republican, at least as to origin, and consisted of five Lincoln appointees and an appointee each of Jackson, Tyler, Pierce and Buchanan.

The prestige of the Court, having been somewhat restored by these new appointments and the armed conflict having ended, the Supreme Court emerged from the sheltered realm of private law and faced the great questions before the country. The first important decision (*Ex parte Milligan*) was handed down in December, 1866, and was a complete and absolute denial of the Constitutional theories that were re-

1 See *Pacific Review*, Vol. I, p. 6.

sponsible for the arbitrary arrests during the Civil War.² In the following January (1867) two more cases of importance were decided—*Cummins vs Missouri*, and *Ex parte Garland*. The latter involved the right to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States without first taking the so-called “Iron-clad Oath,” originally prescribed for office holders and later applied to practice before the Supreme Court. This oath required the attorney to swear “I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government.”

These decisions immediately aroused the wrath of the radicals. Boutwell of Massachusetts denounced the decision in *Garland's* case as “an offense to the dignity and respectability of the nation” and introduced a bill to declare by law who could and who could not practice before the courts of the United States. Its purpose, of course, was to circumvent the decision of the Court. Boutwell's bill passed the House, January 23, 1867, by a vote of 108 to 42, but does not appear to have been acted upon by the Senate.

On December 4, 1867, Senator Trumbull of Illinois reported from the Judiciary Committee a bill fixing a number not less than five as a quorum of the Supreme Court. This change was necessitated by the difficulty in getting a quorum. The bill passed the Senate at once without division and went to the House Judiciary Committee. When it came from the hands of that Committee it was amended by the addition of a section which provided “that no cause pending before the Supreme Court of the United States which involves the action or effect of any law of the United States shall be decided adversely to the validity of such law without the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members of said Court. . . .”

Williams of Pennsylvania offered an amendment requiring “the concurrence of all the judges” of the Court to declare a law unconstitutional. He had introduced a similar bill at the previous session of Congress and stated that it had startled the professional and public mind but that since then

² See *Pacific Review*, Vol. I., p. 6.

the professional mind had grown accustomed to the idea and he believed the public mind would acquiesce. Although suffering from ill health and reluctant to discuss the question then on its merits, he was forced into the argument by the unwillingness of those supporting the bill to grant him time. Replying to intimations that there was a case before the Supreme Court that might be decided adversely to the wishes of Congress, he urged that even so delay was advisable; first, to perfect the proposition before the House and, second, because another adverse decision by the Court would help bring the Senate to the position of defending the legislative power, "which is the true power of the nation." Williams of Pennsylvania objected to a *two-thirds* majority of the court overruling a law of Congress; he refused to accept as a compromise a *three-fourths* majority, and contended that if eight men claim the right to overrule the judgment "of perhaps 160 lawyers in the two Houses of Congress" the eight men should be unanimous, that is, the issue should be so clear that all can agree, and in his opinion the case is by no means clear if one judge dissents.

The protests against these provisions all came from the Democratic side of the House. The proposals were denounced as revolutionary, as designed to overthrow the Constitution of the Fathers and calculated to undermine the theory of checks and balances in the Constitutional structure. It was squarely charged by Pruyn that the majority were forcing this bill through without allowing adequate time for consideration, because the majority were afraid to have their reconstruction measures tested in the Court.

The longest and most outspoken defense of the bill was made by Bingham of Ohio whose argument vibrates with democracy. "The people," he said, "speak for themselves; and from their judgment there lies no appeal either to the Congress or to the Court." They are a "tribunal before which your Supreme Court is compelled to answer, and was

compelled to answer in the years of grace 1857 and 1858. . . . It will be a sad day for American institutions and for the sacred cause of representative government among men, when any tribunal created by the will of the people shall be above and superior to the people's power. The rights of the people of this country are to be respected," he continued, and Congress is clothed with the power "to compel even the Supreme Court to respect those rights, and to that end, if need be, to reduce that Court to a single person, if you please, and thereby compel unanimity at least in a decision which may deny the people's rights and violate the people's laws." What he feared he frankly stated. It was that the Supreme Court might conclude that the Amendments "already ratified by twenty million free-men" might be declared inoperative "without the concurrence of some, at least, of the disorganized communities who but yesterday rushed into war with arms in their hands."

The discussion showed that under the proposed bill if the lower court held an act of Congress unconstitutional and upon appeal the Supreme Court did not by a sufficient majority overrule the lower court, the decision against the law would stand. This was considered an undesirable situation; so an amendment was added to the effect that in such a case if a two-thirds majority of the Supreme Court did not uphold the decision of the lower court it stood reversed. With this amendment the bill was passed by a vote of 116 to 39. It then went to the Senate Judiciary Committee and was never heard of again and while nothing tangible in the shape of legislation resulted from this discussion it gave an opportunity for the expression of opinions that it might not be wise for the Court to ignore.

The Nation characterized Bingham's speech as "a violent harangue," but observed that there were too many able and calm men in favor of the bill to allow it to be dismissed without consideration and respect.

Whatever may have been the effects of these criticisms

on the Court they were not sufficient to intimidate that body. It remained for the action of Congress in connection with the McCardle case to complete the work. Within three months after the Milligan decision was handed down, Congress in reconstructing the South established the precise tribunals which had been declared unconstitutional. This defiance of the Court was so evident that able lawyers hastened to bring the new legislation before the Court in the hope that it would be declared unconstitutional. In *Mississippi vs Johnson*, and in *Georgia vs Stanton et al*, injunctions were asked to restrain the President and the Secretary of War from enforcing the acts. The Court refused injunctions on the ground that it had no power to coerce the executive and that the relief asked for called upon the Court for "political judgments."

The McCardle case, however, seemed to bring the issue squarely before the Court. McCardle was a Vicksburg editor who because of his opposition and criticism of the work of reconstruction was arrested and held for trial by a military tribunal under authority of the reconstruction acts. He was charged with disturbing the public peace; inciting to insurrection, disorder and violence; libel; and impeding reconstruction. The case came on appeal from the Circuit Court to the Supreme Court. A motion to dismiss the case was argued on the ground that the Supreme Court lacked jurisdiction of appeals from the judgment of inferior courts in cases of habeas corpus. This question turned mainly on the construction of an opinion written by Chase (February 17, 1868) that it did have jurisdiction in such cases.

On March 12, Schenck of Ohio, moved that the House take from the speaker's table Senate Bill No. 213, a bill containing a single section which was designed to place internal revenue officers on the same legal footing as collectors of customs with respect to cases decided against them, and for the recovery of moneys paid into the treasury. Wilson, of Iowa, arose and suggested an amendment which he asked the

clerk to read. The amendment was read and accepted by Schenck. The previous question was seconded, put and carried, and the amended bill passed without a word of discussion. The bill then went back to the Senate and was put up for passage the same day. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, called for an explanation of the second section and was informed by Williams, of Oregon, that the section explained itself, that it left the Judiciary Act of 1789 as it was enacted. Buckalew wanted time to compare the judiciary acts to see what was being done, but his motion to postpone was denied and the bill was passed by a vote of 32 to 6.

The bill did not escape the watchful eye of Andrew Johnson. He found time to compare the judiciary acts and discovered that the Wilson amendment repealed so much of the Judiciary Act of 1867 as authorized appeals in habeas corpus cases to the Supreme Court, and that it forbade the exercise of jurisdiction by that tribunal on appeals "which have been or may be hereafter taken." Johnson pointed out that he had signed the Judiciary Act of 1867 which was intended to give the right of appeal from inferior tribunals wherever and whenever persons were deprived of liberty by a lower court. Nothing had occurred to change his mind as to the advisability of that procedure and he therefore vetoed the bill.

The cat was now out of the bag, and in both houses the bill and the methods of passing it were fully and warmly discussed. The bill was passed to remove consideration of the McCardle case from the Supreme Court and during its consideration by Congress the Supreme Court declined to dispose of the McCardle case until it was made clear which way the cat was going to jump. The House discussion was given over largely to the methods of passage but in the Senate the bill was fully discussed. Trumbull repeated the arguments he had made before the Supreme Court and on which the Court had decided against him. Johnson, of Maryland, made a very strong legal reply but there is very much in the discussion of

the whole subject that is interesting only to a technician concerned with the judiciary acts. In reply to the argument of Senator Stewart, and others, that the whole matter of reconstruction was political and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the courts, Johnson said: "All questions according to his (Stewart's) interpretation of it, involving the construction of the Constitution of the United States, are political. So they are in one sense. They demand an examination of the Constitution of the United States and that is a political instrument; but it is an instrument which the law says shall, in the courts, protect the citizen; and when he applies to the courts for protection upon the ground that some right secured to him by the Constitution is being invaded, the court is bound to examine whether he is within its protection or not." The honorable member's doctrine practically is that "Congress is the law-making power; and nobody has a right to question the authority of any laws which they may make." Salisbury, of Delaware, declared that the British Parliament two hundred years before, in order to relieve one humble subject from illegal punishment, had passed the first habeas corpus act—from that time it had been the bulwark of our liberty, and yet this Congress, in order to deny its blessings to a single individual, are willing to repeal it and prevent a judgment of the Supreme Court.

In the House, Blaine charged that the Democrats "did not comprehend, were not wide enough awake to see the point and bearing of the proposition, though it was read in their hearing, and now three days afterward they woke up—that is the whole of it." Schenck, who had charge of the bill, said, "Sir, I have lost confidence in the majority of the Supreme Court of the United States." He believed they usurped power to decide questions that were purely political, and added that he proposed to use every opportunity to take jurisdiction and power away from them. Little of the discussion in the House touched the merits of the bill; in the Senate the Democrats de-

fended the Supreme Court and the Republicans confined their arguments to the purely legal phases of the subject. The bill finally passed in both houses over the president's veto by large majorities. These votes indicate eloquently how the majority felt. Speeches were made by a very few of the members. The others were content to express their views by their votes. Stevens, I think, correctly gave voice to the sentiment of the radicals when he said the Civil War was a revolution that was begun by the South and should not be allowed to end without accomplishing certain very definite changes. "Possibly," he said, "the people would not have inaugurated this revolution to correct the palpable incongruities and despotic provisions of the Constitution; but having it forced on them, will they be so unwise as to suffer it to subside without erecting this nation into a perfect Republic?" Not if Stevens could help it. He then proceeded with his theory of government. "In this country the whole sovereignty rests with the people, and is exercised through their representatives in Congress assembled. The legislative power is the sole guardian of that sovereignty. No other branch of government, no other department, possesses one single particle of the sovereignty of the nation. No government official, from the President and the Chief Justice down, can do any one act which is not prescribed and directed by the legislative power."

Meanwhile the Supreme Court was waiting for Congress to speak. The *McCardle* case had been argued March 19, and should have been decided on consultation day (March 21). The judges had formed their conclusions, and *Dame Rumor* said, five or six of them were convinced that the reconstruction acts were unconstitutional. But consultation was postponed. Judge Grier in a written protest, concurred in by Judge Field, charged that the Court was inviting the "imputation that we have evaded the performance of a duty imposed on us by the Constitution, and waited for legislation to interpose to supercede our action and relieve us from responsibility." Chase

saw to it that the Court expressed no opinion until Congress withdrew jurisdiction in the McCardle case and then he wrote the opinion of the Court in which he says, "It is quite true. . . that appellate jurisdiction of this court is not derived from the Acts of Congress. It is, strictly speaking, conferred by the Constitution. But it is conferred with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make." The repeal of a part of the Act of 1867 makes an exception of the McCardle case. Congress has power to make these exceptions. Jurisdiction has been withdrawn, and there is nothing to do but announce the fact, "and judicial duty is not less fitly performed by declining ungranted jurisdiction than in exercising firmly that which the constitution and laws confer."

Professor Dunning concludes, "There seemed absolutely no alternative for the condemnation of military government in the South save by ignominiously abandoning the Milligan doctrine." Congress opened an exit and the Court escaped. There was not much dignity in the proceeding but it is not to be doubted that the majority in Congress that had, with the acquiescence of the country, conquered the President were not to be stopped by a handful of judges however eminent or learned.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AS A REMEDY FOR WAR

By RALPH H. BEVAN

Any system of International Education as a remedy for war, if it is to prove capable of interesting, to be turned into world patriots, those candidates with the best prospects of achieving international influence, must be world-wide in its scope and enjoy the prestige of government backing. Even so, to assert that such a system would surely end war forever, would betray ignorance of the supreme difficulties of that complex problem. Confidently to argue, however, that well executed it would be a preventative of war many times less expensive and more dependable than vast armaments, is safe. Reinforced by an international court and police force, and by economic boycotts for powers betraying imperialistic ambitions, cosmopolitan education for prospective world leaders might go far towards ushering in permanent peace.

The causes of war, as alleged by different writers, are legion. We venture, however, to sum them up in their common root—selfishness. Probably all the motives to aggressive war are greed in various forms. Insurance of peace is the problem of replacing moral ignorance and selfishness with national and class moral wisdom and generosity.

If selfishness has so often cursed humanity, why was its colossal stupidity not learned ages ago?

One reason is that indiscriminating censure of all self-interest and glorification of all self-sacrifice have discredited the proper condemnation of immoderate self-interest and praise of reasonable self-sacrifice. A measure of self-interest is as essential to far-sighted generosity as an excess of self-sacrifice is inconsistent with it. That enthusiasm which recklessly abbreviates a man's period of service or ultimately renders him a burden upon others, is short-sighted.

At this world crisis true morality justifies a deliberate effort on the part of the United States to distinguish reasonable responsibilities from those likely to prove excessive and to involve calamity to us out of all proportion to any benefit to humanity. Yet enlightened altruism and self-interest alike call upon America to share in the burdens of insuring peace and of assisting a prostrate world to its feet to the utmost extent of her ability. The reason why the virtue of self-interest in due measure has been ignored is obvious. So great is man's natural selfishness that there is little danger of excessive self-sacrifice. One fact, however, is sometimes overlooked. A *universal* practice of the principle that no human being is called upon to make (for all we know) a total and permanent sacrifice to save the majority from a partial loss, would ipso facto abolish war surely and forever. The supreme need, nevertheless, is to emphasize the nobility of magnanimity.

If cooperation among the nations promises dazzling benefits for all, the conquest over selfishness is proving proportionately tedious. For thousands of years now happiness has been increasing with moral progress—with the enlightenment of self-interest and the growth of unselfishness—as between man and man. Yet the most appalling of world horrors was necessary to teach humanity that national greed is as many times more calamitous than individual greed as organized millions are more able to accomplish evil than short-sighted individuals.

Nothing but the white-hot furnace of this war could purify the perilous vice of narrow patriotism into the grand virtue of national altruism and loyalty to international interests. The most ghastly of world tragedies was indispensable to demonstrate the dangers of selfishness in international and interclass relationships and to rout it from its last stronghold by laying the foundation for training in world patriotism.

The psychological process of converting selfishness into

unselfishness is the same whether the moral disease is individual or national except that in the latter case the remedy is to be most effectually applied to the nation's representatives. The cure has two stages, the acquisition of moral wisdom enlightening self-interest, and the development of moral sentiment converting selfishness into unselfishness. By the first step we come to *see*, whether as individuals or nations, that our own welfares, as well as the welfares of all, are to be furthest advanced by universal cooperation. As a matter of intelligent perception the stupidity of selfish, suicidal conflict dawns upon us.

No mystical insight would seem required to see that every individual can be happiest by cultivating a capacity for the joys of benefiting others. Thereby he increases his own opportunities for pleasure. And, by the influence of example, he leads others to generous habits. Thus the welfare of all, including his own, is promoted.

However, the explanation of the doubt that prevails as to the advantages of magnanimity is hardly less plain than those advantages. That the altruist's own happiness may always be insured, his example must be universally followed. Otherwise he will simply be imposed upon, overburdened, and defrauded by unscrupulous egoists. It is the conspicuous examples of men betrayed by their generosity and faith in others' like nobility that have called in question the wisdom of unselfishness. Once let magnanimous habits become universal and the stupidity of selfishness will become obvious enough.

Certainly the forcible illustration that the world has just had that the principle of national selfishness is not a brilliant success should bring glimmerings of that moral wisdom which must constitute the first step in the removal of war by the roots.

By the second stage in the cure of selfishness the individual comes to *feel*, as a matter of generous emotion, that

the welfare of relatives and friends, and ultimately of all human beings, is so vital a part of his own happiness that he cannot harm the least of them without personal injury. As moral sentiment is developed by sociability, the living objects of our affection, from the psychological standpoint, become more and more essential parts of our own enlarging personalities. Greedy impulses are replaced by mananamous ones.

An outline of the method which the experience of the race has proved to be the most efficient in creating individual moral wisdom and sentiment and in stimulating cooperation within nations and classes will illustrate the part which International Education is best suited to play in the removal of international and interclass friction. It will also clarify the success with which the expedient urged is likely to perform its role. Scores of centuries ago families and neighbors living together discovered the retaliatory miseries of selfishness in its many forms. The moral wisdom thus acquired by experience was passed on to succeeding generations by education in the family and schools and by public sentiment. The self-interest of the modern man is enlightened partly by experience, partly by complementary education in prevalent moral standards. But intelligence is often unable to control selfish impulses. Cooperation can be insured only by the substitution of generous ones. This has been accomplished by the intimate communion within families and coteries of friends. Thereby mutual knowledge, understanding, and a capacity on the part of each to put himself in the other's place have resulted. Sympathetic viewpoints, reinforced by reciprocal affection, mean spontaneous magnanimity. And moral wisdom and sentiment together inevitably spell eager cooperation. Complementary education in moral wisdom and friendly sociability, then, have proved the most effective means of promoting beneficence and happiness among individuals.

For the world's nations and the nations' classes, therefore, the analogous institution of International Education may

reasonably be regarded as the most promising expedient to clinch the cure of selfishness begun by the war's chastening anguish. Cosmopolitan Universities will reform the nations and classes in the persons of their representatives (who are included in prospective national leaders).

International Universities as here advocated are to guarantee world harmony by promoting understanding and friendship between the future statesmen of the great powers—by bringing these into intimate and prolonged association in their plastic professional school days. In an effectual form, the institution urged would include within its scope, not an alliance of the nations only, but a majority powerful enough to prevent war. As peoples can form friendship sufficiently representative to insure cooperation through their future leaders alone, the Cosmopolitan Education proposed should be of a nature to attract, as well as involve an efficient machinery for selecting, the candidates with the brightest prospects of attaining national influence. It should present the highest honor and the greatest opportunities open to graduates of other educational institutions. To appeal to the most desirable young men, International Universities must be public institutions established by peoples to train their probable leaders and whose graduates will ordinarily be preferred for diplomatic, international, and important class offices by the governments and peoples who educate them.

Once such a plan were in operation, the careers of some of its graduates, demonstrating its value as a guarantee of international good-will, would soon naturally bring it to pass that training in one of the Cosmopolitan Universities would be a usual, if not indispensable, requisite to election to any office of international significance. Lawyers and doctors must qualify for their responsibilities by education likely to protect the public against the evils of mal-practice. Shall international statesmanship, the most responsible of all professions, be practiced without training calculated to afford the

world the greatest possible security against the supreme calamity of war?

To interest prospective world statesmen, and to insure the prompt application of the system to most of the leading powers, the prestige and financial resources of governmental backing are essential. To abandon the promotion of humanity's supreme interests to the chance generosity of millionaires would be to make it very slow and precarious. The nations themselves who are primarily concerned, must, through their governments, while they expend billions on armaments, as unreliable and suicidal as they are costly, invest a trifle in Cosmopolitan Universities which can be depended on to prove as beneficent as they are practicable and cheap.

For the claims made for International Education in an earlier paragraph of this paper were ultra-conservative. The expedient advocated is far from mere experiment. Its efficacy is assured by its results under the crucial test of actual trial. For ages family and friendly discipline and communion have proved an incomparably better guarantee against open conflict between individuals than the armed force of savage days. They have completed the development of moral insight or public sentiment without which the courts and law would be useless, and which, employing the machinery of the law as a mere instrument, is the real security for peace within states. Moreover, intimate association has brought about the moral sentiment or generosity which, unassisted by any forcible constraint, has induced, not only passive harmony, but the most active cooperation among family relatives and friends. Now International Universities as here urged are nothing less than an institution of international sociability for the development of affection in the world's family of nations. They are an application to the sphere of international relationships of the method which the experience of the race has shown to be effectual for the insurance, not alone of enforced peace, but of the liveliest spontaneous teamwork, within nations. To put

the peoples' hard-won earnings into Cosmopolitan Education, then, would be to invest them in a tried project which may be counted on to yield compound interest at the highest rate. As a national and class equivalent for complementary education in enlightened self-interest and magnanimity—in moral sentiment as well as wisdom—International Education can reasonably be relied on, even unsupplemented by a world police, to guarantee, not merely a constrained peace, but a spontaneous and energetic cooperation, among the world's nations and classes.

The arrangements by which the benefits and burdens of such a plan might be reciprocally shared are too numerous even to be suggested here. Certainly the difficulties of working out the details of a practical scheme would be child's play after the grim horrors of war their solution would forever abolish. Particulars are immaterial provided only their product is some workable institution whereby prospective leaders of all the great powers, through temporary sojourns in cosmopolitan centres of culture, would become democratic world citizens interested in the welfares of all peoples and classes.

The cosmopolitan centres of culture proposed naturally would include courses in sound moral philosophy to drive home the terrible lessons of this war. They should emphasize the fact that the perils of antagonism and the benefits of harmony between races are limited only by the capacities of organized millions for evil and for good. In a word such institutions must inculcate in all nations and classes, through their rulers, moral wisdom and enlightened self-interest, whereby they may *see* the essential identity of all human interests.

Universities for the democratic training of world statesmen, furthermore, should be the best institutions to develop moral sentiment and unselfishness whereby nations may actively *feel*, as well as perceive, that all others' interests are a vital part of their own interests. International educational reciprocity for national representatives must amount to family

communion for the cultivation of affection in the world's family of nations. International Universities should be characterized by the most vigorous social life.

International friction is due to antipathy, prejudice, or misunderstanding, in turn due to ignorance. As nations, through association of their leaders, became better acquainted, mutual knowledge would bring a grasp of each other's viewpoints—an understanding making unreasonable quarrels impossible. Intimate communion in the world's family of nations (for God has endowed none with perfection, but each with its peculiar virtues and faults) must lead to mutual appreciation, friendship, affection, sympathy, and identification of interest rendering cooperation spontaneous.

In fine, cosmopolitan education for prospective international statesmen, in addition to contrasting and replacing the defects of each nation with the excellencies of the others and thus perfecting all national characters, must prove beyond compare the cheapest, readiest, and surest guarantee of peace. Until general disarmament appears as the harbinger of the millenium, democratic nations must burden themselves with huge armaments to discourage and repel aggression by autocratic neighbors. Military preparedness, however, as an instrument of international justice and security for peace, is pregnant with evils not to be hinted at by the most powerful hyperboles. On the other hand, International Education, reinforced by international arbitration (with or without a world police as a reserve security to make doubly sure that it may never be required for forcible use), as an institution to hasten the day when moral insight and magnanimity shall render costly armaments an incredible curse of selfish and dark ages past, promises the only good at all compensatory for the inconceivable anguish and heroic sacrifices of the war—the nearest attainable approximation to an ideal social order and a golden era of individual welfare.

KNUT HAMSDUN

By ELIAS ARNESEN

The awarding of the Nobel Prize to Knut Hamsun, the Norwegian novelist, has both focused the attention of the intellectual world upon him and created a demand for his books in English-speaking countries. More than fifteen years ago his books were already translated into the important languages of Europe, except English. It surely has taken a rude shaking to awaken the Anglo-Saxon world to the catholic appeal of this master's productions. Like Tagore so Hamsun will now be devoured by the masses.

Already he has been flashed on the screen throughout the land and been given a fragmentary discussion in the papers and periodicals. Random bits of biography have appeared having to do particularly with that period of Hamsun's life when a jack-of-all-trades he worked in the Middle West, and his work has lately everywhere been appreciatively reviewed. At present three of his most representative books have been translated into English. *Hunger*, his first book; *Pan*, which is rhapsody on nature, elemental forces, and love; and last *The Growth of the Soil*, the book which recently gained him universal recognition—these constitute, with the already translated *Shallow Soil*, the four books that now are offered the English-speaking public.

*The Growth of the Soil**, Hamsun's masterpiece, is the story of an Herculean peasant, with a beard like rusty iron and scarred face and hands, who has wandered, knapsack on his back, in the wilderness of the brooding, fairy-like Nordland. Having found a suitable spot he throws down his belongings and commences to tame the wilds that surround him. How he hews himself a crude dwelling; obtains goats in exchange

**The Growth of the Soil*. By Knut Hamsun. Alfred A. Knopf.

for timber that he, ox-like, drags to the far away village; gets a roaming lass for a wife; tills the soil, raises a large family, and achieves victory over stubborn nature in the face of almost insuperable obstacles and defeats—is the theme of the book. Only by superhuman labors do these two, man and wife, succeed in improving their niggardly lot. The crops fail, the family is steadily increased, the government demands big money for the land that Isak, the man, has brought under his sway, and then Inger, the wife, is taken to prison for having killed a new-born child, a child which at birth displays a hare-lip like that which disfigures her own face and makes her talk have a whistling sound. But in spite of it all Isak, like the old Hebrew prophets, remains faithful to his god, the god of the Nordland, where the grass shoots up yard-high in a few days, where the summer is one long day, and where the winter nights flash mysterious signals through the boundless spaces.

The philosophy saturating like a complex dye the warp and woof of the story, is fidelity to Mother Earth. There is a copper mountain on Isak's place, which mine-owners wish to buy. Well, Isak sells that part only which is of no value to his cattle; there he stops, and no amount of persuasion or money can move him. Wise Isak! Though the major parts of the crops fail, he has always something to fall back on. Mother Earth does not betray her staunch son. Neighbors who have sold parts of their land for fair sums of money go from bad to worse. They fall into lazy habits, buy unnecessary trinkets and sham articles, and forget to produce and to work. Misfortune knocks at their door and turns them out into the cold. But Isak and his family grow sturdy and, slowly but surely, well-to-do. The houses are made bigger, more ground is broken up; agricultural machinery and irrigation do much, but arduous human toil does the most toward the attainment of absolute independence. This visible success attracts many homesteaders to the neighborhood; then come

school and telegraph, and with them society's addition to the liberating gifts of nature.

The author has revealed what Nietzsche calls the meaning of the earth. It is autonomy realized, a thing Tolstoi dreamt about. Hamsun has convincingly sketched the salvation latent in work on the soil. It is a rich, healthy, and happy life he has drawn, the life of man in his right place. Man has again become man, the tamer of the wilds, the ruler of beasts—a creative god, whose genius and power mold a progressive, independent destiny.

The Growth of the Soil, published in 1917, immediately aroused the interest and unstinted sympathy of thousands of peasants, native as well as foreign. The intellectuals were even more enthusiastic in their approval. Anyone can read this book, in so simple a language is it written. The style is at once simple and rich; simple because of a most direct and natural idiom, and rich because of dialectical peculiarities that are interwoven with the subtleties of the artist. It is likewise conversational, this style, and belongs to no other writer than Hamsun. He virtually thrusts the reader headlong into the swirling stream of events and forces him to reason, feel, talk, and see through his living characters. The book is seething with life. Its art is nervous, fragmentary, logically lucid, inevitable, tense in its suspense—like life.

II.

The two first Hamsun books belong together in a very peculiar sense. The one called *Hunger* reveals the man himself; the second, *Mysteries*, embraces the many interests that later are to dominate his art.

In *Hunger*, the author, a young journalist in Kristiania, tells his tale with a nervous sprightliness and conversational roguery that captivates. There are hard times in the capital; no work is procurable; it is in the fall. His clothes have become shabby and threadbare, and his head aches with the

effort of having to compose clever articles on an empty stomach. Occasionally he receives a few shillings for newspaper work, part of which he uses for food, while he squanders the rest on beggars and urchins who usually are better off than himself. He is hounded from place to place because he cannot pay for his rent and even takes refuge in the jail one cold night when he is without other shelter. Weird phantasms terrorize him during the long, dark nights; he is harassed by the caprices of a giddy head by day. It is a callous world he portrays, but he is not embittered by it. The few persons he meets who really are good and humble can do him no good, because his own pride frustrates any kindness from strangers; he must only bestow, he cannot stand the bonds of obligation, they are too enslaving to his free spirit. Hence he is at odds with himself, with society, and with God; and he escapes from the nightmare feeble and neurotic. This autobiography, although here and there tainted with the abnormal, is a keen analysis of the soul of a confirmed individualist, of an aristocratic romanticist imbued with the virtue of virtues—magnificence.

Hunger is mainly concerned with the problems of the soul; *Mysteries* deals not only with them but with the social problems as well. Here the old values are attacked, and they are attacked with the blind fury typical of a young accuser of society.

Yet Hamsun did not really come into his own till he began to write about that fairyland in which he had labored and dreamed so many years—Nordland! Hamsun's elemental nature—love, coupled with an almost incompatible aptitude for cultural refinement, found expression in the novel *Pan*. This book, which appeared in 1894, carried the author's popularity beyond national boundaries. The presumed narrator, Thomas Glahn, is a lieutenant whose manuscript has been found by the author; but the reader soon discovers the thirty-year-old Hamsun in this hunter and hermit, who lives in the forest, full of

its peace, steeped in its changing moods. Only the youthful forest-god can describe it: "Summer nights and calm pools and infinitely quiet forests. No cry, no footstep from the roads, my heart was full as of a sombre wine. . . . I step outside the lodge and listen. Nothing, no noise, everything sleeps. The air is made luminous by flying insects—myriads of whirring wings Greeting! The forest atmosphere surged through my senses; I wept from love and yet felt gladness; I was dissolved in gratitude. Thou good forest, my home, God's peace. Shall I tell the from my heart. . . . A grace for this lonesome night, for the mountains, the darkness and the sea's moan, that murmurs through my heart! A grace for my life, for my breath, for the mercy to live tonight—for that I am thankful in my heart! Harken in the East and harken in the West, nay harken! It is the eternal God! This tranquillity that murmurs against my ear is the seething blood of all Nature, God that interweaves the world and me."

Quite Franciscan is this concept of the world, this immanentism, but thoroughly Northern are its elemental emotions. The dithyrambs are spontaneous, immediate, because the author feels himself part of that nature which to him is a throbbing reality, not mere imagery. But such conscious appreciation cannot come from any ordinary rustic; rather from one who, arrived in the lap of nature with the cultured being's differentiated powers, is able to sympathize and to dream. Then Eve comes walking into this primitive garden, bringing mischief in her train. Edvarda is a daughter of the rich merchant in the near-lying fishing village. Her appearance is deceptive; she seems a mere girl in the 'teens, a capricious animal from the Nordland underworld. In reality she is in her early twenties, a woman, shallow and revolting in her fickle sensualism. The love of these two is at first vehement, and the hunter's happiness is complete, when Edvarda, true to her nature, and desirous of arousing Glahn's jealousy, begins to tease him with allusions to other men. She takes more and

more pleasure in this tantalizing game until she stands revealed to Glahn as a wanton. The hunter, perceiving at length that the future is bound to punish him with constant repetitions of this frivolousness, proudly quits the pursuit; and he refuses to relent when she, in a repentant mood, seeks him out in his forest and wishes to atone.

There is nothing sickly about this Pan; he is robustness itself, and does not pine away in constancy to the unstable Edvarda. The fundamental trouble is here not so much slighted love as the awkwardness resulting from his dual personality. Love and Edvarda have drawn him down to the little community and its social life; he cannot adjust himself to its artificial norms.

Once, while boating, in the company of the little town's few aristocrats, he suddenly, why he does not know, wrenches one of Edvarda's shoes loose and hurls it far into the water. General consternation follows and Glahn himself feels humiliated beyond words.

It is difficult, then, for a cultured person, possessed of strongly elemental tendencies, to adjust himself either to nature or society. Love is introduced in this story only as an accidental episode that of a sudden releases this Hamsunesque soul-conflict.

There is thus in *Pan* a re-appearance of the Hamsun personality, which will be encountered again and again in the forthcoming books; it is subject to a steady evolution till in its last incarnation a solution seems to have been found for its harassing duality. There is also the romantic love-motif, with its violent beginning and jerky, spasmodic development, which never reaches a "satisfactory" end in domestic felicity. One of the prime secrets of Hamsun's art is that nothing comes to a settled end or a "nice" conclusion, but like life, only to a dubious future.

Not many poets have written so eloquently about nature as Hamsun does in *Pan*. Few writers have expressed them-

selves in prose at once so energetic and suggestive. Pierre Loti in his descriptive travelogues writes with perhaps greater lyrical precision; but his prose does not cleave to the very backbone of consciousness as do Hamsun's earthly symbols; the Norwegian master writes with his body and soul, he writes with his very blood. His senses have been so bathed in the Nordland atmosphere that he utters what is second nature to him. Perhaps in all English literature today there is only one who possesses the experience, the austerity, and the literary craftsmanship that would enable him to write with such pagan energy. That man is Joseph Conrad—in particular when he writes about the sea.

Nature and love and a soul-struggle form the booming notes in *Pan*. But while the forest god is a fitting symbol in this connection, it is well to bear in mind that the hairy breasted, bronzed hunter with his animal gaze and pantheistic musings—his inflexible will—is a distinctly Northern Pan. No Southern voluptuary would harbor that feeling of gratitude towards the Creator, or that silent irreconcilable hauteur in the face of wounded pride.

The next important milepost is the book *A Wanderer Plays with Muted Strings*. The author has for a long time prepared himself for the passing of his youth. He leaves society and seeks resignedly his place in the country as a farm hand. The experience does not sour, but rather, blesses him. Like a quiet romance, this autobiographical novel sings in minor keys of the sadness of age, of the silent aches of the lovelorn; and the breath of autumn and decay whispers throughout.

Not long did Hamsun dwell in this dark valley of resignation and apathy; in the following year, 1910, the turning point appears. This time it is a drama, whose thesis is the terrible struggle between human beings and life. A woman is the central figure; she battles with "tooth and claw" against age and ugliness. The treatment of the theme is objective; it

mercilessly exposes the tricks of the ageing and the aged. *In the Power of Life* (or *At the Mercy of Life*) is the first sign of a complete change of attitude; it marks the flight from the subterranean darkness of the subjective world into the light and warmth of external life. This change saves the author from stagnation, for he has run the whole gamut of introspection, and come to a cul de sac, a phase of barren ideas. Especially is he rejuvenated by recommencing the study of the region that nurtured his fancy during childhood; it is Nordland that his weary soul needs.

In the years of 1913 and 1915 appeared respectively *Children of the Time* and *Segelfoss Town*. These may be considered a trilogy, as the latter book contains two parts, and all three deal with the same persons and places. For the last time the restless Hamsun type presents himself in the unhappy yet proud Lieutenant Holmsen, who lives with his German wife on the ancestral estate. If unhappy, this man has nevertheless achieved a compromise with life. His pride and inflexible will operate in love as well as in practical matters; but withal he is generous to a degree. Adelheid, the wife, is passionate, temperamental. Frictions occur often between the pair, and wounded and wounding they live side by side estranged, isolated, overtly hostile, and yet secretly in love. At last the wife recognizes an unendurable situation, effaces herself, abandons all caprice, makes a conciliatory proposal. It is too late. The austere nobleman repulses every advance because he perceives before him, as on a map, the arduous zig-zagging routes of their long, unhappy past; to forgive and compromise at so late a date would mean an ignominious capitulation to life, and that must not be. For is not the value of a proud soul, true to its own laws, greater than the lazy well-being of specious affections, particularly if this soul, in supposed consciousness of its immortality, defies the hand of destiny even if it must needs suffer thereby? Perhaps.

So Adelheid seeks refuge in her music and the growing

son Willatz, while the Lieutenant resorts to his books and his daily tasks on the estate, and lives a pure life in the midst of an immoral environment. Half faun, half aristocrat, he disciplines himself to adverse conditions by virtue of a steel-like will and a humanistic philosophy. This tragic figure is the noblest of the author's many variations of himself, and the love depicted is certainly the most subtle, the most elusive—and perhaps the saddest, because of the intensity under its superficial callousness. By the mere pressure of a hand, a fleeting expression, the intonation of a phrase, love's mysteries and agonies and passions are unfolded. The simplicity of it is baffling.

In the same book are introduced the fisherman and peasants of the region. Their curiosity, animalism, and self-seeking are outstanding characteristics. Their craftiness may, however, be considered a half-virtue since it is related to a certain prudence and solidity that derives from their mode of life.

Their rather simple existence is, however, turned topsy-turvy as soon as industrialism touches the community. The efficient cause of the rumpus is a grotesque being from the big outside world who has made his entry with a great deal of bombast. Himself once a peasant lad from these parts, he has now returned, alert to the extravagant expectations of these primitive folk—rich, mysterious, all-powerful, like a being out of a myth. He is lean and energetic, a product of American industrialism. Soon he succeeds in revolutionizing the sleepy district. He buys land from the nobleman, constructs a mill, imports modern machinery, canned goods, and phonographs, establishes a big general store; and behold, Segelfoss Town is there—drunk with activity, money, ready-made food, and vanity articles for the lasses.

In the second book the baneful influences of industrialism are worked out. Hamsum is not in sympathy with either industrialism or its devotees—high or low. The peasants are

shown to degenerate from self-reliant producers into loafers, mere saucy automatons, who clearly demonstrate the ugly effects of big industrial enterprise.

In this book, too, Hamsun has become an even more confirmed objectivist than in the preceding novel. He presents the multifarious, steadily transforming life of the whole community rather than the confining atmosphere of a love-struggle with the environment only a shadowy background. The flourishing town is spread out in all its bustle and increase. The changing and growing town itself has the chief role in this colorful pageant, with its droll rusticity, its shoddiness of an incipient proletariat, its pompous professionalism, its few odd personalities. The whole is informed with a compelling vitality made piquant by a playful satire.

There is no distinct Hamsun type here but rather a collection of persons each of whom focalizes a certain part of the community life.

As Segelfoss grows bigger it acquires the airs of a city—of course infinitely provincialized. A newspaper, a telegraph, a factory, the wharf, a department store—these contribute to its municipal development; but it is the professional men who, after all, articulate its consciousness. The priest, the doctor, the lawyer, the editor have their big say about everything, for are they not the growing tips of the sprouting small-town bourgeoisie? Hamsun's satire is at this point really at its best: adroitly and emphatically but without exaggeration he thrusts at the boundless conceit, the shallowness of culture, the unwarrantable pride in profession and family of these men.

In these two novels, *Children of the Time* and *Segelfoss Town*, are to be found all the significant elements of Knut Hamsun's art: romantic love, nature worship, individualism, satire, humor, folk life. And they are properly related; there are tragic ingredients, but the exuberance of the common folk adds vigor and color, buoying the whole work with the irrepressible idealism of a strong and healthy spirit.

III

Movement, growth, fertility, immediateness, and an imagination both profound and intense—these then are the prime elements of Knut Hamsun's art.

In his youth, the master worshiped Antonio Correggio, he whom Symonds terms the faun of the Italian Renaissance. And this is natural since both mirror in their art the voluptuous nakedness of nature elemental; nature with her swelling forms caused by fertilized bloom; her hilarious blossoming, her bulging fruits, seething with juices; her shameless, naked beauty; her amorous play, semi-conscious, yet vehement. But in the soul of Hamsun there was also present the conflict induced by the analytical mind. And the older he grew, the more did the discords of his spirit coerce him to seek the divinity beneath the appearances of the world. Like Michael Angelo, he worked feverishly, with huge blows of his chisel, to liberate from the block the imprisoned spirit—the prophet of the future that should solve the riddle of man's destiny. Thus while inwardly contemplating the ideal, the diety, he worked assiduously, like the ancient sculptor at his marble, till one day God's peace descended upon him; man had been released from the stone.

Yet with it all Hamsun has not as yet dealt conclusively with the eternal problems. Death, immortality, ideality, evolution—material and spiritual, in the world and in man—the ultimate symbolism of life, and the interpretation of intellectual movements affecting the mind of man—such queries, which inconvenience the few in possession of the richest spiritual culture, the novelist has not endeavored to make, at least not in their utmost perplexity.

But Hamsun is still the man of pristine vigor, the man of versatility and surprise. He may some day, like Romain Rolland, when he has been given the adequate opportunity, depict the evolution of a human soul, which, touched to the

quick by the riddles of existence, struggles to extend the boundaries of his limited consciousness into the Great Unknown.

For this task is needed supreme erudition, energy and sympathy. Knut Hamsun possesses the two latter attributes. Will he attain the first? However that may be, Anglo-Saxon readers are already beginning to find in Knut Hamsun one of the most stimulating novelists of the present day.

QUERY

By ELEANOR SICKELS

Why do I sit for hours together on a pleasure-boat
 Idly watching a pair of them wheel and dip about the stern?
 Why does my heart clutch my throat when I see one of them
 Solitary poised against the deep sky over a pine tree?
 I do not see what makes them beautiful—
 The stubby body of an ugly duckling, feathers dull gray and
 white,
 Great sprawling wings. . . .

Perhaps it is the wings. . . .
 In flight a gull is all wings. . . .
 I think that a sea-gull is like the soul of an artist, a live thing
 soaring in a sea of color;
 I think that a gull is like the soul of a poet, whose wings are
 romance and inspiration. . . .
 All wings. . . .
 Like the spirit of man. . . .
 What is there so beautiful about sea-gulls?

THE FOREST RESOURCES AND PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC COAST¹

By HUGO WINKENWERDER

I

The area covered in this paper includes Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California, British Columbia, Idaho and Western Montana. Although the forests of the two last named states are usually included with the Rocky Mountain Region, they are more nearly allied to the Coast forests than to the other forests of the Rockies. The whole region is characterized by the uniformity of the type of forest over extensive areas, the large sizes attained by the trees, the density of the stand of timber, and the large yield per acre. According to the diversity in the character of the forest, the area may be divided into seven sub-regions.

1. The Coast or Douglas Fir Region of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia; 2. The Alaskan Coast; 3. The California Redwood Region; 4. The California Pine Region; 5. Eastern Oregon and Washington; 6. Idaho and Western Montana; 7. The Interior of British Columbia.

The entire west slope of the Cascades and Coast Ranges were originally covered with practically one solid belt of forest. The mild climate, heavy rainfall and generally humid atmospheric conditions have resulted in the production of a forest than which there is none more wonderful in the density of its growth or the majesty of its development in the entire world. Trees more than ten feet in diameter, towering 250

(1) The author desires to call particular attention to the difficulties of getting statistics that are accurate or that are in all cases comparable. Estimates and cruises will vary considerably with the method of study, the view point of the person making the study, etc. It will also be noted in this article that in numerous cases figures are given for areas that are overlapping. These could not readily be separated. The author desires to make this explanation concerning what may in some instances appear to be glaring discrepancies.

feet in height, are not uncommon and it is not at all rare to find more than 150,000 feet B. M. of merchantable timber standing on a single acre. In Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, the chief species is Douglas fir, with western hemlock, western red cedar and Sitka spruce following in importance in the order named. The average stand for the Douglas fir region is estimated as 35,000 feet to 40,000 feet per acre. In the Alaskan Coast region, Sitka spruce is the most abundant tree; Alaska yellow cedar is second in quantity and there is some hemlock and western red cedar. In California the chief tree is redwood. It forms about 85 per cent of the stand.

East of the Cascades, the forest is more open and park-like in character and frequently interrupted by non-timbered agricultural, grazing and waste lands, the trees do not generally attain the large sizes attained by those on the coast, and the stand per acre is comparatively small. In eastern Oregon and Washington, western yellow pine forms over 60 per cent of the timber. In these forests from 8000 to 12,000 feet per acre is considered an excellent stand. In the California pine region, western yellow pine forms about 38 per cent of the stand, Douglas fir, white fir and sugar pine each roughly about about 16 per cent. The forests of the interior of British Columbia are composed chiefly of spruce (largely Engelmann spruce but including also the white and black varieties) western red cedar, Douglas fir, western hemlock, and several species of the true firs (*Abies*). In Idaho and Western Montana, the western white pine is the most valuable tree and forms magnificent pure forests with a heavy yield per acre. In quantity, however, western larch is the predominant tree in western Montana and Douglas fir in Idaho, and the western yellow and lodge-pole pines are also abundant in both states.

II.

It is interesting to note that while private holdings in the United States and Alaska comprise less than one-fourth the total acreage of forest lands, they represent about one-half of the standing merchantable timber of the region.

The bulk of the lumber in private ownership is held by a comparatively few large interests. The Bureau of Corporations² found in 1910 that in Washington and Oregon three owners, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, The Southern Pacific Railway Company and The Northern Pacific Railway Company controlled 191.3 billion board feet, and there were 83 owners who had acquired over a billion board feet each. The aggregate holdings of these latter were 411.7 billion feet or 59.4 per cent of the privately held stumpage in the two States.

Since 1910 these holdings have been decreased. As the result of a decision of the Federal Courts, nearly two and one-half million acres of the Southern Pacific Land Grant in Oregon have reverted to the Government and the other companies have reduced their holdings through sale and logging.

In California nearly 75 per cent of the private holdings or 178.2 billion feet was under control of 39 owners, of which the Southern Pacific Railroad is the largest individual holder. As in Washington and Oregon, the tendency since 1910 has been away from further concentration.

In Idaho 64 per cent of the privately owned timber or 32.3 billion feet was held by 10 owners, each with more than half a billion. The tendency toward concentration appears to have stopped about 1907.

III.

The first commercial sawmill was built in Oregon in 1844 and on Puget Sound in 1845. Within a decade lumbering

(2) The Lumber Industry, Part I., Standing Timber, U. S. Dep't Com. & Labor, Bureau of Corporations, Wash., D. C., 1913.

became the chief industry. Very little lumber was cut in California prior to the gold rush in 1849. Lumbering began in the redwood belt about 1860 and grew steadily. In 1904, Washington took second place among the lumber producing states of the country and since 1905 has held the leading place continuously except during 1914 when her cut fell slightly below that of Louisiana. The present cut in Washington (1918) is about 4,500,000,000 feet B. M. Oregon, which is at present the third state in lumber production, produced 2,700,000,000 feet during the same year. In California, the maximum cut occurred in 1916 when it was 1,420,000,000 feet. Preliminary estimates by the United States Forest Service place the cut for 1920 in Washington at 5,524,676,000 feet B. M., Oregon at 3,316,902,000 feet B. M. and California at 1,379,000,000 feet B. M.³ Until 1900 the lumber cut in Western Montana and Idaho and Eastern Oregon and Washington (the Inland Empire Region) amounted to practically no more than was required for local markets. During that year, this region produced only 560,000,000 board feet. From 1900 to 1907, production increased rapidly, the cut reaching 1,400,000,000 feet in 1907; after that the increase was more gradual, the total cut amounting to 1,600,000,000 by 1915.

An analysis of the total lumber cut for the United States shows a gradual decrease from 1916 to 1918. It was most marked in 1917. This was due to war demands, the increasing prices of lumber, railroad freight embargoes, car shortages, high wages and scarcity of labor. Although the reported cut of the country as a whole for 1918 shows a decrease of 11.5 per cent from the 1917 figures and the 1917 reports a decrease of about 12.5 per cent from the 1916 figures, Washington and Oregon show a gradual increase. Under normal conditions, the increase in cut from 1916 to 1918 could therefore reasonably be expected to have been much larger in the Western States. The 1920 increase in Washington was 40 per

(3) The Timberman, Portland, Oregon, April 1921. Periodical.

cent over 1915, 40 per cent over 1918 and 11 per cent over 1919. For Oregon it was 96 per cent increase over 1915, 22 per cent over 1918 and 13 per cent over 1919.

IV.

No satisfactory statistics of the volume of the original forests of the region are available. According to the Capper Report,⁴ the Pacific Coast States (Oregon, Washington, California) had an original forest area of 77,120,000 acres. This has now been reduced to approximately 57,586,000 acres of which 39,370,000 acres are in virgin forest, 5,292,000 acres in second growth (growing) of saw timber size, 6,425,000 acres of pole or cordwood size and 6,500,000 not restocking. It is significant, however, that not all of the virgin forest is in high grade timber, for there is a large percentage that is relatively inferior or inaccessible for profitable logging.

The rate of depletion has been most rapid in the State of Washington, owing to the greater accessibility of the timber and the better transportation facilities. The present annual cut (estimated for 1920) is about 5,524,676,000 board feet for Washington; in Oregon it is 3,316,902,000 board feet and in California 1,379,000,000.

With the total virgin stand in these three States estimated at 301,000,000,000 board feet for Washington, 444,000,000,000 board feet for Oregon and 313,331,000,000 board feet for California and disregarding for the moment new growth, the duration of the timber would be approximately 60 years, 135 years, and 224 years respectively in these three states, or if divided over the entire region less than 90 years.

This, however, is no indication at all of the actual length of time these virgin stands may be expected to last. It is significant that with the exception of the Southern yellow pine region the virgin forests of the Eastern States

(4) Timber Depletion, Lumber Prices, Lumber Exports and Concentration of Timber Ownership. Forest Service, U. S. Dep't. of Agr., Wash., June 1920.

are about exhausted. According to the Capper Report, a recent survey of 5,400 mills owning or controlling practically the entire remaining virgin stand in the South, indicates that 4,419 mills or nearly 82 per cent will cut out in five years or less and the output of virgin timber will be reduced by nearly 50 per cent; that 5,254 mills or over 97 per cent will have cut out their lumber in 10 years or less, with a corresponding reduction in output of 78 per cent and that in twenty years the output will be only 3 per cent of the present.

Kirkland⁵ deduced from the records of the State Board of Equalization of the State of Washington, that the acreage of timber land in private holding in that state has been depleted at the average rate of 105,000 acres annually in the region west of the Cascades and 39,000 acres annually east of this range in the years from 1909 to 1919. These studies would indicate that at the present rate of cutting the private holdings in Western Washington will be cut out in 42 years and in Eastern Washington in 26 years or averaging the total for the state, all private holdings would be cut over in 35 years. However, on the basis of the expected increase in the rate of cutting that is almost certain to occur in the near future, he estimates that the timber in private holdings may be written off in 20 years, unless the state adopts policies that will insure continuous forest production.

Munger estimates that the area being cut over in Washington (private and public) is now proceeding at the rate of 160,000 acres and in Oregon at 100,000 acres annually.

That the annual cut on the Pacific Coast will increase is evident. The coast forests must supply the territory formerly supplied by the eastern and southern forest regions. The extent to which western forest products are invading eastern territory and replacing the eastern and southern products is shown in the following: According to Mason⁶, 35 per cent of the lumber cut in the Inland Empire went into the

(5) Forest Resources of Wash., U. of Wash. Forest Club Annual, Seattle, 1920.

(6) Timber Ownership and Lumber Production in the Inland Empire. Western Pine Mfg'rs Assn., Portland, Ore., 1920.

Mississippi Valley west of the river in 1914 and 33 per cent in 1918; 12 per cent into the Central States east of the Mississippi in 1914 and 19 per cent in 1918; 6 per cent to the Atlantic Coast in 1914 and 14 per cent in 1918. According to the Capper Report country yards in Minnesota carried about 85 per cent southern yellow pine stocks in 1905 and only 18 per cent in 1919. On the other hand the Douglas fir stocks carried increased from about 4 per cent to 75 per cent during the same years.

There is now every indication that during the next five years Douglas fir shipments into eastern territory will increase even more rapidly than in the past. Rates for water shipment through the Panama Canal have recently been established on such a satisfactory basis that large distributing centers for the East Coast, the Lake States and the Ohio Valley are now being established at certain Atlantic and Great Lake ports.

The figures given above do not take into account the new growth and the areas that are restocking. It may also be reasonably expected that lumber prices will gradually advance and that there will be a decrease in consumption with the advance in price. As soon as lumber reaches a price where substitutes can compete with it in the open market, they will replace the use of wood for many purposes. On the other hand, these figures do not take into account the annual loss to standing timber from fire, insects and decay. According to Mason the fire loss was 5 billion board feet in the Inland Empire in 1910, and 500 million in 1914. The decrease is largely due to better methods of fire prevention. Using the 1914 figure as a fair sample of what may be expected to occur in a bad fire year and comparing with the small loss during moister years such as 1911, 1912 and 1913, he estimates that the future average loss will probably be less than 300 million feet annually. Munger estimates that in the Douglas fir regions of Oregon and Washington almost 30 per cent of the original stand has been destroyed by fire. Insect depredations

are particularly bad in the white pine and yellow pine forests and appear from time to time as epidemics. Decay is very variable in different stands. In some cases of very defective timber the loss in yield may be as large as 25 per cent. There will also be a far greater demand for western lumber than indicated by the decrease in the cut of southern yellow pine. There will be additional heavy drains resulting from the decreases bound to occur in the other forest regions of the East and the increased demand in industries now using comparatively small quantities of western species. The pulp and paper industry may be cited as one of the most important of this class.

Owing to these conditions, the writer believes that the forests of the Pacific Coast region will be cut over in much less than 60 years, but the various sections of the region will not be cut over at the same time. What actually will happen in this region may be expected to be much as is now so plainly indicated for southern yellow pine. The output of the larger owners will increase very rapidly during the next few years. Many of the smaller holders of standing timber will cut out and ultimately a comparatively few companies will have practically a monopoly of the business. They will have sufficient standing timber to operate for many years, but the output must gradually decrease and prices rise as more and more of the mills close because they have cut out their holdings. In the light of such conditions as have been presented, Kirkland's estimate of a life of 20 years for the holdings now in private ownership in Washington may not be overdrawn. Of the western states, Washington will undoubtedly cut out first, Oregon probably will be next and Idaho third.

V.

With the exception of the mineral resources of the northern and southern extremes of the territory under con-

sideration, the forests have furnished the chief raw materials for its early development and up to the present have represented the most important resource over most of the region. Nowhere else in the world were there such magnificent forests as from San Francisco north. Many of the cities and towns of the region owe their rapid development and their present importance to the presence of the forests. Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Everett, Bellingham, the entire Gray's Harbor and Coos Bay regions, the towns of Northern California, of Idaho and Western Montana are even to this day more dependent upon the forest resources than those of fields, farm, fisheries or mines. In Washington the forest resources represent one-third of the value of all manufactures of the state. A fair conception of the general economic value of the forests to the region may be gained from a comparison of the statistics of the State of Washington as shown for timber, agricultural and manufactured products in the Report of the Census for 1914:

TABLE⁷

Value of Lumber and Timber Products Compared to Other Manufactured Products. Washington. 1914.

<i>Lumber and Timber Products⁸</i>	\$83,535,760
Flour and Grist Mill	\$23,665,382
Canning and Preserving ⁹	9,449,549
Slaughtering and	
Meat Packing	15,900,774
Dairy Products	11,807,897
	60,823,602
Total All Manufactured Products	245,326,000

(7) The census figures for 1914 are used here rather than those of a later year because the 1914 figures represent more nearly normal conditions. Abnormal price conditions prevailing since the war make price comparisons for the war and post-war years very unsatisfactory. Cereals, for example, show a decrease of 11.9 per cent in production of quantity but an increase of 134.3 per cent in value between 1909 and 1919. There has, of course, been a material increase in the total agricultural production during the ten-year period. A fair conception of this may be obtained from the increase in the amount of improved land in farms which is 11.9 per cent for the decade from 1910 to 1920.

(8) Does not include re-manufactured products such as cooperage, furniture, wooden ships, carriages, cars, etc.

(9) Includes vegetables, fruits and fish.

Forest Products equal one-third value of all manufactured products.

The above table shows without further comment the tremendous value of the lumber industry to the State of Washington. The importance of this is emphasized even more when it is known that about 80 per cent of this total annual value of the lumber and timber products goes into general circulation among the people of the state for wages and supplies and that 63 per cent of all the wage earners engaged in manufacturing in the state were employed in the lumber industry during 1909 and 56 per cent in 1914. The Washington forests may be taken as an illustration of the value of the forests to all the states of the Pacific Coast region.

In the light of the facts and figures presented the forest problem becomes the most important economic problem now confronting the people of this region. The importance of the problem rests upon two conditions. The first is the large economic value of the lumber industry, the other the large proportion of the land of the region that is almost worthless unless it is kept producing timber crops. It has been estimated that in Western Washington 50 per cent of the land is better adapted for forest purposes than for agriculture or grazing.

Munger estimates that in Western Oregon and Washington together there are 16,000,000 acres in both public and private holdings which are permanently best suited to forest crops. He also states that in this region there are, including virgin timber, cut-over lands, second growth and burned-over areas not now in agricultural use, a total of 25,000,000 acres capable of growing timber. It is also interesting to note that in Washington logged-off lands are being produced seven times as fast as they are being converted to farming purposes. A great deal of the agitation for clearing logged-off lands in Western Washington and Oregon is misplaced energy. With a cost of from \$150 to \$350 an acre for clearing and with market conditions for the products produced in this region as they are at present, the incentive to take up logged-off lands

cannot be expected to be very great. It would be more economical to grow a second forest crop on much of this land. The Inland Empire is estimated to contain $36\frac{1}{2}$ million acres or about 25 per cent of the area that is better adapted to forest growth than to any other purpose. In Idaho and Montana much the same condition prevails with reference to the rate at which logged-off lands are being settled. Miller emphasized this point in a recent address at Spokane, and pointed out that even in regions close to railway transportation, the lands are not being developed. Whitford and Craig estimate that British Columbia has 135,000 square miles that should be permanently put to timber production. There are no satisfactory figures available for California.

Of course, the above estimates are not all of them based on complete evidence. However, if Washington may be taken as indicative, recent observations seem to show that the amount of agricultural lands in the forest areas of the region is much less than estimated. Large areas in Western Washington, formerly thought to be agricultural in character are proving not to be so. This is particularly significant because as a rule agriculture follows lumbering and absorbs the labor formerly employed in the logging camps when the land is cleared. In the forest areas of this region this will happen to only a very small extent. It is no far guess to realize what the outcome will be, particularly on the west slope of the Cascades, unless steps are taken to keep that area growing forests. We shall lose what the timber resources are producing now in industry, taxes, and wages. No region can ever become great industrially with millions of acres of unproductive land. In this region where farm lands and civic centers are more or less regularly interspersed in checker-board fashion with non-productive areas the productive land will necessarily have to carry the burden for development and the taxes for the entire areas. Kirkland estimates that the State of Washington can produce 6 billion feet annually on the sustained yield basis, and Munger estimates for Western Oregon and Washington a

total of 9 billion board feet as the possible annual production. Mason estimates that under intensive forestry practice the Inland Empire can produce 3,720 million feet annually and that the present annual growth is 1,400 million feet. Mitchell estimates the total possible annual cut on a continuous basis for British Columbia at 13,197 million feet.

The Pacific Coast region needs a prosperous lumber industry and abundant forests. Without a sufficient lumber industry the new timber crops that can be raised on the non-agricultural and non-grazing lands will have no value and without the raw materials produced by continuous new crops we can have no lumber industry of importance in the future. *This does not mean that a curtailment in the production of lumber to husband the supply would be a good thing. On the contrary we should develop our lumber market to the fullest extent so that the old virgin forests which are now over mature and are producing practically nothing, because decay probably more than balances any increased growth, may be replaced by vigorous young stands.* If this old timber were gradually removed and new growth established, the land would again become increasingly productive. The problem can only be met by a proper encouragement of the use of wood and by immediate provision for reforestation. When it is known that the present stand of timber may be exhausted before a new crop of merchantable timber can be produced, the problem becomes particularly urgent. It takes an average of 60 to 80 years to grow a new crop of merchantable timber in the Douglas fir region and 120 years in the western yellow pine belt.

VI.

It must be evident that the forest conditions as presented in the foregoing sections of this paper show a need for drastic action. It is true that the statistics presented are not all of them based on certainties. They show, however, a need for immediate action with reference to 4 points.

- (1) Protection.
- (2) Investigation.
- (3) Education.
- (4) Legislation.

Protection: (1) Loss through fire, insects, and decay should be reduced to a minimum, (2) protection against fire on the cut-over lands is about all that is necessary to get reforestation in the Douglas fir region. There is no place in the world where nature has made it more easy to get ample reforestation on cut-over lands than in the Douglas fir region, or where the timber grows more rapidly. In this region it is not necessary to change our general methods of logging at all. The thing to do is to cut and remove the trees just as we have been doing, burn over the slashings at the best time during the first year after logging, then rigidly protect the area against all subsequent fires and nature will pretty nearly do the rest. Protection should be extended without further delay to cover all cut-over areas not of immediate importance for agriculture. In the redwood region reproduction is also very easily obtained, especially through the sprouting habit of the logged-off stumps. Yellow pine, white pine and the mixed forests of the Inland Empire regions are more difficult to reproduce and some special provisions are necessary to insure proper reforestation. Piling the brush and slashings after logging is recommended but there is some difference of opinion on that point. Usually from 3 to 5 seed trees per acre are left to reseed the area.

Investigation: The need for a thorough inventory of our forest resources is eminently illustrated in the attempt to get satisfactory information for this article. Much of the work had to be based on estimates and many of the available statistics often are not comparable. The same plea for more definite information is made by practically all students of the subject. We need a thorough inventory of our forest resources and their rate of growth. Of immediate importance for

the practice of forestry a careful study of specific areas with reference to the coordinated requirements of management and utilization is necessary. These individual area studies represent the first step toward getting the whole problem on a business basis. They represent the foundation upon which the system of forest management must be planned. While there is sufficient knowledge of the conditions in the Douglas fir region to begin practice on the sustained yield basis in certain localities, further specific studies in silviculture, fire protection, closer utilization and the financial aspects of forest management are necessary. Next to the extension of protection on cut-over lands these investigations represent the most crying need.

Education: The general campaign of education for fire protection has been good. This is amply borne out by the results, but there never has been any real, intelligent, systematic campaign of education for reforestation and forest management. The methods must be different from those employed in fire prevention because the problem is more complex. It has been said that although the foresters have been trying to educate the people concerning the needs of reforestation for at least twenty years they have got nowhere, and that now about all there is left to do is to pass drastic legislation. Why haven't they got anywhere by those methods? Because about all they have been doing is howling about the impending timber famine. The people have not been given any real information concerning the conditions and how they may be remedied. The majority of people don't know how simple it is to get reproduction and how sound the proposition is in its financial aspects. The layman still carries the stock phrases of "deferred returns," "protecting young trees during logging," "increased cost of logging," "long time investment," and so on, when as a matter of fact these are in their practical aspects for the most part untenable. A new system of educational propaganda is needed and the material must be presented in its regional aspects.

Legislation: The legislation of most immediate importance includes:

(1) Laws extending protection to all cut-over lands not immediately of agricultural importance.

(2) Appropriations for extended research of both a general nature and with reference to specific areas.

(3) Purchase of lands by the States for reforestation purposes and the establishment of active and technically efficient State Forestry Departments.

(4) An extension of the work in soil surveys in order that we may establish more definitely the areas of agricultural and non-agricultural value.

(5) Congressional and legislative investigations by special commissions supported by technical experts to report a definite program of procedure that will insure something more definite than these august bodies have accomplished in the past.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that our forestry problem is now one of the most important of the internal public problems, that from all indications it will not be solved unless the practice of forestry is carried out on the majority of our forest areas, including national, state and private lands, and that the steps to accomplish this must be taken immediately.¹⁰

(10) References and Authorities Consulted: (1) West Coast Lumberman, Timber Resources of the Great West, Mar. 15, 1918. (2) Smith & Pearson, Production of Lumber, Lathing and Shingles in 1918. Bul. 845, U. S. Dept. of Agric., Wash., April 1920. (3) The Copper Report. Timber Depletion, Lumber Prices, Lumber Exports and Concentration of Timber Ownership. Forest Service, U. S. Dept. of Agric., Wash., June, 1920. (4) Mason. Timber Ownership and Lumber Production in the Inland Empire. Part V. of a Series of Studies made by the Forest Service of the U. S. Dept. of Agric. Western Pine Manufacturer's Association, Portland, 1920. (5) Munger. Revised Timber Statistics for Ore. and Wash., West Coast Lumberman, Aug. 15, 1920. (6) Whitford and Craig. Forests of British Columbia. Commission of Conservation Canada. Ottawa, 1918. (7) Kirkland. Forest Resources of Washington. U. of Wash., Forest Club Annual, Seattle, 1920. (8) Mitchell. Speculative Estimate of the possibilities of Timber Production in B. C., U. of Wash., Forest Club Annual, Seattle, 1920. (9) Miller, F. G., What Forestry Requires in the Inland Empire. Manuscript Address, Spokane, Dec., 1920. (10) Winkenwerder, The Forests of Washington, Jour. of Geog., Madison, May, 1916. (11) Statement of the Summaries of the Assessment Rolls of the several counties of the State of Oregon for the year 1919 as Equalized by the County Board of Equalization. The State Tax Commission, Salem, Ore. (12) The Lumber Industry. Part I. Standing Timber. U. S. Dept. of Commerce and Labor. Bur. of Corporations, Wash., 1913. (13) Tables supplied by District 6, Office Forest Service U. S. Dept. of Agric., Portland. (14) Tables supplied by District 5, Office, Forest Service of U. S. Dept. of Agric., San Francisco. (15) The Timberman. Ore.-Wash. Lumber, 1918. Lumber Cut, Portland, May, 1919. (16) Winkenwerder. Forests and American History. U. of Cal. Chron, 1912. (17) West Coast Lumbermen's Association, Seattle. (18) U. S. Indian Service. Dept. of the Interior. Wash. (19) Dept. of Commerce, Bur. of the Census. Census of Manufactures 1909, 1914. Fourteenth Census of the U. S., 1920, Agric. (20) The Timberman, Portland, Ore., Apr., 1921.

THE CONVENT PORTRESS

By JAMES LAND ELLIS

The robin's song that thrills and breaks
In ecstasy on a high note
Would charm me, did I dare to go,
To look into the world and see
If maybe love would smile on me.
I have seen love—
Reflected.
The head high-held and pain-contracted eyes
And the dry throat, tense as the fingers
Hid beneath the drapery's fold—
Love's passing;
The startled flush under the drooping lash,
Tear-stained,
And curving arms atremble suddenly—
Love's birth.
Lovers I know aplenty:
The sweet maids that pass expectant
With joyous, winged feet
My unlocked door,
And fling me largesse of a hasty word,
Half-seeing;
And in their suit have come
Gay lords that sip derisively
But scorn to drain
Love's cup—
Whose taste I may not know—
Sometimes methinks I would suck out the lees
Could I but know
Love's taste—
Such have assailed the gate

With courtesies
And whispered mockings of my holy vow—
Whom I denied;
Likewise more honest and more ardent youths have
 sought them
Pleading;
Their breath hot with desire,
Their eyes afire in the pale moonlight
Kindled to pity—
Whom I refused with tears,
Though Love has never pitied me;
The worn and bruised in Love's sweet strife
I welcome, and to them unbar
The gate,
And ease their pain with little phrases
Gleaned from old precepts.
For me no pain, whose steps pass not
Beyond these holy walls—
No pain and no remorse—
Ah me!
Such pain might buy sweet dreams. . . .
Yet not for me,
Uncalled of Love;
My arms are empty and my heart untaught;
For me there is
But opening and shutting
Of a door.

MENTAL TESTS, THEIR USES AND LIMITATIONS

BY OLGA L. BRIDGMAN

Although mental tests of any sort have been in common use for but a comparatively short time, there are, at present, so many well known forms and revisions that some further explanation of the general subject seems necessary. Of these probably the best known are the Binet-Simon tests in one or another of their revised forms, and there is not yet unanimity of opinion as to which revision is most satisfactory for general purposes. These tests are designed to make an estimate of complex abilities and are regarded as measures of general intelligence. When first tried, the Binet-Scale was applied only as an individual test, but because of the time necessary to complete a single examination and the need to survey large numbers of individuals in a short period, as in school rooms, series of somewhat similar tests were later arranged to be used as group tests. By this means often hundreds of persons could be tested in the time required for a single individual examination, and where a school survey was desired the work could be carried on much more rapidly. The object of intelligence tests, in general, is to find the mental level of the person tested, and the results are expressed as "mental age," "intelligence quotient," or otherwise, according to the particular test used. Because of the opinion that lack of fluency in speaking and understanding English might interfere with the accuracy of the results obtained with the Binet scale, various efforts have been made, and with considerable success, to develop pictorial and performance scales, in which the use of language is very greatly reduced and in some instances dispensed with. Examples of pictorial tests are seen in the Beta test, developed for illiterates in the army; also in such tests as the Pressey series, the Myers tests, and the Porteus maze.

These tests are interesting and promise well; the greatest difficulty being their newness, and, hence, lack of standardization and exact knowledge of the functions which they examine. In addition to these there are such tests as the Healy-Fernald series, which do not obtain an intelligence level in terms of mental age, but which give results in general terms of ability. Then there is the Pintner performance scale which arrives at an intelligence level by the use of performance tests exclusively, and in which very little language need be used.

In addition to the above tests, all of which make estimates of highly complex mental processes, there are still in common use numerous tests of simpler functions or faculties, such as association, memory, attention, and many others. Because of the less concrete results obtained from most of these tests they are more often found in use in psychological laboratories than elsewhere, though some of them are incorporated into nearly all of the groups of tests mentioned previously.

Because of this variety, it is necessary to understand whether the test itself is to consist of a small number of short problems applied to a considerable number of persons at one time by an unskilled and often inexperienced examiner, or whether there is to be a wide range of tests, selected by a psychologist trained both in the theory and in the use of mental tests of all kinds, and experienced further in dealing with persons of all mental and social levels. Tests of the first sort may be of value in ranking roughly as to mental ability and in indicating extremes of defect or superiority, but serious error in individual cases is likely to occur. In the hands of the skilled examiner, the possibility of such error is recognized from the start and all results are scrutinized accordingly. In the hands of one, on the other hand, who may have read a book on mental tests or listened to a few lectures on the subject, the results are likely to be quite different. Such an examiner, filled with enthusiasm at the ease and apparent finality with which all humanity can be classified, after an examination

lasting fifteen or twenty minutes, may create considerable havoc and do serious injustice to some of the individuals so unfortunate as to come in his way, and may bring great disrepute as well upon all mental tests and testers.

Beside such tests as those already mentioned, some special comment should be made on the questions which go to make up the examination of the insane. Here great stress is laid on discovering facts of family and of social importance. The person's reaction to his surroundings, his ability to adapt himself to new and unusual conditions, his emotional life, his attitude toward persons and ideas—all of these facts are considered at length in the effort to construct for the examiner a knowledge of the personality or "mental make-up," as it is technically termed, of the patient being studied. The psychiatrist, indeed, finds so rich a field in this line of investigation alone that he almost always neglects the more exact methods of study of mental functions, and has been content to dismiss the matter of psychological tests as of little importance in comparison with the much more striking mental phenomena found in the insane. The psychologist, accustomed to the mathematical method of comparing and diagnosing, is quite naturally suspicious of the more casual methods of the psychiatrist, and perhaps because of the lack of cooperation and exchange of ideas, and a general distrust between the psychiatrist, who is nearly always a physician, and the psychologist, who very rarely is one, each has failed to do best even in his own special interest.

In one respect the work of the psychologist resembles that of the psychiatrist; that is, each makes use of the study of the conduct of the individual being examined; the psychologist observing and recording responses to definite fixed conditions; the psychiatrist collecting information and making observations covering much longer periods of time as a rule, but with chance conditions. If the psychiatrist could reduce his observations in the field of personality and feeling to results

which could be stated with even a small degree of mathematical accuracy, and if both the psychologist and the psychiatrist could fix the conditions for observation of the emotions by the development of tests in the field of feelings, comparable in exactness to intelligence tests, a great advance would have been made. Intellectual functions are, to be sure, much more readily tested than are the emotions, and this fact probably accounts for the singular lack of definite results in this latter very important field. Whether the emotional nature can ever be studied satisfactorily by these same methods has not yet been brought out, but the efforts made up to the present time are not at all conclusive.

The general problem of the psychologist, and the ideal for mental tests, is the discovery of the psychological factors involved in social maladjustment; that is, the selection, from all possible causes, of those elements which are psychological, either because of the individual's lack of ability to adapt himself to the particular conditions about him, or because of his inability to adapt himself to ordinary environment. To begin a study of this problem for any person requires, first of all, an understanding of the environment to which that person must suit himself; whether or not it is simple and such as to require no special capacity on his part, or whether it is so trying that only an individual of unusual adaptability could fill it successfully. Some advance has been made in the grading of homes, thus subjecting one element in the environment to an impersonal, mathematical scrutiny. Certain occupations have also been investigated with a view to determining the intellectual qualities which will make for the greatest efficiency. On the whole, however, study of environment is usually carried on in a very casual way. When one has learned as much as possible of the environment there then comes the study of the individual. The method of procedure in this respect has already been discussed and without doubt mental tests such as those in common use are of tremendous assist-

ance. When used in connection with a knowledge of the surroundings and training of the individual and of his physical condition, they cannot fail to indicate the general mental ability and to aid in the solution of many difficulties.

In the case of the person whose social failure is because of feeble-mindedness alone, the problem is relatively simple. Definite feeble-mindedness is not usually difficult to discover, and when it is present the person involved can only expect to succeed under the most favorable conditions, or with unusually careful supervision. In many instances, moreover, where bad social habits and tendencies have been acquired early in life, no environment can be provided in the ordinary community in which such an individual can succeed. Juvenile courts everywhere are thoroughly familiar with the utter hopelessness of trying to fit feeble-minded offenders satisfactorily into any surroundings. In working with this group a careful mental examination can give more reliable information in a few hours than can usually be had after years of casual observation.

The so-called "borderline" group is much more puzzling and uncertain. This is a group in which some degree of mental inferiority can be demonstrated, and whose members in the early enthusiasm over mental tests, were classified unquestionably as feeble-minded, or as high grade morons. With a more extensive use of tests, however, many instances were brought to light where individuals of this degree of intelligence were in every way socially successful; where their part in the community life was satisfactorily filled, and their ideals and standards in no way inferior to the average, and quite superior to those of many of their neighbors with better mental equipment. Obviously, then, social success or failure cannot depend entirely on mental level although mental inferiority doubtless is the largest determining factor in many cases. A person of good mental endowments may overcome the effects of bad surroundings, but for the "borderline" individual the environment in the early years of life will probably determine the future mode of life. A similar part may be played by charac-

ter abnormalities or defects. Mental tests with this group serve to point out to us those individuals who have a chance to succeed if they have a healthy attitude toward persons and things; a stability of the emotions, with good powers of inhibition, and a persistence which holds them steadfastly to a line of action until their goal is attained. These latter qualities depend upon a native strength of character, and somewhat on early training. Hence, to attempt to make a constructive plan for such a person, on the basis of mental tests alone, would be fruitless.

With the individual of normal intelligence, mental tests aid in that they can usually eliminate from the start the possibility that mental defect is the cause of the failure. Exceptions to this general rule are occasionally seen. In his own work, Binet points out that, "these diagnoses apply only to the present moment. One who is an imbecile today may, by the progress of age, become a moron, or, on the contrary, remain an imbecile all his life. One knows nothing of that; the prognosis is reserved."* Godard has many times since then pointed out that the age of the appearance of defect may vary greatly in different individuals, and experience certainly bears this out. Some mental defectives show their inferiority almost from birth in a general slowness of mental and physical development. Others show no peculiarity during the early years of life and may even make normal progress during the first years of school life, only to come to a sudden stop in the later grades. Still others may show no noticeable defect until a period later than this. Such results occur occasionally even when mental tests have been used to aid in the diagnosis. Hence, with apparently normal children a prognosis, though usually possible, cannot be quite sure. Only after a sufficient number of children of all grades of mental ability have been followed systematically from early childhood to adult life, with

*Binet, Alfred, and Th. Simon. *The Development of Intelligence in Children*. Translated by Elizabeth S. Kite. (p. 270)

the use of tests and careful observations, will it be possible to know just how valuable in prognosis tests of any kind may be.

With the child or adult who according to intelligence tests is normal there may be social failure for various reasons. Since intelligence tests, at their best, only sample various complex mental processes, it is quite possible that a child may suffer from some special disability which may not interfere with his making an acceptable score, and which may appear only when a later analysis is made of the tests in an effort to bring out particular tasks which have presented unusual difficulty. This indicates the desirability of adding to the ordinary intelligence tests certain equally well standardized tests for special abilities, in order that a more accurate estimate may be made of the degree of disability along any line than could possibly be done by means of observation alone, with the recording of impressions. It would seem obvious that every possible estimate of intellectual qualities, which can be reduced to mathematical standards, thus eliminating more and more the personal element on the part of the examiner, must be of value. For in judging mental qualities, perhaps more than in any other field, there are difficulties resulting from entirely incidental factors. As an illustration, many a child who is quick to respond, and who is active mentally and physically is mistakenly regarded as intelligent, while, on the other hand, the child who is diffident and sensitive, and who hesitates to respond quickly and confidently to questions, is often regarded as mentally deficient. Mental tests have already demonstrated this repeatedly and later results have also shown that when the teacher is once convinced that a child is intelligent, though diffident, a comparatively small change in attitude toward that child may result in a striking change in the school progress which it can make. Impressions as to mental ability are unsatisfactory and dangerous, especially when, as so frequently happens, they may determine the attitude on the part of a

superior toward an individual quite ready to accept any opinion of himself.

Further, when it has been established, both by tests and occasional achievement that an individual has normal or nearly normal intelligence, it may still be necessary to admit that socially and in his ability to adapt himself to his environment he is decidedly lacking. There may be some inability on his part to control undesirable impulses, or his general attitude towards persons and things may be such as to render his conduct unsatisfactory socially. Perhaps the larger proportion of the children brought to psychological clinics for study belong to this group. They may have been born with impulses too powerful for the average intelligence and environment to check or control, or else they may have been surrounded by conditions which failed to teach any appreciable self-control, or in a few cases the environment may have been so cramping and eepressing that any freedom was followed by a strong swing toward defiance of authority of any sort. The problem of the psychologist then becomes a difficult one. Tests of general intelligence or ability along any intellectual line fail to point out the difficulty. But the observation possible during the course of the examination may indicate peculiarities, especially to the examiner whose long experience with individuals has caused him to build for himself a conception as to what is a normal attitude toward the examination, and hence normal behavior. But a difficulty appears here. In the absence of tests or tried standards as to what should constitute a normal attitude during this short period of observation, the psychologist, whose clinical experience has usually made him far more familiar with abnormal than with normal attitudes, is likely to set his standards too low and so to be unable to see traits which may make for social failure or unhappiness. Or, on the other hand, since of a necessity he is seeking constantly for causes of failure, he may magnify unimportant characteristics which are common to most persons, and thus

again fail to attain his end. These difficulties would seem to indicate that the method, which is possible in the estimation of general intelligence, could very profitably be used in other fields. At present the tendency is strong to put too much trust in the results obtained from the use of mental tests alone. Brief series of tests, applied to large groups of persons at one time, giving a minute mathematical estimate of the intelligence of all the individuals tested, give a false impression that the examining and pigeon-holing of individuals is as simple and as certain as the measurement of lumber or of cloth. The use of such methods by one whose experience has taught him that tests, as we now have them, fulfill but a small part of the need, is of course legitimate, and where rapid surveys of a considerable school population, for example, are desired, brief, simple tests are of great value in grading and ranking children roughly according to mental ability.

The difficulties which have been encountered in the use of mental tests are such as arise in any new and interesting field of work. But the inaccuracies and the failures are not vital and cannot over-shadow the real results which have come from the effort to judge elusive mental abilities in an impersonal and scientific way. This very method of observation is comparatively recent in psychology and tests are themselves still in an experimental stage. The method, however, has proved itself of such great practical value, that there is small chance for it ever to be discredited. To be sure, standardization is inadequate even in those fields where there are many tests, and in some of the most important mental fields there are as yet no tests and no standards except those resulting from casual impressions. We are not at all sure just what we mean by *normal*, even in intelligence, and the borderline between the normal and defective is a vague and uncertain region. As to what constitutes a normal character or personality, our ideas are still more hazy, and a judgment of what type of character is best for the individual or for the com-

munity must vary with every attempt to make it. The study of the mind and its activities, so interesting to all persons and so tempting whenever simple methods can be found, should not be undertaken lightly. Doubtless as work progresses standards for psychologists will be set quite as carefully as standards for tests. At the present time, the greatest source of difficulty appears to lie in a lack of understanding, both on the part of those making the tests, and of those who use their results, of the real purpose of the tests, and an impatient desire to find a short cut and an infallible scheme for the solution of all mental problems. Mental tests represent, for the most part, a patient and painstaking effort to replace inaccurate methods of observation, which may vary with every examiner, with a method which largely relieves the examiner of the need for considering his own attitude or mood; or to put it briefly, unscientific methods of study are being replaced by methods long familiar in other lines of scientific work. Although mental processes are much more elusive and vague than is matter, still the same type of study has been productive of such valuable results that its feasibility can scarcely be denied. What is needed, is further reduction of observation to exact terms, not to the exclusion of other methods, but rather to verify and supplement those observations which have been made. In this way we may be spared some of the errors which have been made in the past, and in addition to this we may arrive at our conclusions so much more rapidly than would otherwise be possible, that considerable progress may be made in the ideal which we hold, to adapt each human being as quickly and as well as possible to his environment, or when adaptation on the part of the individual himself is impossible to regulate his surroundings to fit his special needs.

The Melting Pot—A Nation in the Making: A Symposium

RACE MIXTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

By E. A. HOOTON

The anthropological conception of race is based upon physical criteria. A race is a great subdivision of mankind, the members of which are characterized by the common possession of the same combinations of certain physical features. These physical features are, for the most part, variations in the form, structure, and proportions of organs or parts of the body. The form of the hair, whether tightly curled, wavy, or straight, the shape of the head, whether long and narrow or short and broad, the shape and proportions of the nose, the amount of projection of the jaws, the color of skin, hair, and eyes, are all variations of racial significance. Size variations, such as those of stature and limb length, are also considered.

These and other characters form the basis of race differentiation. But no one feature is peculiar to a single race. It is the combination of character variations which establishes the racial type. Most race characters are heritable, though to some extent capable of modification by environment. It follows that identity of race indicates community of blood and descent from the same ancestral stock. Associated with the morphological features which comprise racial inheritance are physiological and mental similarities, probably equally heritable, but more difficult of identification. And tending to obscure racial criteria are an omnipresent multitude of minor individual variations, partly hereditary and partly environmental.

Race is thus determined on the basis of physical type. It implies nothing as to nationality or language in the majority of instances. It is therefore incorrect to speak of "the German race," "the French race," or "the Italian race," because the peoples of these nations are not racially homogeneous but consist of diverse racial elements in both relatively pure and mixed forms. It is correct to designate all persons characterized by straight or wavy hair, ruddy complexions and blue eyes, long heads, narrow noses, and tall stature, as members of the Nordic race, whether they be Scandinavians, Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen or Dutchmen, and quite regardless of the languages they may speak.

Race mixture then, implies miscegenation between diverse physical stocks, regardless of language and nationality. But all races are not equally divergent one from another. The woolly haired, long headed, broad nosed, black skinned and tall Negro race is less far removed from the curly haired, long headed, broad nosed, brown skinned and moderately tall Australian race than it is from the straight haired, round headed, yellow skinned Mongol race with its medium nose and short stature. The three basic European races have in common moderately wavy or straight hair, relatively light skins, relatively high and narrow noses, and non-projecting jaws. They may be said to constitute allied races. The Northern or Nordic race is distinguished from the other two by its fairer skin, lighter hair and eyes, and greater stature. The Mediterranean or Southern European race is distinguished by darker complexion, hair, and eyes, by short stature and slender build. The Alpine or Central European race differs from the other two in its round headedness or brachycephaly, and in addition is distinguished from the Nordic race by its darker complexion, hair, and eyes, and inferior stature, and from the Mediterranean race by somewhat lighter pigmentation and sturdier build as well as by minor differences.

Race mixture is then of two kinds: (a) mixtures between

racess allied or relatively close to each other, (b) mixtures between races far removed or extremely diverse. Problems of a similar nature arise from all types of race mixture, but they are increasingly serious the further removed from each other the intermingling races are. These problems may be stated in the form of questions: (1) What is the extent of race mixtures? (2) What are the biological results of race mixtures? (3) What are the psychological results of race mixtures? (4) What are the sociological results of race mixtures?

Scientific knowledge of the results of miscegenation is neither full nor exact. As the study of race mixture is largely one of heredity the anthropologist is seriously handicapped by the impossibility of laboratory experimentation. The geneticist is able to control his material; he selects different varieties of rats, guinea-pigs, or fruit flies; he crosses them at will and in a comparatively short time is able to study the effects of the crossings in numerous generations of descendants. The anthropologist has to make his observations on uncontrolled mixtures; he rarely can observe more than three generations simultaneously; the exact racial elements concerned in the primary cross are often impossible to ascertain and are usually somewhat mixed. As a result of long continued mixtures between contiguous races most individuals of whatever race exhibit some physical traits which are the result of ancestral admixture with foreign racial stocks.

An adequate study of race mixture involves an investigation of such magnitude that it cannot be carried out satisfactorily by individual unsubsidized scientists. It is a task necessitating governmental cooperation. But, up to the present time, no government has recognized the importance of such investigations.

In order to ascertain the extent of race mixtures in the United States it would be necessary to analyze a representative sample of all marriages contracted within a given period in order to isolate those in which the principals belonged to dif-

ferent races or to nationalities which might imply racial difference. Then the principals in such marriages would be investigated and assigned to their proper racial class. In the Hawaiian Islands Mr. Louis R. Sullivan has analyzed a sample of 14,569 unselected marriages with respect to race and nationality of the contracting parties. He finds that racially mixed marriages constitute 17.8 per cent of all marriages tabulated. In the case of Americans 51.7 per cent of men marry into foreign racial groups and 19.9 per cent of women. But the term "American" has no precise connotation as to the racial status of the individual so designated. American men in this archipelago outmarry principally with Portugese, European-Hawaiians, and pure Hawaiian natives, in the order of frequency given. Almost four per cent of American women marry Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians.

A very rough idea of the extent of race mixture in the United States between allied races may be gained by an examination of census statistics in regard to the number of native whites of "mixed parentage." "Mixed parentage" implies that one parent is of native birth and the other of foreign birth. But this does not necessarily mean that the parents are of different races. And it leaves out of consideration marriages between native born whites of different racial antecedents. The number of native whites of "mixed parentage" amounted in 1910 to 7.3 per cent of the total white population and 6.5 per cent of the total population. When we consider the undetermined number of racial mixtures in the parentage of native whites of native parentage and of native whites of foreign parentage, we may possibly conjecture that the total offspring of mixed marriages among members of allied white races amounts to at least 10 per cent of the white population. But this is a mere guess. It is notable that the percentage of increase of native whites of mixed parentage has declined from 78.9 in 1880-1890 to 19.3 in 1900-1910.

This would seem to indicate that the tendency for native whites to marry foreign whites is decreasing.

When we consider the extent of mixtures between races far removed from each other we are forced to rely upon census figures as to the absolute and relative increase of the "black" and "mulatto" population as classified by the census. In 1850 the percentage of "mulattoes" in the total negro population was 11.2 and in 1910 it had increased to 20.9. In 1910 2.2 per cent of the entire population of the United States was the result of race mixture between negroes and whites. This is probably an underestimate. Whether the increase of the mulatto class in the negro population is due to the superior fertility of mixed marriages as compared with marriages of pure blacks, or due to an increased number of mixed marriages cannot be said. We are also ignorant of the extent to which the mulatto population has been increased by back crosses of mulattoes with the negro stock. But it is clear that the negro population of this country is rapidly becoming infused with white blood.

Only three-tenths of one per cent of the population of the United States enumerated in the census of 1910 was Indian. But of the total Indian population 35.2 per cent was of mixed blood, 33.1 per cent being of white and Indian origin.

The query as to the biological results of race mixture involves the consideration of the fertility of the crosses, the vitality of the offspring, and the inheritance of physical characters. There is no indication that sterility results from the crossing of any of the races of mankind. On the contrary there is a good deal of evidence pointing toward an increased fecundity as a result of race mixture.

Little is known as to the comparative fecundity of marriages between members of allied races. From the vast numbers of racially mixed types in Europe and in the United States it is probable that such marriages are very fertile.

No conclusive investigation of the fertility of negro-

white marriages in the United States has been made, but from the rapid increase of the mulatto class, according to the census, there is reason for believing that such marriages are more prolific than racially pure marriages in either of the parent stocks. In the years 1890-1910 the mulatto population increased 81.1 per cent and the pure black population only 22.7 per cent. The increase in the white population during that period was 43.5 per cent including immigrants. It seems probable that the mulatto class is increasing at least twice as rapidly as any other class in the population. This argues either a high birth rate and low death rate among mulattoes or a vast increase in mixed marriages.

Fortunately the report on Indian Population compiled from the Thirteenth Census was prepared under the direction of an anthropologist, Professor R. B. Dixon of Harvard University. From this report it may be learned that in 1910 the proportion of marriages between full-blood Indians resulting in no issue was 10.7 per cent. Of mixed marriages only 6.7 per cent were sterile. The average number of children resulting from full-blood marriages was 4.5 and from mixed marriages 5.1. The evidence of increased fertility as a result of mixture is thus conclusive.

In Hawaii the birth rate in mixed marriages between whites and Hawaiians is 52.23 per thousand; in pure Hawaiian marriages it is 24.75 per thousand, and in American and British marriages only 13.14 per thousand. The birth rate in Asiatic-Hawaiian marriages is similarly in excess of the birth rates in racially pure marriages of the parent stocks. Where records are available as to the fertility of crosses between races far removed, they generally show birth rates at least equal and often superior to the birth rates in either parent stock.

The vitality of offspring resulting from race mixtures has often been declared to be inferior to that of either parent race but there is little evidence of the truth of such assertions.

The effect of living conditions upon the death rate is very marked. The present writer has no data on the death rate among mulattoes in the United States. In 1917 the death rate in the registration area was 22.5 for negroes, including mulattoes, and 13.7 for whites. From the rapid increase of the mulatto class and from the more favorable environmental conditions under which the mulatto lives as compared with the pure negro, it may be conjectured that the death rate of mulattoes is probably intermediate between that of negroes and that of whites. •

In the case of Indian-white mixtures 79 per cent of all children born from such marriages tabulated in the Thirteenth Census were alive in 1910. But only 69.7 per cent of the offspring of full-blood Indian marriages survived. In general the greater the amount of white blood included in the mixture, the greater was the vitality of the children. It does not appear whether this is due to better conditions in the home or greater virility of the offspring.

In Hawaii the death rate was 32.29 per thousand for the offspring of pure Hawaiian marriages analyzed by Sullivan; in marriages between whites and Hawaiians it was 15.09, while for Americans and British it was 7.15. Asiatic-Hawaiian mixtures showed a death rate similarly intermediate between the high rate of pure Hawaiians and the much lower rates of the pure Orientals.

It seems reasonable to infer that, as a result of race mixtures between races relatively far removed from each other, there is an increase in the number of progeny as compared with racially pure marriages and a death rate intermediate between the death rates of the parent racial stocks. But there is great need of further information on this subject. In the case of Hawaiians, according to the results of Sullivan, the rate of natural increase on the basis of birth and mortality statistics is 42.14 for Asiatic-Hawaiian mixtures, 38.14 for white-Hawaiian mixtures, 25.23 for Portugese, 24.00 for

Japanese, 15.63 for Chinese, and 5.94 for Americans and British. Among pure Hawaiians there is a decrease of 13.48 per thousand. From these figures the predominance of the racial hybrids over the racially pure is obvious.

Anthropologists are beginning to acquire some knowledge of the inheritance of physical characters in racial crosses. It is clear that Mendel's law of heredity operates in most of the characters investigated, but in a very complex way. Extensive family investigations are necessary before precise conclusions may be formulated. The supposition that a person who is half negro and half white (a true mulatto), for instance, will invariably show the same yellow-brown mulatto skin color is incorrect. A second generation mulatto may be very dark or very light or intermediate. Such variations may occur within the same family. Homogeneous blending of physical characters does not invariably occur.

Although it may be true in general that the increase in the proportions of white blood in a negro-white cross brings about a closer resemblance to the racial type of the white, such a generalization does not hold good for all individual cases. A recessive mulatto may be lighter than a dominant quadroon. There are, in all probability, numerous examples of individuals having a quarter or even more than a quarter of negro blood who present only slight indications of negroid physical characters and these not readily discernible to the layman. It is very difficult for an expert to detect negro admixture in many cases where it amounts to as much as one-eighth. That many persons of white and negro ancestry in whom white strains predominate are being absorbed into the white races of the country is an almost unavoidable inference. There are certain facts which lend plausibility to the hypothesis that the majority of primitive and generalized racial characters tend to behave recessively or to remain latent, in crosses with races exhibiting more highly evolved and specialized physical features. But the verification or disproof

of such an hypothesis is impossible without extensive investigation.

The problem of the psychological results of race mixtures provides an immense and profitable field for scientific research, as yet almost completely unworked. The determination of mental capacity of racial hybrids is obviously of fundamental social importance. It has often been asserted without proof that hybrids between races inherit all of the undesirable mental qualities of the parent stocks and none of the superior qualities. This asseveration is almost certainly erroneous. But when inter-racial marriages occur only in spite of a social and often a legal interdict, such marriages are likely to be contracted mainly by the inferior elements of one or both parent races. It is hardly reasonable to expect offspring of such matings to transcend the heights of human intelligence.

The present writer believes that matings between closely allied races tend to bring about a greater mental as well as physical variability than is found in the pure parent races. The various mental gifts and disabilities of the contributing racial stocks are redistributed in new combinations in such a way as to produce individuals some of whom unite within themselves the superior qualities of both races, while others receive a more equitable assortment of mental characters, and still others are predominantly unfortunate in the allotment of mental inheritance. Such results, undoubtedly, depend upon the individual mental variations of the parents. The chances for the production of supermen are certainly increased by intermixture of allied races if one subscribes to the belief that highly evolved races have developed each its special mental capacities along different lines, together with special disabilities, major or minor. Much circumstantial evidence in support of these theories might be adduced, but in the present state of knowledge, the proof is not at hand.

A good many general facts point toward the conclusion

that when two races of unequal cultural attainments and presumably of unequal mental endowments intermingle, the resulting hybrids exhibit a superior capacity for the assimilation of higher racial culture than that displayed by pure members of the backward race. This may also imply a mental capacity in the hybrid offspring superior to that of the less intelligent parent race. Mulattoes in the New World have generally attained a greater measure of material prosperity and have entered more frequently into the higher occupations than have pure negroes, according to present information. A larger proportion of mulatto children receive an education and the number of illiterates is relatively less than in the black population. To what extent this may be due to the superior environmental advantages which supposedly are accorded to part-whites by the dominant white races, is not clear. This question is undoubtedly capable of solution by the use of perfected intelligence tests in studies of race mixture.

In the absence of adequate scientific data on the subject of racial differences in mental capacity, assertions in regard to the superiority or inferiority of this or that race are mischievous and strongly to be condemned. Cultural achievement may be a measure of mental capacity but it is largely affected by environmental conditions, favorable or adverse. To stigmatize a race as inferior solely upon the basis of a backward material culture is altogether unfair. Similarly there is a total lack of scientific evidence which would justify the exploitation of the all-around superiority of any particular race. Racial differences in mentality probably exist, but as yet they have not been accurately measured and appraised as have been the more tangible physical differences with which they are probably associated. The determination of the mental characters of the various races is therefore a necessary preliminary to any appraisal of the relative mental position of racial hybrids.

The sociological results of race mixtures are, in a meas-

ure, more readily ascertainable than the biological or psychological consequences of such mixtures. There is no acute realization of physical and mental dissimilarity between members of allied races such as exists between races further removed from each other. Consequently mixtures are likely to take place unobtrusively with no very obvious social consequences. The offspring resulting from such mixtures occupies no anomalous social or physical position and is readily absorbed into either of the parent stocks. In the case of mixtures between immigrants into this country of different race and nationality it is reasonable to suppose that the result would be a breaking down of sentiments and customs binding the children of foreign-born parents to their ancestral countries. This would facilitate the process of assimilation into the older American stock. It would help to obliterate the "hyphen."

When a hybrid offspring arises from the intermixture of races extremely diverse physically the sociological results of the mixture are often more serious. For such diverse racial elements, even when united under a common government, do not as a rule, intermingle on terms of social and economic equality. One race is usually dominant over the other in these respects. The offspring of the mixtures between such races are physically distinct from both and occupy an anomalous social position. They may maintain their separate identity but they are more often forced to amalgamate almost exclusively with the socially submerged race. A bitter feeling of the injustice of their lot naturally results. Participating to some extent in the environmental advantages of the dominant race, this hybrid class may surpass the less fortunate parental stock in education and economic position, and in social and political ambition. Driven back upon the submerged parent stock such mixed offspring foment social and political discontent. If members of any race select as mates individuals of a different race, such matings should be made

on terms of social equality and the offspring should reap the benefit of such equalization.

The results of race mixture in the United States are not merely a subject of academic curiosity. This country cannot afford to remain longer in complaisant ignorance of the nature and consequences of phenomena which will affect largely its future welfare.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO TO AMERICAN LIFE AND CULTURE

By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

It takes but little reflection to realize how far the Negro element in American Life is part of the very essence of its being. History, art, literature, industry,—on no one of these can we write for America without dwelling in some degree on the Negro. While most people would admit this, they at the same time assume that the place of the Negro in American culture is not that of a contributor, but rather of a passive victim or brute fact. This is not true. If we take his simplest contribution, manual toil, his significance to America has been tremendous. In a day when to Europe foreign trade was principally a trade in luxuries, designed for the whimsical rich and consequently more or less of a gambling operation, there came four great crops which, because of their wide demand among the mass of people, furnished for the first time in modern days a stabilized basis for foreign commerce. These were sugar from the West Indies, rice, tobacco and cotton from the mainland of America. Modern foreign trade was built upon these crops, and to them was added a trade in labor itself—the slave trade. The Negro then, both as an article of commerce and as a laborer upon basic articles of commerce, laid the foundations of the new world.

From these beginnings in the 15th and 16th centuries his

importance as a laborer increased. The economic development of America would have been impossible without him. and its cultural and political growth far different. Through Negro labor, America bridged long centuries over which other continents had toiled. His toil was not only positively efficient and valuable, but negatively his wide employment as common laborer and servant has for centuries released for other employment millions of persons, and upon this fact, more than any other, is based the phenomenal speed of American growth.

As time went on the Negro became the back bone of the farming industry in the South and today in a vast country where he forms only one tenth of the population he furnishes one third of the farmers and farm laborers and one fifth of the actual farm operators in the land.

Nor has the Negro confined himself entirely to the grosser forms of brute toil. He has done much as a skilled and semi-skilled laborer and even in the higher regions of invention he is not unknown. Granville Woods made some of the basic inventions on the telephone, Elija McCoy invented the foundations of the present system of locomotive lubrication and Matzeliger contrived the machine for making shoes which is today the basis of wholesale shoe manufacture.

The Negro woman, particularly, has played a curious and interesting part in the economic and spiritual life of America: slavery compelled her to be at least as large a contributor to the support of the Negro family as the man and very often she contributed more in care and labor to the training of the children. After emancipation she tended to become to a greater degree than white women economically independent, so that today nearly 39% of the colored women are in gainful employment as compared with 18½% of the white women.

The contribution of the Negro has not been confined, however, to his labor. Perhaps even greater than his contribution of toil has been his gift to art in America. With the single exception of the rather small contribution of the Amer-

ican Indian, the only real American music is Negro music and that which, past and present, has been based upon it. The Negro folk song was based upon African themes and rhythm, but was not simply African; it was developed by the African in America into new and poignantly beautiful forms and is today known and sung throughout civilization. From it Steven Foster in earlier days and composers like Powell in our day have developed notable musical contributions. Moreover Negro composers themselves like Harry Burleigh, Rosamond Johnson, Nathaniel Dett, Will Marion Cook and others in America, and Coleridge Taylor in England, have raised a splendid superstruction. The peculiarly African gift of syn-copation and rhythm has swept the modern world not only in song but in dance.

Negro America has produced a series of notable singers but they naturally are but slightly known outside of the Negro world itself. The so-called "Black Swan" in 1851 had a voice with a range greater than that of Jennie Lind but of course its possibilities were only partially trained. The Fisk singers and other bands who rendered the Negro folk songs were widely heard in Europe and America just after the Civil War and our tenor, Roland Hayes, has just sung before the King in England.

On the stage, in spite of equally great drawbacks, we have had Ira Aldrich who was regarded in Europe as one of the greatest tragedians of the day, equal in his line to the great Rachel. He was decorated by the Emperors of Russia and Austria and made a member of several academies of science and art. In our own land we have had Bert Williams and Charles Gilpin and on the minstrel stage have given the world a peculiar and characteristic kind of stage humor and comedy.

The American Negro has his painters like Tanner, known throughout the world, and sculptors like Edmonia Lewis once widely known, but now forgotten. In literature the gift of the Negro divides itself naturally into two parts. First his pecul-

iar situation and tragic history has been the inspiration of perhaps a larger mass of American literature than any other single series of facts in American life. We have only to think of the writings of Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Nelson Page and George W. Cable. One could not on any basis of selection pick out ten great American masterpieces without including two or three like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, based primarily on the Negro. On the other hand there has arisen an important American literature written by Negroes including Phillis Wheatley of Revolutionary days and Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Charles W. Chesnutt of our own day. There are a number of biographies which have been widely read, especially those of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. Between these two main branches of literature by the Negro we may note a growth of work like that of Joel Chandler Harris, where folk lore of purely Negro origin has been put into literary form by a white writer.

If we turn now to the indefinite but important matter of general social uplift we must first remember that emancipation was not simply the gift of white America to the passive Negro. As persistent fugitives from slavery, agitators, contributors to anti-slavery funds, organizers and helpers in the Underground Railroad, the actions of Negroes were decisive in making the abolition of slavery possible. The anti-slavery campaign without Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass would have been impossible.

The Negro also has done much for the religious life of America. He has been a vivid exponent of religious emotion, an organizer of churches on a wide scale and a pioneer in missionary effort as in the case of George Lisle, the first American missionary to the West Indies and Lott Cary, an early missionary to Africa. Negro preachers have ministered to white congregations and had great success as in the case of Lemuel Haynes in New England, John Chavis and Lunsford

Lane in the South. As legislators Negroes in Reconstruction times were first in establishing the public school in the South, in admitting to the ballot classes of white men who had never been allowed to vote before and beginning a new system of social legislation. They even tried in South Carolina to deal with the distribution of land along lines which we now see were far-sighted and important.

From the beginning of American history down to the present time the Negro has in a peculiar way and by his own action and expression been a sort of test and measure of democracy in America. If democracy finally triumphs in the world as a feasible method of human government it will be because in America the Negro was found capable of participating in democratic government and was, after much travail and oppression, accepted as a fellow citizen.

In general ways there have been several American Negroes like Benjamin Banneker, Booker T. Washington and William Stanley Braithwaite who in many lines, quite outside their racial identity, have contributed much to American culture.

Finally a word might be said as to the special fields of exploration and defense in which the American Negro has been notable. One must not forget that the only living human being who has stood at the North Pole is an American Negro and that nearly 400 years before that event Estevanico was the first person of the eastern hemisphere to discover Arizona, New Mexico and the Southwest. There were Negro helpers and laborers with Balboa, Cortez and Pizarro. If it had not been for Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian revolt there is every reason to believe that the Mississippi valley could never have been acquired by America and certainly not for the nominal sum which Jefferson paid for it. It was the Haitian revolt that drove France out of the Mississippi valley. On the other hand the Negro not only helped to find the land but to defend it and colored soldiers have been decided factors in

the Revolutionary War, when Crispus Attucks was the first to fall; the War of 1812, on Lake Erie and at New Orleans; the Civil War, where 200,000 Negro soldiers were, according to Lincoln, indispensable to victory; the Spanish American War, where they saved Roosevelt at El Caney, and the World War. In the World War there were a thousand Negro American officers, 200,000 soldiers and stevedores who saw service in Europe, and 200,000 others in the camps of the United States.

THE COMPLEXITY OF THE AMERICANIZATION PROBLEM

By HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

If we compare a language map of Europe with a nationality map of any industrial city of America, it is immediately obvious that within one city's limits there is found the task of working out a way of harmoniously living together which the same people have not worked out when they have had all of Europe in which to do it. In all of these cities there is also a substantial minority who call themselves Americans and who assume to run the city according to their own standards. In 1915 more than half of the children in the schools of Cleveland did not speak English at home, and the same was true of Boston, New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Toledo, Chicago, and a multitude of other cities large and small, and yet the average American citizen never questions for a moment that they were English speaking cities.

It is not generally understood that in addition to variety of nationality, every political party in Europe is represented by these people in our American cities. It is no exaggeration to say that one can learn more about Europe in one summer in Chicago than in a year in Europe. I know for I have done it. We have, then, in addition to the adjustment of for-

eigners to the Americans, the more difficult problem of their adjustment among themselves.

To the mind of native Americans, the foreign born (including their children) are a unit. This is a harmful error because it prevents us from understanding many simple and natural reactions among our immigrants. It is also absurd because, with the exception of the French, Germans and Russians, there is not a single homogeneous people in Europe equalling in number the total of our immigrants. Instead of being a homogeneous group they have only one homogeneous characteristic, that is the common necessity of making adjustment in an alien environment.

The problem of Americanization is no simple thing, but is full of variety, with a large proportion of the elements involved still unsolved. In fact, it is merely the localization of most of the problems of the human race. It cannot, therefore, be approached with any panacea; often when a specific remedy is applied in one direction it aggravates symptoms in another.

In general there are two distinctive aspects of the immigrant which need always to be kept in mind: first that every immigrant has an historical, political and cultural background, and second that as a human being he must find his way into the economic-social life of America. On the one side we have the problems of Europe, and on the other the social problems of contemporary life. Health, housing, nutrition, employment, ignorance, religion, crime, urban vs. rural, the family, political responsibility or irresponsibility, child welfare, and poverty are not essentially nor peculiarly Americanization problems, and yet since the immigrant is a human being they are always present. Since these two aspects are involved in our view of the immigrant we are likely to be confused and see causal relations where none exist.

For dealing with immigrant backgrounds, principles and practices are needed involving more wisdom and patience than have hitherto been displayed anywhere in the world; unfortu-

nately in most Americanization programs this part of the problem has been entirely ignored. For dealing with the other aspect of the problem we need the best practice in social welfare, because the conditions are complicated by the variety of languages and customs.

The most serious error that has hitherto been made is the identification of Americanization with the teaching of English, and a train of evils will result for a long time. The furore for teaching English can be explained in part by the fact that the one foreign language with which we were most familiar was German, both because of the great numbers of German-speaking people, but also because of the extent to which it was taught in the schools. The result was that the emotions of antipathy aroused against the Germans were also directed against their language, which typified to our minds all that was non-English. This was most unjust, for some of the staunchest supporters of the American cause did not speak English; and when they were subjected to coercion in the matter of their language, they resented it both for its injustice, and because it reminded them of the tyrannies of Europe which they had sought to escape in America.

A very large proportion of our immigrants have come from countries where it has been the policy of the government to try to take away one national individuality and substitute another. This was the experience of the Poles who were subjected to the efforts of Germanization on the west and of Russification on the east; also of the Czechs or Bohemians under Austria, and the Slovaks, Roumanians, and Croatsians under the Magyars. In addition, for almost all of them, there have been frequent wars which have driven them into national self-consciousness and suspicion. In all these experiences the question of language has been much in the focus of attention and was always the symbol of solidarity. The result is a special devotion to language which is almost religious in its nature. This is over and above the normal attachment which every one has to his own language both because it is familiar,

and because it is the only medium through which he can express himself freely.

Often English classes have been synonymous with Americanization, which to the immigrant meant not cooperation in American life but the giving up of self-respect and that for which his people had often struggled even unto death. The linking together of Americanization and English has been most unfortunate, for it has diverted attention from the real reason for learning English, namely that it is so convenient and of such economic advantage that for his own sake every one who lives in America should have it. It has no magic value in enabling one to understand democratic institutions; often the result is quite the reverse. Both the Czar of Russia and the German Emperor knew English perfectly, as do many of our most reactionary capitalists.

The desirability of knowing English is shown by the initiative of the immigrants themselves in getting it. According to the census of 1910, out of 13,000,000 immigrants ten years of age and over, only 3,000,000 were found to be non-English-speaking. "About 7,000,000 non-English-speaking immigrants had learned our language sufficiently well to be recorded as English-speaking in the census of 1910, and must have acquired this knowledge largely outside the schools, for we may not conclude that it was acquired in the evening schools, since the figures of attendance for this agency in that period are quite negligible. Let us recognize the fact that the majority of our immigrants of non-English-speaking origin have learned to speak English, but have acquired this knowledge outside the schools."*

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the advantage of knowing English; but what ought to be emphasized is the advantage to the immigrant himself, not to America; the American side of it will be safe if the immigrant is well adjusted. The situation is illustrated by the case of the Polish boy who left the parochial school and went to a public school;

*Schooling of the Immigrant. P. S. Frank V. Thompson. Harpers.

when the priest came to see about it the principal said, "We must work together to make him a good American," and the priest replied, "We want to make him a good Pole." The principal was nonplussed. If he had said, "We must work together to make him a good boy," the priest would have agreed; if they succeed America has no need to worry. When President Masaryk was in Cleveland in 1918 there was a big Czechoslovak demonstration; in the evening he said that since he had noticed that when the Czechoslovak airs had been played by the band the people showed the same respect as when the American airs were played he had concluded that they had become good Americans by first being good Czechs.

We see that this is the application of the principle of self-determination to individual members of a national group and is the means through which proper self-expression is secured, and that is as essential in the case of the immigrant in America as it is in the readjustment of the relations of nations in Europe. In religion we have accepted the policy of tolerance, even though in practice we often depart from it. We must next have tolerance for nationality, which is generally intimately related with religion.

It was stated above that often a remedy for one evil may aggravate another. This is seen in the relation of children to parents where the children have adopted the notion that all that is American is good, and all that is foreign is bad. They reverse the normal relationship of the superiority of parents over children and think that because they can speak English freely and know American ways they are superior to their parents. The result is complete loss of respect for parental authority, and the tendency to run wild. The juvenile courts have a great disproportion of children with foreign parents. In considerable measure this is due to the fact that the disrespect for a foreign language and religion prevailing among Americans is accepted by the children as the attitude which they should assume. By stimulating respect instead of disre-

spect for parental values, such as old world language, religion, history, art and literature a better preparation for American citizenship is made than can possibly be secured by emphasizing purely American values.

There is one other aspect of the background that must be taken into consideration, an individual rather than a national one. The immigrant comes to America with a variety of attitudes from an environment where social control was very definite and powerful; the influence of custom, public opinion and the priest were rarely opposed. But here in America they often do not exist. The peasant comes to the city and enters a big industry where there is not a single familiar working condition; he may live in a men's boarding house and never go to church. It is not strange that many become entirely demoralized in the process of adjustment. It is not the result of depravity but of a strain greater than the individual can bear. Not infrequently it results in insanity.

The social worker, teacher, or employer who deals with the immigrant can make much greater progress if he knows the facts with regard to native backgrounds. It is amazing how much it means to a homesick immigrant merely to have you know the geographical region from which he came and even ever so little of his history and language. Most of the knowledge needed is not easily obtainable from books, but easily from talking with the people themselves. This involves learning the prejudices and politics of each nationality which can be done by patient and sympathetic listening and observing.

We hear much complaint because the immigrants live in segregated neighborhoods. This also should be understood as being a normal and inevitable mode of life. It is not at all peculiar to immigrants. Everyone tries to live in a congenial neighborhood, where people of the same sort as oneself live. With the immigrant it is also in part self-protective, but mostly it is because he feels happier with those who know his cus-

toms. It is absolutely futile to inveigh against this mode of living. It will continue until those who live in this way recognize that they are losing advantages and come to want them. Then they will move out. In fact this movement is going on all the time, as the immigrant sloughs off the old and takes on the new.

On the social welfare side the Americanization problem is, as was suggested above, nothing unique; but it is more intense, and requires special tact and patience. The European family is more patriarchal than the American, and the women of the family having fewer contacts outside the home learn English more slowly and are more timid. The task of the social worker is to reduce this timidity and gradually to bring the immigrant to a knowledge of what the community offers that can be appropriated to advantage and without loss of self-respect. Most of the common people of Europe have become habituated to suspicion; this must be disarmed. Most Americanization work has tended to increase this suspicion. Fortunately experience with the foreigner has been changing the attitudes and methods of Americanizers from domination to cooperation and sympathy. It is possible that out of our practical experience in adjusting diverse nationalities, religions, and mores on a relatively small scale we Americans may yet develop some workable principles which will help European countries and the world at large to learn the lesson of living together in harmony and for mutual advantage.

SOME PHASES OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

By WARREN S. THOMPSON

The immigrants to the United States have always gone to the places where they have found the opportunities best suited to their inclinations, capacities and economic resources. In

the early years of the settlement of our country this meant that most of them must go directly to the land and earn their living by tilling the soil. Even before the Revolution, however, some of the seaboard cities felt that they were becoming the dumping-ground for the poor from Europe and complained of the burden of caring for the immigrants who came without the means to establish themselves on the frontier. By the time the Celtic Irish began to come in considerable numbers—from about 1820 on—our eastern cities had commenced their industrial and commercial expansion and the building of canals and railroads was demanding an abundance of cheap common labor. These conditions led many immigrants to go to the factories in the cities and to the construction camps, immediately upon their arrival in this country. This was particularly true of the poorer immigrants who did not have the means to establish themselves on the cheap lands of the West. As a result we find that, in 1850, 59.1% of our foreign born were living in New England and the Middle Atlantic States while only 37% of the total population lived in the same area. It is a safe assertion, although it cannot be proved by statistical evidence, that the majority of the foreign born in these North Atlantic States were engaged in non-agricultural pursuits.

After the Civil War the conditions were more favorable for the westward movement of population and this is reflected in the decreasing percentage of immigrants who remained in the East. In 1870 only 45.3% and in 1890 only 42% of our foreign born population lived in the North Atlantic States—a falling-off of over 17% in 40 years. By 1910 the percentage had risen to 49.8%. In 1890—the first year for which we have accurate data—61.8% of our foreign born lived in cities of 2500 or more; twenty years later this percentage had risen to 72.2. It was about 1890 that the better agricultural lands of our public domain were exhausted. The opportunity to establish oneself on the land at a nominal cost was no longer

open either to the native or the immigrant and consequently the movement of immigrants to rural communities became gradually slower; it has almost ceased since 1900. Another factor leading to urbanization of the immigrants was the cheap food in the cities due to the over-expansion of agriculture which took place during the eighties and early nineties.

There is no need to suppose, as many do, that our recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, with the exception of the Jews, are naturally more given to city life than our earlier immigrants. The facts mentioned above will sufficiently explain their congregating in our large cities. For the last 20 or 30 years, trade, manufacture and mining have offered better opportunities to our immigrants than agriculture, and it is but natural that most of them should go into these lines of work. It is quite likely that the Jews have a predilection for city life. They have been forced to live in cities for centuries and do not know how to till the soil. It is not to be expected that they will see opportunities in agriculture at a time when so many of the boys and girls brought up in the country fail to find attractive opportunities there.

The complete data from the 1920 census on the distribution of our foreign born population are not yet available but it seems quite likely that the tendency towards urbanization which set in about 1890 has not been checked. In fact the War intensified the pull of the economic forces already making for increased urbanization. Besides, the immigrants living in the rural districts are older, on the average, than those living in the cities (in 1910 only 28.4% of the foreign born of New York State were 45 years of age or over while 51.1% of the foreign born of Wisconsin were 45 years of age or over) and naturally have a higher death rate. Thus the foreign born of the cities become a steadily increasing proportion of all foreign born both by a greater addition of newcomers and by reason of a lower death rate. Although each census shows an increasing proportion of our foreign born in the larger cities

we should bear in mind the fact that they are not now as large a proportion of the total city population as they have been in the past, because of the very rapid growth of our total urban population. Census figures just issued show that New York City's foreign born population decreased from about 40% of the whole in 1910 to about 35% in 1920. If, therefore, the problem of the distribution of immigrants is more serious now than it has been in times past it is not because of an increase in the ratio they bear to the people among whom they have settled. It must be due rather to the characteristics of the immigrants themselves, to the rapid increase in their total numbers up to the outbreak of the War and to the urbanization of the nation as a whole.

The first question which arises then is whether our recent immigrants have any *natural or hereditary* characteristics which make their distribution more difficult than that of earlier immigrants. It seems to the writer that no good proof of this has ever been brought forward. With the exception mentioned above, viz., the Jews, our immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are largely peasants. They come from the land and would probably settle on the land if they had the opportunity. To assume that they have a *natural* tendency towards city life is entirely gratuitous. Again it is often assumed that they are more clannish than the older immigrants—that they stick together in groups which cannot be penetrated by American ideas and consequently are harder to assimilate. As the assimilation of the older immigrants has taken place and they have become diffused throughout the nation we are prone to forget that they too settled, both in the cities and in the country, in large groups and that the foreign born who also spoke a foreign language were not assimilated easily in the past. In fact only a small proportion of the non-English-speaking foreign born among the immigrants from northwestern Europe were ever truly assimilated. Foreigners in a strange land generally seek groups of their fellow nation-

als and always will. If there is any marked difference between our earlier and more recent immigrants in this respect it is not due to any greater *natural* tendency towards city life nor to any greater *hereditary* clannishness.

This is not to say, however, that the problems of immigrant distribution are not more difficult and more pressing today than they were a generation ago. The writer believes that they are, but he believes that the increased difficulty is due to the following differences *extrinsic and environmental* in nature rather than *intrinsic and hereditary*; (a) a much smaller proportion of our recent immigrants speak English than was the case 20 or 30 years ago; (b) there are much greater differences between the cultural background of our recent immigrants and that of ourselves than existed at an earlier time when practically all of our immigrants came from northwestern Europe; (c) the foreign-language groups in our cities are much more numerous and are much larger than they were 30 years ago; (d) we have been rapidly becoming an urban people and with increased urbanization have arisen a host of problems, new to us and difficult of solution, which are complicated enormously by the presence of great bodies of non-English-speaking people.

It requires but a cursory examination of the facts to show that the proportion of English-speaking immigrants to the total number has diminished very rapidly since 1900. This, in itself, means that a larger proportion of our earlier immigrants could mingle with the native population on somewhat equal terms than is the case at present. An examination of the distribution of the English-speaking immigrants also shows that they quickly made use of this ability to mingle with the native population. They are more evenly distributed among the whole population than the foreign-language groups which entered the country at about the same time and which in other respects had equal opportunities. These English-speaking groups found here a situation to which they could

adjust themselves with little effort. Their distribution was rapid and offered almost no problem, comparatively speaking. They did not find it necessary to settle in large groups where their friends and relatives who had preceded them to this country could help them and give them advice in getting a start. It is true that the Irish did congregate in rather large groups in some of our cities but not to the same extent that some of our more recent immigrants do. The reason for their more rapid distribution seems to be not so much because the Irish went to the land as because they had no language barrier to overcome. It is not necessary to stress this difference between our earlier and our recent immigrants, for even the extreme advocates of the easy assimilability of the southern and eastern Europeans grant that speaking a foreign language raises a barrier between the immigrant and the native.

It would be folly to deny that the differences in cultural background between immigrants and natives are no greater today than they were 30 years ago. (By cultural background I mean the traditions, customs, habits, and sentiments of political life, of economic life, of religious life, of family life, of individual and social morality, as well as the national or racial habits of thought arising from the literary and artistic productions of a people, in a word, all those thoughts, feelings and sentiments which enter into the formation of a practical philosophy of life.) To recognize the problem arising from these cultural differences as more difficult of solution than the one our fathers had to face involves no assumption of inferiority on the part of our later immigrants; it is simply to recognize that the greater the total differences in the social orders from which the different groups of a population come the more slow and difficult is the process of their mutual adjustment.

In the very nature of the case sympathetic understanding, mutual toleration and hearty cooperation between the different groups and classes of a population depend upon unim-

ation of the attitudes of mind and points of view of each group by the others. It seems so obvious that all of these socializing processes are slowed up when there are considerable differences in the cultural backgrounds of groups that it needs no extended argument to prove it. There are many, however, who talk and write as though they thought that, until biological differences in the mental endowments of the recent immigrants and the natives are proved, the problems of distribution and assimilation of our immigrants remain the same as they were a generation ago. The point needing emphasis here is that the problem of distribution becomes more difficult and therefore more urgent as the people to be distributed (the newer immigrants in this case) and the people among whom the newcomers are to be distributed come to feel that the differences between them are so great that they want nothing to do with one another.

The third factor in making the problem of distribution more urgent today than formerly is the fact that our foreign-language groups have become larger and more numerous with the passing of the years. The great size of many of these foreign-language groups makes it practically impossible for the older and more sluggish of the immigrants to get into contact with such Americanizing influences as do exist. They are too thoroughly insulated to feel the currents of thought and sentiment which are moving in our life. They are naturally conservative of their accustomed modes of living and find within the boundaries of their national colony the opportunity to preserve their Old World culture almost entirely intact. Then, too, the excursions which they make into the outer world of the city only give them glimpses of the most tawdry and superficial characteristics of our city life.

Furthermore, as these foreign-language groups have become larger it has not only become possible for the immigrant to satisfy practically all his needs and interests within his group of fellow-countrymen but it has also become increas-

ingly difficult for him to break away from this group no matter how much he may desire to do so. Less and less is the need of making adjustments to life in this country brought home to him because he does not find himself in situations where his Old World adjustments will not fit. The large foreign-language group thus operates to separate a large percentage of these newer immigrants so completely from American life that there is little chance of many of them ever being more than transplanted foreigners.

Because the difficulties of assimilation increase with the size of the foreign-language groups the problem of distribution is steadily becoming more urgent, for proper distribution is a pre-requisite of assimilation. I would not be misunderstood: it is not to be expected that foreign-language groups will ever settle among us except in colonies. Moreover, it is not desirable that they should, for the partially assimilated relative or neighbor can do more to start the new member of his family or his lifelong friend on the right road than a native American can even though he can speak their tongue. The newcomer has confidence in the people from his own village whom he has known from childhood. Their suggestions are sympathetic and are easily understood; their opinions have the force of the prestige of their longer residence here and the evident improvement in their economic conditions. An American with the best will in the world, making the same suggestions, would be regarded with suspicion. For these reasons and others which there is not space to adduce here the writer believes that there has been much ill-considered agitation against the settlement of our new immigrants in colonies of their fellow-nationals. It is only when these colonies become practically impervious to influences from the larger community around them that they become retarding influences in the process of assimilation and consequently the problem of a better distribution becomes acute. Another matter in this connection which should always be borne in mind is that the

problem of the dispersion of foreign-language groups is not to be solved by transferring it from the city to the country. The writer has had considerable opportunity to observe immigrant groups in the country as well as in the city and it is his conviction that assimilation goes on more slowly in the former than in the latter. A group of foreign-language immigrants in the country can live more completely to itself—having fewer contacts with native neighbors in near-by communities—than can such a group in the city. There are rural communities in which the children of immigrants and even the grand-children have grown up without being in the least Americanized. It would be hard to find similar cases in the city.

The fourth difference mentioned above making the problem of distribution of immigrants more difficult and pressing than it formerly was, viz., the changes which have taken place in our economic and social life during the last 25 or 30 years, in the direction of increased urbanization, can only be touched upon here. With the rapid expansion of our industrial life we were certain to be brought face to face with many new and complex social and economic problems. It was inevitable that as our economic life became more complex, social and economic relations of every sort should become more intricate, and therefore more difficult of adjustment. Classes were certain to become more fixed as economic opportunity, both in the city and in the country, became less open. Rural and urban interests could not but clash as the city drew to itself not only an increasing proportion of the population but a vastly disproportionate share of the wealth of the nation. The old simple, personal, relations of an agricultural democracy were bound to pass away and a condition of semi-anarchy reign until something could be devised to replace them. Under such conditions it is not strange that we find a great many people running after strange gods—socialism, communism, anarchism, etc., etc. Great masses of people in the country as

well as in the cities have come to feel that the promises of democracy have not been fulfilled because a relatively small proportion of our population, composed of shrewd and ruthless men, has manipulated the profit-taking system for its own benefit regardless of the public welfare. All this was certain to come to pass sooner or later because of the economic and social changes which were going on. Almost no one foresaw these changes and if they had been foreseen it is doubtful whether the course of events could have been changed. We do not yet know how to control such mighty forces. We should bear in mind the fact that we were bound to see great changes in our social order, even if we had had no immigration, when we hear people fasten the blame for most of our social and economic ills upon the immigrant. There can be no doubt that the presence of great bodies of foreign born has complicated the whole situation. To a certain extent the foreign born have also been a direct cause of the development of our social and economic system in its present form because they have been easy to exploit economically and to manipulate politically.

Since the social order into which the immigrant of today is thrown is far more complex than the social order of a generation ago the problem of his adjustment to it is becoming increasingly difficult of solution. The policy of *laissez faire* with regard to distribution and assimilation of immigrants will no longer work as satisfactorily as it formerly did. It is time, therefore, that we made a careful study of the distribution of immigrants as it affects their assimilation. Upon the findings of such a study we should base our plans for their distribution. In this way only can we solve the problem. Most plans suggested for immigrant distribution have been too simple. They would merely transfer the problem from the city to the country. Furthermore they have been proposed without adequate consideration of what it would mean to the nation, from the standpoint of race stock, from the standpoint of economic development, from the standpoint of political insti-

tutions, from the standpoint of social institutions and from the standpoint of national progress, to have a rapid-breeding foreign population with low standards of living settle on the land. Until we have carefully investigated the effects which a foreign agricultural population is likely to have upon all phases of our national life we should be slow to endorse plans for their distribution based upon the belief that our problem is solved if the immigrants are fairly evenly distributed geographically.

The bill restricting immigration which Congress has just passed seems to the writer a step in the right direction. It is to be hoped that we shall make use of the breathing space it will give us to study some of the newer phases of the problem of immigration so that we shall be prepared to formulate a definite national policy when the question next comes before Congress.

INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND AMERICANIZATION

BY A. B. WOLFE

Americanization is merely a new term for assimilation, a process which students and social workers for years before the war were urging upon an indifferent public as a necessary safeguard to American culture and American unity. The immigrant, for social and economic reasons, lived in isolation from the current of American life and ideas, segregated among his own kind. The great mass of Americans were content that he should so live. They did not wish to come into contact with him. He was the great industrial asset. That was enough. He performed the heavy, dirty, low-paid work which the native American and the older, Americanized immigrant would not do—and was regarded with complacent contempt. He was a means to an end, and we were the

end. Little was demanded of him except servile obedience, unless it was that he should not disturb our self-satisfied American philistinism by intruding his old world culture upon us. This was not the piously avowed creed, but it was essentially our attitude and practice. Most Americans were not interested in Americanization, those of the East because the immigrant was to them what the Negro is and always has been to the South, those of the West because, with local exceptions, there was not enough admixture of segregated immigrant populations to attract attention.

The war changed things. We suddenly discovered the hyphenated American and the foreign-language press. We conceived a lively interest in the attitudes of immigrant races. We became slightly hysterical. Incidentally, as the immigrant stream was cut off and tens of thousands of brawny workers left us to join the colors of their respective native lands, we discovered how much we had been relying upon the ceaseless inflowing tide of European ready-made workers to man our mines and railroads and factories. And then we were chagrined when the immigrant worker began joining the unions, and taking advantage of the law of supply and demand in the labor market.

For after all the immigrant was getting some Americanization. Through the thick membrane of class distinctions, race prejudices, and industrial stratification, a slow osmosis was going on. The immigrant did want so much of American good things as he understood—not only the conventional “freedom,” and education for his children, but the silk shirts, the high-heeled shoes, and the Victrola which are—or at least were—regarded by the great American middle class, that reputed heart of the real America, as emblems of respectability. He did want, what the United States Government semi-officially announced through the National War Labor Board to be his due, a wage sufficient to maintain himself and family “in health and reasonable comfort.”

There came the rub. It is a question whether this very fact of an already partially accomplished Americanization is not a cause, equal in weight with our avowed fear of foreign languages and hyphens, in the present intense interest, at least in certain quarters, in "Americanization."

No satisfactory definition or criterion of Americanization has been given. Perhaps none can be. America means many different things. We have much talk of American ideals, and think that assimilation means in a general way inculcation of loyalty to those ideals. But what are they? Are they the attitudes of "Main Street?" Or of Mr. Gary? Or the *New York Times*, or *The Freeman*?

Theoretically the "American standard of living" is one of our common ideals, but it is not one to which we have called the immigrant in other than a somewhat Pickwickian metaphysical sense. The American skilled worker has been interested in the immigrant's standard of living only as it was a competitive threat to his own. And in practice how many American business men, farmers, or professional men are willing to pay the price of an American standard of living for the millions of unskilled foreign-born industrial employees? Are not the demands of labor and the high wages it is receiving the cause, almost the sole cause, of high prices, from passenger fares to smoking tobacco? Ask any business man.

Theoretically, also, democracy is one of our ideals. But we are beginning to see that there is a large element of the doctrinaire in it and that our practices do not altogether coincide with a reasonable approximation to our professions. The immigrant sees this too. We have prided ourselves on our free citizenship and political democracy. But the immigrant soon learns, however patriotically he may attend citizenship courses and with whatever promptness he may take out his naturalization papers, that there is an immense gulf between political democracy and industrial autocracy. He feels, if we

do not, the difference between our conventional patriotic complexes and the attitudes of the industrial foremen and managers who determine his destinies.

The central experience of the immigrant lies in the field of industrial relations. This fact is of crucial significance to an understanding of immigrant psychology and to the task of assimilation. To the extent that he finds in those relations a cold-blooded, impersonal, and calculating autocracy, exercised with what either seems to him indifference to his rights or with what he thinks is the chicanery of welfare departments, he finds himself the victim of a system, to the interpretation of which only his European experience as an army conscript gives him a clue. The shock to him of such a change from the intimate community interests and personal fellowships of his native peasant village is profound. He cannot find in naturalization and in political citizenship a moderating counter-stimulus to that shock, even were they capable always of giving it, because he has to live here long enough to establish his eligibility to citizenship. And in that time the industrial environment has been all-powerful in establishing his ideas of what America means to him. If he does not find some implications of the American ideal of democracy in his industrial relations, he will either not find them anywhere, or he will jump to the conclusion that the whole matter is American bunk—from which conclusions to I. W. W.-ism is a short and logical step. If Americanism means democracy, and democracy is not clap-trap, then that democracy must be functional. That means that in industrial communities it must determine the spirit of industrial relations, and must not be interpreted in any doctrinaire fashion of eighteenth century competitive individual rights. If industrial relations are of an arbitrary and autocratic type, directed and determined by men who lack the democratic spirit, a psychological conflict of no mean proportions is set up.

If Americanization is to be not class propaganda inim-

ical to any worthy interpretation of democracy, but a unifying and integrating process designed to reduce crude materialistic individualisms and put in their place a real cooperative spirit for the commonwealth, it must first of all take cognizance of the industrial conflict and of the divergent psychologies of the conflicting industrial interests. It must realize clearly that its problem is more economic than political or literary—fundamentally economic in fact.

It would be a mistake to assume that industrial administration, any more than political, can be carried on effectively by a process resembling Jacksonian democracy. Authority and responsibility are indispensable. While a considerable element of democratic procedure can doubtless be injected into industrial management, and while collective bargaining is thoroughly in accord with the principles of representative democracy, it is not the machinery of management, but its spirit, that counts. Where the immigrant is regarded merely as so much "labor" to be hired and fired at convenience, and expected to accept whatever wages and conditions of working and living are offered to him, the democratic spirit is wholly lacking. For democracy, rightly understood, precludes the right of any individual or class to regard any other individual or class primarily as means rather than as ends. Yet this is precisely the position in which the attitude of the American employer puts the immigrant; and it is the attitude which causes a transfer of the immigrant's resentments at Old World political and military despotisms to American industrial relations.

It would be easy to overestimate our knowledge of the part played by instincts in industry. But little reasonable doubt can be entertained that men instinctively desire a degree of self-direction, of community spirit, and of self-expression both in their relation to the community (whether the village or the shop) and in their work. How far modern industry atrophies or represses the instinct of workmanship is a moot

point. Few will hold, however, that under the current ideals and practices of management, industry gives legitimate scope to the other instincts mentioned. Chronic repression is the result of the autocratic spirit in industry. It releases instincts of combat which create the collective conflict psychology dominated by class spirit and colored by headlong hatred for the whole system in which the worker finds himself.

It follows that those who wish to Americanize the immigrant should be conversant not only with industrial conditions but with the possible implications of psychoanalysis for their problem. Individuals suffering from a collective consciousness of chronic repressions are likely to prove recalcitrant material for the more conventional programs of Americanization.

Whatever common American ideals we may have are overshadowed, so far as the problem of Americanization is concerned, by economic conflicts which run on lines by no means coincident with racial demarcations. For this reason assimilation to any really functional ideals and attitudes not common to all classes in western civilization at large seems a present impossibility. Conflicts of economic interests and viewpoints inevitably lead to divergent conceptions of Americanism and to conflicting programs of Americanization. We need then an interpretation of American ideals applicable to the industrial situation. And it is of some importance to know who is attempting to furnish that interpretation.

At the present time the most intrusive claims to the right to state our ideals are being made by the business interests. Perhaps, in view of the solidity of their control of our affairs, they have as good a right to this presumption as anyone. It may be doubted, however, whether they are sufficiently expert psychologists to perceive the probable reaction of the industrial immigrant worker to their conceptions of American institutions and their idea of what Americanization should accomplish.

Be that as it may, the only two classes who today know what they want are the business men and the radical wing of the workers. What the radical wants is *not* American self-made-man democracy, the devil take the hindmost, and the right to work at somebody else's terms. But this is the business man's ideal. What he wants is a copious supply of labor with living standards low enough to be compatible with quitting school at fourteen, with long hours, periodical and salutary unemployment, a tractable disposition, and low wages. Above all, he wants a laboring population proof against the disturbing blandishments of the "agitator." This is essentially what Americanization means to him—at least if we can fairly judge by the flood of "Americanization" literature that reaches our desks from the merchants and manufacturers associations, the open shop associations, and the chambers of commerce.

It is fairly evident that Americanization which is at the same time thoroughly honest and American has to steer its way between Scylla and Charybdis. It may be that reactionary individualism will eventually push this country into socialism; if that event takes place it will represent a profound change in American sentiment and outlook. It is safe to say that, in the absence of uncompromising conflicts of class interest and of the myopic insistence of individualistic reactionism upon principles which the great mass of the workers will not continue to accept, it would take a long time to argue America into the active conviction that socialism can be the avenue to the American ideal. On the other hand, it should be equally evident that if Americanism is to mean the open shop, and the uncompromising insistence upon the right of every man to run "his own" business as he sees fit, Americanization of the immigrant—or of the American worker—is not to be an easy task. It can be only a mind blinded to facts, unrecognizant of the psychology of the workers, and obsessed with the archaic formulas of eighteenth century natural rights and

American frontier individualism, which can suppose that the immigrant worker comes to us so untouched by European politico-economic thought, or can be kept so isolated from the growing body of sentiment of self-respect and collective aspiration among the working classes in this country, that he will accept without some cynical reservation the current business-class prescription of what Americanism means. In brief, the program of an honest, rational, and worthy Americanization is being set back immeasurably by the transparently selfish attitude, if not the palpable chicane, of much of the Americanization propaganda emanating from business sources.

The real task of Americanization involves the Americanization of certain native Americans quite as much as it does that of the immigrant. It does, that is, unless we are to interpret Americanism not as dynamic and progressive but as something as static and atavistic as ex-Senator Joseph W. Bailey's "American Party," for instance, would have it. If the immigrant is told that Americanism means equality before the law, justice, and self-government, and happens to work in a Utah mining town where the Episcopal Bishop of the state is told "You can start a church here if you want to but it will have to be on Company land and the Company will reserve the right to see that no objectionable doctrines are preached," or goes through a steel strike in that Pennsylvania town where "Jesus Christ himself couldn't make a speech here!", that immigrant's response to Americanization overtures is not likely to be cordial.

Nor does it seem probable that postal censorships, deportations of radicals, industrial spy systems, and the popular business-class habit of calling every effort to secure collective action among the workers and every manifestation of working-class self-respect "radicalism," "socialism," or "bolshevism," using those terms as opprobrious epithets, are practices well calculated to attract the immigrant to the business ideal of

Americanism. It is just possible, also, that teaching the immigrant to read English will enable him to read "bolshevist" literature in two languages instead of one, and make it that much easier for "agitators" to bring him into the un-American fold of organized labor.

Boomerangs are dangerous weapons. It is doubtful if they should be widely introduced for American use.

Perhaps, after all, the best thing we can do is to diminish as far as possible the discrepancy between our professions of political liberty and our actuality of made-in-America industrial autocracy, and let the immigrant alone. It would be better that he Americanize himself in his own way than that our clumsy efforts should intensify a class conflict psychology already intense enough even here.

BOOK REVIEWS

OUR LITERARY ARISTOCRAT

The Age of Innocence. By Edith Wharton. Appleton.

The note of distinction is as natural to Edith Wharton as it is rare in our present day literature. She belongs to the "quality," and the grand manner is hers by right of birth. She is as finished as a Sheraton sideboard, and with her poise, grace, high standards, and perfect breeding, she suggests as inevitably old wine and slender decanters. The severe ethical code which Puritanism has bequeathed to her, and the keen intellect which has made her a critical analyst, increase her native distinction; and the irony that plays lambently over her commentary, adds piquancy to her art. She belongs to an earlier age, before a strident generation had come to deny the excellence of standards. No situation which she has conceived in her novels is so ironical as the situation in which she herself is placed; shaken out of an unquestioned acceptance of the aristocratic world to which she belongs, she turns her keen analysis upon her environment, and satirizes what in her heart she loves most.

The Age of Innocence is perfect Whartonian. It is historical satire done with immaculate art, but though she laughs at the deification of "form" by the van der Luydens of Skuytercliff, and the tyranny of their rigid social taboos, she loves them too well to suffer them to be forgotten by a careless generation. She has painted them at full length, to hang upon our walls, where they lend historical dignity to the background of the present and utter a silent reproof to our scrambling vulgarities. New York society of the eighteen seventies, with its little clan of first families that gently simmers in its own dulness—it would be inelegant to say stews—provides a theme that exactly suits Mrs. Wharton's talent. She delights in the make-believe of the clan, in "the Pharisaic voice of a society wholly absorbed in barricading itself against the unpleasant," and she half regrets an age whose innocence "seals the mind against imagination and the heart against experience." She herself, of course, will not defend herself against reality by a decorous denial, but she likes too well many things in that world to be harsh or angry with it. Against this background of the clan she projects three figures who come perilously near to realizing a quite vulgar situation. Between May Welland, physically magnificent but mentally equipped with no

more than the clan negations, and Ellen Olenska, a clan member who has freed herself from its provincialisms by a European experience that ends in separation from her Polish husband, and whose "disgrace" rocks New York society till the clan rallies to her defense, stands Newland Archer, a third member of the clan, who has played with books and ideas without liberating his mind, who is shocked into naturalness by the more vital Ellen, endeavours to break the ties of clan convention, but is held fast and ends his rebellions in a mood of ironic abnegation. There are no scenes, no vulgar jealousies or accusations, nothing to offend the finest sensibility. A few frank phrases sound almost startling in their context of reticent pretense, but they do not really startle. The book unwinds slowly, somewhat meagrely, with much analysis and little vivacity of conversation. In an environment of dull and selfish respectability, how could there be vivacity; with no ideas, no spontaneity, no intellectual sincerity, it is idle to expect vivacity. The formal routine and hinting gossip wrap themselves like a boa constrictor about the characters and squeeze the naturalness out of them. Nevertheless the story never lags and is never dull. The skill with which dulness is made interesting is a triumph of art.

But when one has said that the craftsmanship is a very great success, why not go further and add that it doesn't make the slightest difference whether one reads the book or not, unless one is a literary epicure who lives for the savor of things. What do the van der Luydens matter to us; or what did they or their kind matter a generation ago? Why waste such skill upon such insignificant material. There were vibrant realities in the New York of the seventies, Commodore Vanderbilt, for example, or even Jay Gould or Jim Fiske. If Mrs. Wharton had only chosen to throw such figures upon her canvas, brutal, cynical, dominating, what a document of American history—but the suggestion is foolish. Mrs. Wharton could not do it. Her distinction is her limitation. She loathes the world of Jim Fiske too much to understand it. She is too well bred to be a snob, but she escapes it only by sheer intelligence. The background of her mind, the furniture of her habits, are packed with potential snobbery, and it is only by scrupulous care that it is held in leash. She is unconsciously shut in behind plate glass, where butlers serve formal dinners, and white shoulders go up at the mere suggestion of everyday gingham. She belongs in spite of herself to the caste which she satirizes, and she cannot make herself at home in households where the mother washes the dishes and the father tends the furnace. If she had lived less easily, if she had been forced to skimp and save and plan, she would have been a greater and richer artist, more significant because

more native, more continental. But unfortunately her doors open only to the smart set; the windows from which she surveys life open only to the east, to London, Paris, Rome. She is one of our cosmopolitans, flitting lightly about and at ease with all who bear titles. And this the stay-at-home American secretly resents. What are titles to him, and for that matter, what are the vulgar rich of New York? Let the newspapers exploit them, for that becomes their vulgarity. But for Mrs. Wharton to spend her talents upon rich nobodies is no less than sheer waste.

Since we are quarreling with Mrs. Wharton let us go through with it and suggest another irritation that arises from less creditable, but quite human sources. She unconsciously irritates because she reveals so unobtrusively how much she knows and how perfect is her breeding. She pricks one's complacency with such devastating certainty; reveals so cruelly one's plebeian limitations. Her readers are always on pins and needles not to appear out of her class. It is impossible to be easy and slouchy in presence of her poise, and it is hard on us not to let down occasionally. We cannot always be mentally on the alert. It was inevitable, to fall back upon an illustration, that her dilettante hero should have gone in for Eastlake furniture, as Mrs. Wharton assures us that he did. But the easy way in which she assumes that the reader will understand her casual reference to Sir Charles's endeavour to revive a "sincere" furniture, puts one to scrambling to recall that Eastlakeism was the polite counterpart, in the seventies, of the robust rebellions of William Morris against a dowdy Victorianism. If Mrs. Wharton had only let slip the fact that she once wrote a book on household decoration, and "got up" on the Eastlake movement, it would have reassured us, and made us feel that she is a common mortal like the rest of us who have to "get up" on things. Which criticism, of course, arises from mere petulancy and self-conceit.

With her ripe culture, her clear and clean intelligence, her classical spirit, her severe standards and austere ethics, Mrs. Wharton is our outstanding literary aristocrat. She has done notable things, but she has paid a great price in aloofness from her own America. There is more hope for our literature in the honest crudities of the younger naturalists, than in her classic irony; they at least are trying to understand America as it is. "You'll never amount to anything, any of you, till you roll up your sleeves and get right down into the muck," commented the one plebeian in the book to Newland Archer, who "mentally shrugged his shoulders and turned the conversation to books." Mrs. Wharton too

often mentally shrugs her shoulders over America. That she should ever roll up her sleeves and get down into the muck is unthinkable.

—V. L. P.

HOW TO LIVE

Democracy and Ideals: A Definition. By John Erskine. George H. Doran Company.

Professor Erskine's little volume of essays is not only a masterpiece in English prose but possesses the additional virtue of stimulating the reader's interest in a progressive solution of present educational problems.

The first three essays deal with the philosophy of life and the nature of the ideals of the German, French and American people. The philosophy of the German, the writer tells us, is to be natural in a Darwinian sense. The American is an idealist in the sense that "he lives in the world of prospects and hopes"; while the Frenchman "worships the ancestral hearths and the ancestral earth." With the American "the life of the spirit is emotional rather than intellectual; for the Frenchman the life of the spirit is both intellectual and emotional," with emphasis perhaps on the intellectual—a life of feeling, certainty, of sentiment and of tuition, but chiefly a life of reason."

The remaining essays—there are six in all—deal with educational life. The war clearly taught the need of the democratization of education as a means of effective defense in periods of war, as well as in periods of peace. Since the world war all classes of people have caught the new spirit which expresses itself in a desire for greater knowledge. But Professor Erskine notes that the professional teacher does not take his place as an acknowledged leader of men in this new educational motive. To quote him: "Thousands of men and women to-day crave knowledge and desire to be taught, but it is not clear that they desire to be taught by us . . . it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the university and the professor are to-day but the half-hearted resort of those who seriously desire to know the world and to know life."

Working men are establishing colleges of their own. For instance the schools which working men have established in Belgium "look toward liberal culture, toward raising the craftsman to an intellectual equality with the capitalist, and toward making profitable his free hours. It is mortifying to scholars that when their associate, the educational expert, proposes a new curriculum for training the world, he usually drops those subjects which if wisely taught and studied enrich leisure,

and he stresses those which at best can only fatten a pay envelope; whereas when a workingman founds a school of his own, he likes like a Renaissance prince to enter that general field of knowledge which we call humane."

The keynote of Professor Erskine's little volume is democracy in terms of freedom from the tyranny of the material. Men should learn to control machinery rather than be controlled by it. Machinery should be made to serve the end of adding to the fullness of life. He insists that the desire to live is the main motive for seeking knowledge. To teach how to live should be the main motive of university training. "When the university says to the community: 'Whatever you do, whether for use or for pleasure, can be done beautifully. I am here to show you the way. Whatever you do has a meaning also. I am here to tell you what it means. That I am here at all after the centuries, is a sign that those long dead, who bade me say this to you, touched the work of their hour with the enduring mind.' Then will the ideal of the democracy have been attained in education."

—T. S. M.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Modern China, A Political Study. By Sih-Gung Cheng. Oxford University Press.

A History of the Japanese People. By Capt. F. Brinkley, with the collaboration of Baron Kikuchi. George H. Doran Company. (Formerly issued by the Encyclopædia Britannica Company).

Modern China is distinctly a good and reliable book, well-informed and sane. It is refreshingly free from the passion and partisanship which mar the work of most modern writers, both foreign and Chinese, on the present political conditions of China. The author indicates with great fairness the case of North and South but affirms pertinently that "the Northern Militarists and the Southern Constitutionals, who both claim to fight for the liberty of the people, alike ignore the feelings and sufferings of the silent mass."

The work is in three parts. Part I is a survey of the situation since the establishment of the Republic. It describes lucidly the Constitution, the duties of President, Cabinet, Legislature, and Judiciary, and the relation of the Central to the Provincial system of Government. The Constitution is criticised in a number of particulars; for instance, Mr. Cheng thinks that it would have been better to make the Presidential term from seven to ten rather than for five years, and that the President

should be re-eligible without limit as to the number of terms. Now and then the author has been guilty of a little overstatement, as, for instance, when he affirms, that in all China's "long range of history there has not been a single instance of religious persecution." He has forgotten the persecutions of Buddhism in the 9th Century, not to mention the persecutions of Christianity in the 17th and 19th Centuries. There is also an error on page 174 in which the annexation of Korea by Japan is given as 1911 instead of 1910.

Not the least valuable part of the book is in the fifty pages of Appendix in which the author has assembled all the more important documents dealing with the negotiations between China and Japan since 1915.

A well-known traveller in Japan was recently speaking with me as to books he had found most useful. He finished by saying: "I always carry Brinkley, because, though I have to dig to get what I want, the information is sure to be there." This sentence constitutes in itself a very reasonable critique of the above work, now almost too well known to need reviewing. It has been for several years the best available resume, in more detail than is the case with the work of Murray, Porter, Griffis, Davis, and Clement, of the History of Japan. It does not indeed belong to the class of critical histories, of which the great work, alas, still unfinished, of Murdoch is the only present example, nor is it the final word in the matter of shorter histories, but up to date it is the book to use in order to find the main facts.

If one may take Baron Kikuchi's modest preface at its face value, the ex-President of the Imperial Kyoto University only contributed advice and suggestion to the undertaking, so that the main credit remains for the late distinguished editor of the *Japan Mail*. Brinkley's expert knowledge of all things Japanese made him, in the words of his collaborator, "almost Japanese in his understanding of, and sympathy with, the Japanese people." This is apparent in every chapter of the book, yet it may be still doubted whether the title *History of the Japanese People* is quite justified by its contents. The Japanese people, as distinguished from *kuge* and *bushi*, have been so little articulate that it is a matter of extraordinary difficulty for the historian to see much outside the doings of statesmen and administrators. Capt. Brinkley of course neglects no opportunity to reveal Japan through the work of her poets, artists, and sages, but he does not (perhaps could not) write a history of the people. Hence the Empire, as a governing machine, is overpoweringly omnipresent. One illustration occurs to me. In the

years preceding the coming of Perry nothing is more interesting than the work of a group of young students of the "Dutch learning" who labored and suffered to re-open Japan to the outer world. It was to them an overwhelming reproach that Japan as "the courteous nation" should persist in her policy of seclusion. So men like Watanabe and Takano Nagahide were martyrs in life and death for the cause of a New Japan years before the American sailors came. Yet I find no word in Brinkley of this singularly significant incident. Nevertheless, to find fault is unfair in view of all that the book effectively achieves. I conclude by saying that Brinkley is still our best text-book on the History of Japan and the present edition on India paper illustrated by a large number of excellent pictures is worthy of the author and the theme.

—H. H. G.

TWO ARTS

Hiroshige. By Yone Noguchi. Orientalia.

This study of the great Japanese print-maker by Japan's modern poet is interesting from various points of view. As to its physical make-up, if we may be allowed, it symbolizes the meeting ground of art and letters, Oriental and western, which appears in the content. It is printed in Japan; there are 750 copies for sale in America and Europe. The book includes 19 reproductions from Hiroshige's work, two of which, "Evening Rain in Karasaki" and a diptych, "Fugi seen at Miho no Matsubara," are in colors.

The first part of the thirty-two pages of text were given in Tokyo as an address on the 60th anniversary of Hiroshige's death. This fact must be borne in mind in reading these pages, for much of their discussion implies an Oriental audience, listening to an Oriental, who also knows the western civilizations. In the very first paragraph Mr. Noguchi tells very vividly how, through Hiroshige's interpretations of the Sumida river, "my westernized 'blue eyes' suddenly changed, I felt, into Japanese black eyes," and with this equipment of experience and emotional background, he gives us a discussion of Hiroshige as the embodiment of an artistic creed.

As has been intimated, this is no ordinary art critic's review of the print-maker's work. It is rather the illuminating play of art on art, as certain quotations will reveal: "Upon my little desk here I see an old book of Chinese prosody; there is a popular Chinese verse, Hichigon Zekku or 'Four Lines with Seven Words in Each,' which is almost as rigid as the English sonnet; and the theory of the sonnet can be applied to that Hichigon Zekku without any modification. We generally

attach an importance to the third line, calling it the line 'for change,' and the fourth is the conclusion; the first line is, of course, the commencing of the subject, and the second is 'to receive and develop.' It seems that Hiroshige's good pictures very well pass this test of Hichigon Zekku qualification. Let me pick out the pictures at random to prove my words. Here is the 'Bright Sky after Storm at Awazu,' one of the series called 'Eight Views of the Lake Biwa'; in it the white sails ready to hoist in the fair breeze might be the 'change' of the versification. That picture was commenced and developed with the trees and rising hills by the lake, and the conclusion is the sails now visible and then invisible far away. Now take the picture of a rain-storm on the Tokaido. Two peasants under a half-opened paper umbrella, and the Kago-bearers naked and hasty, are the 'third line' of the picture; the drenched bamboo dipping all one way and the cottage roofs shivering under the threat of Nature would be the first and second lines, while this picture-poem concludes itself with the sound of the harsh oblique fall of rain upon the ground. You will see that Hiroshige's good pictures have always such a theory of composition; and he gained it, I think, from the Chinese prosody. In the East, more than in the West, art is allied to verse-making."

A year before his death Hiroshige produced a triptych, "Kido Mountains and Rivers in Snow," in which his mastery of effect by extreme simplicity of medium was carried to a very high point. Mr. Noguchi thus interprets the triptych for us—"I open Hiroshige's landscapes which I love particularly, and straining my imagination, hear their lyrical music. . . . I would suggest to you that, as in the case when you see Whistler's landscapes, you have to step back some ten steps, and slowly raise your face, and then listen to the music in which the white in the mountains and the blue in the waters sing in chorus. I should like to know indeed where there is such clear silver-like poetical music as that which we hear in the arrangement in white and blue that Hiroshige's simple technique, awkward and coarse in the most cases, creates accidentally. Like the pictures to which Whistler gave such a superficial name as 'Arrangement in White and Black' or 'Harmony in Gray and Green,' Hiroshige's numerous landscapes are merely arrangements of a limited number of colors, but their real value is understood for the first time by the owner of the ears which can hear their inner music; when I see his work which invites my artistic mood, my imagination opens at once to his lyrical voice that will never die."

Such interpretations of the prints are the most interesting feature of the second part of the essay, which in addition appraises the value of

the various series of prints, and discusses the relation of Hiroshige to Utamaro, and to Hokusai and his theories.

For Hiroshige the artist, and Hiroshige the type "where the individuality of Nature is suddenly seen isolated from the entire"; for the art which knows "how to avoid femininity and confusion" having "a certain dash in abstraction and quaintnesses." Mr. Noguchi shares enthusiasm with many lovers of many arts, and if his feeling of sympathy and possession as a Japanese is especially warmed toward Hiroshige his compatriot, he gives full and generous recognition to those in the west who also have found the value of Hiroshige. —J. E. P.

HOW TO BE HAPPY THOUGH A SCHOLAR

On the Art of Reading. By Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Putnam.

The book consists of twelve lectures given before undergraduates in the University of Cambridge. It is a book refreshing in its clean, wholesome, unpedantic outlook upon literature and life. No teacher can come away from it without feeling that his task is higher, clearer, and much more fascinating than before. The author, whom we have known for years as "Q", the writer of splendid tales of adventure and humor, appeals in reading, not for quantity so much as quality and thoroughness of digestion. He quotes Bacon: "'Reading maketh a full man,' yes, and too much of it makes him too full." To him the fruits of literary study is a real humanism, which should condition all teaching from the kindergarten to the university. He points out the fact that the "base of all Literature, of all Poetry, of all Theology, is one, and stands on one rock: *the very highest Universal Truth is something so simple that a child may understand it.*" (p. 68) He insists, much to our relief, that great literature never patronizes: "Between these two mysteries of a harmonious universe and the inward soul are granted to live among us certain men whose minds and souls throw out filaments more delicate than ours, vibrating to far messages which they bring home, to report them to us; and these men we call prophets, poets, masters, great artists, and when they write it, we call their report literature. But it is by the spark in us that we read it; and not all the fire of God that was in Shakespeare can dare to patronize the little spark in me." (p. 37)

Of his purpose in teaching masterpieces he tells us: "Upon a selected few—even upon three, or two, or one—we may teach at least a surmise of the true delight, and may be some measure of taste whereby our pupil will, by an inner guide, be warned to choose the better and reject the worse when we turn him loose to read for himself." (p. 223) Liter-

ature is not books to him, it is spirit calling unto spirit; it is life at its most adventuresome and delightful. The keen humor and the antiseptic satire which salts each page, call for quotation; but time and fairness to the publishers demand that we conclude by saying: "here is a book which merits careful reading by all people interested in literature, a book which makes high demands upon literature and which itself fulfills those demands."

—R. M. G.

ADVENTURES IN UNREST

The New Industrial Unrest: Reasons and Remedies. By Ray Stannard Baker. Doubleday, Page and Company.

This volume is a study of the new industrial crisis and the possible remedies by a writer who has been widely known as one of the greatest reporters in America and less widely known for his artistic series, "Adventures in Contentment," under the pen name of David Grayson. Mr. Baker spent nearly a year in Europe during the war studying conditions there and has made also a careful analysis of the industrial situation in this country.

The book opens with a statement of the crisis followed by chapters presenting it from the point of view of the capitalist and the worker. Here as elsewhere in the volume, Mr. Baker is acting simply as a reporter—although a highly trained and far-seeing one.

After a careful study of the Steel City, Gary, Mr. Baker gives the causes of the present unrest, as follows: "Consider, also, what the war did when it came. In the first place it brought the entire working force at Gary under an iron regime. Workmen could not go and come freely between Europe and America as they had always done, and they were worked harder and longer than ever; but on the other hand they got more money and had steadier work than ever before in their lives, for the Steel Trust raised wages eight times during the war. . . . It was not what was put into their pockets but what was put into their heads that counted. They were told that this was a war for democracy and that when it was all over everything would be different. The War Labor Board at Washington laid down the broadest and most advanced charter of the rights of labor ever laid down in America. President Wilson said that after the war "there must be a genuine democratization of industry based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the parts they are to play in industry." . . . Never before were workmen in the steel town so courted;

so distinctly made to feel that they were a part, and really an essential part, of this great American movement. For a moment a kind of thrill of partnership, co-operation, reached even the lowest labor groups. . . . For one glorious moment they were accepted as men working in a great common cause, side by side with the employers, all equally necessary. Hundreds of them indeed had actually gone into the army and fought in France. Some had lost their lives. The soldiers who returned to the mills had new and free ideas; in the first great parade of strikers at Gary some 300 of them marched in uniform at the head of the line. A new era of democracy and good will seemed dawning on the world. They were simple folk; they believed it; they felt it. We all felt it."

Then the war stopped, disillusionment began. There was no more democracy than there had been before. Men began to be discharged, and rumors were spread that wages were soon to be cut back to pre-war standards. Here came in the organizers of the American Federation of Labor. Meetings were broken up, organizers arrested, houses searched, and a fertile field was prepared for the more radical agitators who told them the same things they had heard during the war, that there must be more democracy, more freedom, more life. "The first instinct of a man or a nation with a pain is to treat the symptoms; as we are doing now. Both sides are trying quack remedies: the employers a sure-cure bottle labeled 'Deportation-Suppression'; the workers a bottle with a red label, 'Bolshevism.' I don't know which is worse: which will sooner kill the patient. Why not do what any sensible man with a pain finally does? learn what the underlying trouble is—the real disease and try to reach and cure that?"

Mr. Baker finds that five stages or epochs are distinguishable in the relationship of capital and labor since large scale industry came into existence in America.

1. The purely autocratic, individualistic method.
2. The autocratic method tempered by welfare work (the workers call it hellfare work and Mr. Baker explains why.)
3. The militaristic method, in which labor and capital are organized into hostile camps.
4. The new co-operative method now beginning to have a wide trial in America through shop-committees, etc.
5. A step beyond these in the attempts—in the men's clothing industry—to establish a government for one entire industry by both capital and labor.

The balance of the book is devoted to a portrayal of the accomplishments in the latter two stages. The chapter on the experiment at

Wappinger's Falls will be a real treat to those not familiar with the work done there. Other references to the work similarly done by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.), The Midvale Steel Company, and scores of other concerns leads to the hope that a solution is on the way. Mr. Baker realizes fully that these schemes are new. They have not been tested through a period of slack times, falling prices and abundance of idle laborers. He also knows that the conservative employer dies hard. "Now," he says, "that's all right in the clothing trades—or at Wappinger's Falls—or in the Denison Manufacturing Company, but it won't work with us. Our conditions are different." Still, as Mr. Baker points out, "We could unite, and produce, and sacrifice to protect the nation from danger from without; we seem to have no appreciation of the danger within, no vision of the task of meeting it. And where there is no vision, the people perish." But there are scores and hundreds of men who see the danger and are approaching it in the honest endeavor to do justice to both sides, with the intention of bringing about real co-operation—real democratic control. These men are the basis of Mr. Baker's abundant optimism, for if the problem cannot be solved in the spirit of fellowship and good will "we might as well toss over civilization, retire to the cynic's corner, and rail at the wickedness of men!" These attempts are not of course final—they are the result of human endeavor and are open to criticism from many angles.

"What is the solution of the problem?" inquires the one impatient for a final solution. The answer is, "What is the solution of life?" Answer that and you have answered all. "For the labor problem is the greatest continuing process of life. In it are involved the myriad human relationships under which men work together here upon the earth to produce food, clothing, shelter—and a few beautiful things—for themselves and their children. Is there any 'solution' for that?"

The reader of this volume will get a keen, illuminating, hopeful analysis of the labor problem, and in addition an inspiring contact with a great soul—Ray Stannard Baker. —E. M.

SOCIETY AND HUMAN NATURE

The Psychology of Reconstruction. By George Thomas White Patrick. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Modern society has become civilized too rapidly, yet not rapidly enough. It had taken on, before this new unrest disturbed it, a veneer of manners that had deceived men into believing that, in the future,

life was to be polite, safe, and invincibly progressive. Science having discovered a new world, man had only to appropriate it and live in it in a reasonable fashion. Man, conceived as a reasonable being, should have no great difficulty in doing this. "Earth and sky and water were subservient to man," writes Professor Patrick. "Science and invention, the marvelous bequests of the nineteenth century, were the keys to a kind of terrestrial paradise just opening to us. Best of all, the economic surplus promised to put an end forever to the old pain-economy, in which the world had always lived, and we had visions of a pleasure-economy to extend to all lands and classes. In fact we were all aglow with the enthusiasm for something which we called modern civilization."

But now this idealistic dream has been rudely shattered. War, of course, has reasserted itself, but that is not the worst. The real danger that threatens modern civilization is decadence—physical, mental, and moral. That is because man is not so much a reasonable being as a human being, a bundle of instincts as well as a thinking machine. Not that this is already a decadent age; the modern world has offered tremendous opportunities for the satisfaction of man's racial impulses; but these opportunities are being taken away rapidly enough to result in an unrest that will bring decadence in its train unless remedies are found. Man's nature is not changing so rapidly as the conditions of his living. He is therefore in danger either of suffering the repression that results in "balked disposition" or of escaping repression only by running amuck. "The instinct of gregariousness, for instance, has been in the early history of man of vital necessity to his survival. In our modern life excessive urbanization of society, proceeding from the same instinct, has become a social danger. . . . Another instinct upon which survival has been conditioned is that of pugnacity. Even until lately in human unwritten history war has acted to preserve the strong and eliminate the weak and unfit. Now, under modern conditions, war has become an unspeakable calamity, bringing irreparable damage to progress and civilization; but the warlike instinct persists, a subconscious fire ready to be fanned into flame when the occasion arises."

Since, then, man's original nature can be changed but little and slowly, the new society must be one in which his instincts if bad may be redirected and sublimated and if good may be conserved by a social order that is in harmony with them.

With this analysis accepted we are ready to examine current movements for social reform and pass judgment upon them. And most of these movements are at once discovered to be characterized by a fine disregard of fundamentals. Basing themselves upon a discredited

psychological hedonism they seek through economic and political change to produce a world which offers man not so much opportunity for activity, control, and achievement as for wealth, material benefits, an adequate scale of living. The ideal of the time calls for social justice, and social justice must come, but not social justice only. "The fault with our reconstruction plans is not in the attempt to correct social injustice, but in our erroneous estimate of what constitutes the real prizes of life. . . . The real menace to our future happiness is not poverty, slavery, tyranny, oppression, and inequality. These things, like the idle rich, are of course an offense to our age and will steadily be eliminated. But the real dangers of the future are the mediocrity and stagnation which would ultimately fall upon the mere increase of wealth and its even distribution. . . . What we have to do is to find a social order which shall save all classes from the deadening influences of wealth and leisure, and which shall give so much scope to basic human interests and instincts as shall redeem our new world from becoming stale and uninteresting. This new order will not come by sudden revolution, but by education and patient effort."

Professor Patrick's adherence to the social psychologists is hereby seen to be complete. William McDougall, Graham Wallas, Carleton Parker are quoted significantly. A category of social instincts is not so much examined as accepted, a fact which, in this first flush of the era of the psychologist, that *enfant terrible* in contemporary thinking, may give pause to the cautious. Nevertheless, *The Psychology of Social Reconstruction* is a very interesting summary of a new social attitude and makes a persuasive application of its hypothesis to the facts of a world too disturbed and dark not to welcome any light so confidently held aloft in the darkness.

The "facts of human nature" have so often been invoked by the enemies of change that it is encouraging to find them now being summoned in the name of progress. It is true that Professor Patrick finds little promise in those modern programs some sympathy with which has come to have wide acceptance as the badge of progressivism; it is true that any fear that the world may presently become too comfortable any longer to be interesting may safely be considered academic; and it is true that the elements of the author's solution are no more immediate and dynamic than "discipline, poise, loyalty, devotion, and mental and moral health"; but it is also true that his cautiousness is the outcome of no blind devotion to the existing social order. His confidence in the new social psychology is perhaps a little eager, his deference to racial instincts almost fatalistic, and his assumption that current movements

toward reform because primarily economic are without other implications somewhat sweeping; but his queries are nevertheless stimulating, and not too facile to put to question directly much that is facile in our social thinking.

—J. B. H.

WHO WERE THE BALLAD AUTHORS?

Poetic Origins and the Ballad. By Louise Pound. Macmillan.

In this book, several chapters of which have already appeared in various periodicals, Professor Pound has run full tilt against the orthodox theory of communal origins of the ballads and, in the opinion of the reviewer, has left it badly shattered. It takes some courage and not a little knowledge to defy so generally such formidable champions as Professors Kittredge, Gummere, Hart, Lawrence, Stempel, Moulton, Lomax, and British authorities like Andrew Lang and Professor Sidgwick, who have built up with imposing erudition a highly plausible and fascinating thesis on the beginnings of poetry. Notwithstanding Professor Pound has walked boldly into their camp and has forced facts and concepts essential to the support of the current theory to yield as much, if not more, support to her own point of view. If the contentions of this book are sustained, there must result a general modification and, in some particulars, a complete reversal of opinion on assumptions that have become accepted like articles of faith. The assumptions especially affected are "the belief in the 'communal' authorship and ownership of primitive poetry; disbelief in the primitive artist; reference to the ballad as the earliest and most universal poetic form; belief in the origin of narrative songs in the dance, especially definition of the English and Scottish traditional type as of dance origin; belief in the emergence of the traditional ballads from the illiterate, that is, belief in the communal creation rather than recreation of ballads; belief in the special powers of folk-improvisation; and belief that the making of traditional ballads is a 'closed account.'"

Professor Pound has based her conclusions on a reexamination of old material, which like an abandoned quarry she has worked anew, and especially on a study of the song-making ways of contemporary primitive peoples, such as the American Indians, for instance, whose modes and occasions of composition have been made abundantly accessible to students by a host of folklorists and anthropologists, and whose state of culture is sufficiently undeveloped to satisfy the requirements of the homogeneous, unlettered group supposedly capable of spontaneous improvisation in the dance. The testimony secured from

such a study is distinctly hostile to the usual hypotheses tied up with communal assemblages of primitive peoples and decidedly in favor of the existence and, in fact, of the predominance of the individual artist. Unfailing too is the evidence that narrative songs, when they first emerge into articulation, are far from being the well wrought compositions known to us as the traditional ballads; rather they are short, often meaningless verses, marked by much repetition and frequently unsuited to the dance. The conclusion is inevitable that "the primitive lyric whether individual or choral is not the ballad but the song—more strictly the songlet."

Knowing how crude are the songs actually made by contemporary primitive groups one cannot but wonder how he ever fell under the spell of the tenet that ballads, some of which are faultless works of art, were "lore and belonged to the illiterate," and that the course of their history was a refining process as they passed from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation. Modes of composition prevailing among unlettered savages today flatly contradict this as well as the assumption of epic development and priority of "dialogue and situation songs." Even the cowboy songs collected by Professor Lomax, which were loudly hailed on their appearance as living proof of the habit of communal composition, are made to turn state's evidence when critically examined, for as a matter of fact the great majority of them are not original with the cowboys but are importations and modifications.

One by one the props supporting the theory of communal origins of the ballads are plucked from their places and made a part of the opposing theory of individual composition. The refrains, which have been assumed as a matter of ritual to be essential elements in the ballad structure are shown to be more necessary to other kinds of medieval lyric verse than they are to the ballads. There is little indication that the English and Scottish traditional ballads were ever sung for the purpose of the dance. Instead of oral tradition being the means of working out the dross in primitive song, it invariably serves as a cause of deterioration, and conversely preservation in writing, instead of "killing a ballad," has actually saved to us the older and better versions. Considerable importance is given by Professor Pound to two factors generally ignored, viz., the relative dates of the manuscript and oral versions and the fact that not until the eighteenth century was the name ballad limited particularly to the type of verse now associated with it; "hence an etymological argument from the name, as indicating a dance origin for the species, should have no weight." The term used in

medieval England was carrol, "which meant a secular dance song of spring and love."

Who did compose the ballads? The minstrels? The hypothesis advanced by Professor Pound refers their origin to the church. Significant is the fact that the earliest ballad texts preserved to us deal with matter that is decidedly ecclesiastical and "sound like an attempt to popularize Biblical history or legend." Such a theory is in keeping with the habits of the medieval church which utilized every means available of edifying the mass of people with Biblical instruction. As the drama had passed from the hands of the clergy to those of the guild, so ballad composition, once it got under way, may have been taken over by the minstrels whose audience was rather the court and the baronial hall than the unlettered throngs dancing on the green.

Alternative possibilities suggested by Professor Pound are: "that short narrative lyrics on ecclesiastical themes emerged directly from clericals and that the type was later secularized; or that they emerged from the minstrels, and ecclesiastics availed themselves of the type; or that minstrels were solely responsible for the early religious ballads, composing them for audiences for whom they were especially suitable." Of the three one is inclined to give least credence to the last.

As the author has pointed out in this scholarly work, students have heretofore given themselves up too much to assumption and conjecture and in consequence neglected to work to their fullest yield the vast amount of investigations in song-making observable today in group life where the manner of living parallels that imagined to be characteristic of the primitive throng. And there is no reason for believing that the ways of life prevailing among such present-day groups differ materially from those assumed to have existed in that uncharted realm of "unlettered communities," whose habitat and time are lost "in death's dateless night." Furthermore it is a dangerous thing to hold, in the light of the advances made by sociology and psychology today, that in an unlettered community "the same habit of thought, the same standard of realism, rules alike the noble and his meanest retainer." In a society where nobles rule, the divisive force of property operates to differentiate the community into the two classes of exploiters and exploited, between whom there is rather opposition and clash than oneness of interest. Marxian philosophy has forced that fact home to us and Robert Lowie's *Primitive Society* should teach us to distrust the complacent notion that all primitive groups are as alike in the manifold activities of their daily lives as peas in a pod. In all probability furthermore, individuals making up an unlettered community show relatively as much variation in their

reactions to environmental factors as do the citizens of a world state today.

Signs are already manifest that this book will have to make a stiff fight before its conclusions win general acceptance. Established ideas, like vested interests, will not easily forego the pleasures of power and sweetness of worship. But, as Bacon has observed, it is well once in a while to stir up about the roots of a matter. E. G. C.

TEN PLAYS

The Provincetown Plays. Edited by George Cram Cook and Frank Shay. Stewart Kidd Company.

This book contains ten short plays which have been produced by the Provincetown Players. It is an interesting collection, for it represents some of the best attempts on the part of the younger American writers to emancipate themselves from dramatic tradition, and to experiment frankly and intelligently in the theatre.

There is in nearly all the plays an obvious effort at sophisticated style. In one or two instances it is successful. But the play which stands out from the others because of its poetic freshness and authentic dramatic impulse is "Aria da Capo", by Edna St. Vincent Millay. Its theme is related, philosophically, to war, and its implications are so cleverly handled that the satire involved becomes exceedingly effective. Miss Millay is, of course, a splendid poet; and "Aria da Capo" proves that she is an equally fine dramatist.

The best known play in the volume is "Suppressed Desires", by George Cram Cook and Susan Glaspell. This farce, based upon the theories of psychoanalysis, has met with extraordinary success on the American stage, and is admittedly a keen bit of writing. Eugene O'Neill's rugged drama, "Bound East for Cardiff" furnishes a worthy contribution to the collection, and affords a needed relief from the sex themes of the other plays. This particular work of O'Neill's has been highly praised by critics and certainly it has a remarkable appeal. In it there breathes the strong, cruel spirit of the sea, which the author knows so well. The construction of the play resembles somewhat a short-story form, but O'Neill's skill is sufficient to make the narrative convincing as a drama.

A fourth play in the group merits reading. It is "Enemies", by Hutchin Hapgood and Neith Boyce. Here is an epigrammatic and

stimulating bit of writing. One recalls Strindberg's "Dance of Death" as one reads it, but not to the detriment of "Enemies".

"Cocaine", by Pendleton King, contains a good plot—a plot that O. Henry could have made into a fine story. The play is written with an understanding of dramatic realities, and a knowledge of those two fundamental play principles, suspense and surprise.

Other plays in the volume are: "The Widow's Veil", by Alice Rostetter; "Night", by James Oppenheim; "String of the Samisen", by Rita Wellman; "Not Smart", by Wilbur D. Steele; and "The Angel Intrudes", by Floyd Dell.

—G. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Age of Innocence. By Edith Wharton. D. Appleton and Co.

Morale, The Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct. By G. Stanley Hall. D. Appleton and Co.

The College and New America. By Jay William Hudson. D. Appleton and Co.

The New World. By Frank Comerford. D. Appleton and Co.

The Dark Mother. By Waldo Frank. Boni and Liveright.

The Emperor Jones. By Eugene G. O'Neill. Boni and Liveright.

The Imperial Orgy. By Edgar Saltus. Boni and Liveright.

A Study of the Types of Literature. By Mabel Irene Rich. Century Co.

Notes on Life and Letters. By Joseph Conrad. Doubleday, Page and Co.

An Ocean Tramp. By William McFee. Doubleday, Page and Co.

America and the Race for World Dominion. By Q. Demangeon. Doubleday, Page and Co.

Inspiration and Ideals. By Grenville Kleiser. Funk and Wagnalls Co.

A Chair on the Boulevard. By Leonard Merrick. E. P. Dutton and Co.

Tales from a Rolltop Desk. By Christopher Morley. Doubleday, Page and Co.

Trade Unionism and Labor Problems. By John R. Commons. Ginn and Co.

Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille. By Benedetto Croce. Henry Holt and Co.

The Old Man's Youth. By W. de Morgan. Henry Holt and Co.

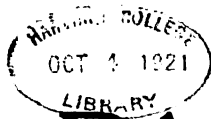
Bitte: Girl Alive. By Martin Anderson Nexø. Henry Holt and Co.

A Cycle of Adams Letters. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism. By Edgar S. Furniss. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

The Old Humanities and the New Science. By Sir William Osler. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

- Morals of Economic Internationalism.* By J. A. Hobson. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Problems of Today.* By Moorfield Storey. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Psychology of Social Reconstruction.* By George T. W. Patrick. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan.* By Annie S. Omori and Kochi Doi. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Pawns.* By John Drinkwater. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Venizelos.* By Herbert A. Gibbons. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Chief Contemporary Dramatists.* (Second Series). Edited by T. H. Dickinson. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Lincoln, the World Emancipator.* By John Drinkwater. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- A New England Group and Others.* By Paul Elmer More. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Legends.* By Amy Lowell. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Recreation.* By Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K. G. Houghton, Mifflin Co.
- Devil Stories.* Edited by Maximilian J. Rudwin. Alfred A. Knopf Co.
- American English.* By Gilbert M. Tucker. Alfred A. Knopf Co.
- Sleep and Dreams.* By Andre Tridon. Alfred A. Knopf Co.
- The Theatre, The Drama and The Girls.* By George Jean Nathan. Alfred A. Knopf Co.
- Medallions in Clay.* By Richard Aldington. Alfred A. Knopf Co.
- Figures of Earth.* By James Branch Cabell. Robert M. McBride and Co.
- Problems of a New World.* By J. A. Hobson. Macmillan Co.
- Breakers and Granite.* By John Gould Fletcher. Macmillan Co.
- The Man Who Did the Right Thing.* By Harry Johnston. Macmillan Co.
- Japan and America.* By Yone Noguchi. Orientalia.
- Hiroshige.* By Yone Noguchi. Orientalia.
- The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them.* By Sir Harry Johnston. Oxford University Press.
- Revolution.* By J. D. Beresford. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- China, Japan and Korea.* By J. O. P. Bland. Scribner's.
- Madam.* By Ethel Sidgwick. Small, Maynard and Co.
- The Provincetown Plays.* By George Cram Cook and Frank Shay. Stewart Kidd Co.
- Our Social Heritage.* By Graham Wallas. Yale University Press.
- A Sign.* By John W. Parsons. Anderson Printing Co.
- The Lost Girl.* By D. H. Lawrence. Thomas Seltzer Co.
- The Dark River.* By Sarah G. Millin. Thomas Seltzer Co.



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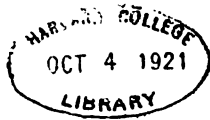
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The League of Nations in Process	<i>F. M. Russell</i>
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THE GIPSY STRAIN

By REXFORD G. TUGWELL

I

Men as Wanderers.

Roamer, casual, vague; adventurer, hobo, drifter; tinker, migratory, tramp; wanderer, outlaw, vagrant; nomad, vagabond—our language is richly strewn with the words to tell of loosened ties and gipsy longings. All the changes of the restless strain that paints an open sky with some fantastic color and endows a stinging wind with strong allure may be put quite easily in words. There are terms peculiar to the argot of the casuals too: Working-Plug, Roustabout, Blanket-Stiff, Road-Bum, Scissor-Bill, Wobbly. The very fact of this lavish equipment of expression concentrated on the subtleties of one idea by its emphasis betrays humanity's effort to escape from a world of rigid, hampering codes and cut-and-dried existences.

“Into that world. . . .

Of lakes

And stars

And the dawn-line

On far and shifting waters.”

where there is a beauty that upheaves the spirit and a certain purple magnificence real life—modern urban life—withholds.

Too much cannot be made of the drifting nature of men. It is easily traced through every separate step in racial his-

tory; indeed it is not so long ago, relatively, men began making much pretense at permanency of abode; and it seems, therefore, not so very strange they should still be wanderers at heart, drawn by the "open"—a word of infinite suggestibility to all sorts of men—and happy with a really springing joy never anywhere but in the hills, the forests or on the sea in storm, or sun, in clear defiance of the rule of common sense.

Even those of us who seem to have settled down quite comfortably to exacting routine are sometimes intolerably stirred by the wanderlust. It comes upon us unawares; and often we cut away and go. There are automobiles, railway cars, steamships, airplanes—serving little other purpose, really, than the gratification of wander tendencies. Usually we do not say it so openly of course; we make good reasons for travelling, for not "staying put." Many a business man has developed a perfect technique for escaping from his rut; many a laborer has invented a physical inability to work steadily that lets him out into the drifting current when monotony sets in on the job. Life is full of these moral side doors; but we need not view man's rationalizing power cynically, merely understandingly. The escapes he contrives are a damaging critique of the modern mode of life. We may infer from them the superior adjustments we strive so blindly toward.

Men whose orbit of movement is somehow strictly circumscribed; and others whose wanderings are for a time interrupted, demand vicarious satisfactions. Why is the motion picture theatre full of bright adventure, of wanderings from place to place, of primitive hating and mating out beyond the rims of everyday experience? Why is our literature lyric with this same motif? The gods of the mythologies were foot-loose and free. To many of us the most admired figures of the mythical past are, like Jason or King Arthur, those who sought a golden fleece or holy grail and lived intensely

in the seeking. There is even some deep satisfaction in hypothecating sirens and Guiniveres who feel us sufficiently interesting to use their wiles on us. The most moving figure of the middle ages is not the King (unless he be a Richard Coeur de Lion) the lord, the prelate, but—the troubador!

We picture him, like Raimbaut in *The Severed Mantle*, travelling from castle to castle, wooing lightly, not too sincerely; living well. Altogether he is very nearly the ideal figure of romance. The literature of the Irish Renaissance is full of tinkers who come home to stay only superannuated. Robinson Crusoe lived the life we long for. There is the *Research Magnificent* of Wells; there is Masfield's *Dauber*; there are Lord Jim and Nostromo and Diggory Venn the reddleman. And have we not James Norman Hall and William Beebe, Eugene O'Neill and Frederick O'Brien, Richard LeGallienne and Harry Franck, William McFee and Stewart Edward White—to cut the list ridiculously—all telling Americans of the strangeness and the wonder of life beyond the horizon of the stupid every-day? And England superbly has her Conrad and her Tomlinson.

Open Webster to "vagabond." There is quoted an old English statute to describe him: "such as wake on the night and sleep on the day, and haunt customable taverns and ale-houses, and routs about; and no man wot from whence they came, nor whither they go." There seems to be some substance to the belief that the problem is not new; probably as old as the abandonment of nomadism when men neglected to shed their natures with their habits.

And for further evidence of the stirrings in our souls see any list of book-titles anywhere. If we are closely held to responsibilities that cling, jobs we sicken of, duties that revolt us, we may satisfy the wander-hunger when we read. Authors know our need. Let anyone who believes that literature mirrors reality look through this list of titles culled from

a single issue of a Literary Review.¹ Here is vicarious escape; not reality:

Idle Days in Patagonia, Far Away and Long Ago, The Golden Whales of California, The Chinese Nightingale, The Splendid Wayfaring, The Man Against the Sky, Black Bartelmy's Treasure, While Paris Laughed, The Vagrant Duke, Lister's Great Adventure, The Innocent Adventuress, The Mysterious Rider, The Purple Land, Green Mansions, The Congo, Java Head, Cape Currey, Dust and Dreams, Cow Country, The Ice Pilot, Right Royal, Father Allan's Island, The Happy Highways, The Splendid Folly.

Here, it is submitted, is some good evidence of what goes on under the stream of consciousness. Is it any accident that twenty-four titles in a single Review should carry so definite a connotation of gipsying, of adventure, of the mysteries out beyond the little bowl of our environment?

If further evidence should be needed there is plenty. Turn to Bertrand Russell's plan for a vagabond wage² made in all seriousness. And read Professor Perry's chapter on Despair and Consolation³; there see how even the Philosophers make escapes. Look back over the books we hold dear in our generation, among them: *The Arrow of Gold, Youth and Chance; Casuals of the Sea, An American Idyll, Sea and Jungle, The Secret City, Typee, The River Man, Moon-Calf, and The Song of Renny*—there are so many with names that trouble "like an aspen tree and the wind shaking it," the endless temptation is to go on naming them; but we can never avoid, most perfect of them all, *Vagabonding Through the Andes, Romance and Treasure Island*. Whether we come down to *The Crock o' Gold*, or go back to *Westward Ho!*, everywhere in our literary history there is the intimate suggestion of the wandering hero, visiting far and mysterious

(1) *New York Evening Post*, 29 January, 1921.

(2) *Proposed Roads to Freedom*.

(3) Ralph Barton Perry; *The Conflict of Ideals*.

lands—and by implication escaping altogether the shoddy little functions to which most of us are doomed.

II

Men as Workers.

Jan Michalisky straightened up and looked around. In a hazy way he knew that Lackawanna lay at the foot of a chain of shining lakes and that somewhere up that silver water there were beds of the rich red ore the ships brought down to Lackawanna. It is even true that he thought of the lake as "silver" and the ore as "rich." But what impinged upon his consciousness just now was a straining ninth hour fatigue with three hours yet to go. In his hands he held a heavy, rounded bar of steel which it was his business to thrust forward and draw back as occasion demanded.

Fumes of fluxings strange to him arose from the cooking metal to mingle among the girders with other fumes and steam. The air was intensely hot with streaks of icy chill. He was stripped to the waist, unshaven for a week, and cords of heavy muscle lay along his shoulders and his chest.

Three months of it, twelve hours a day; and the ordeal of the twenty-four hour shift. He shook his head; and the great muscles rippled smoothly as he lifted the bar and thrust it forward, drew it back.

When the three hours were past he went out through the feudal gates into a street poured full of men like himself, unshaven, sweaty, with greasy coats. Their shuffling feet disturbed the twilight in the lulls of clangor from beyond the wall that shut away the furnaces and shops. The wind blew westward as always and viscous clouds of smoke blew down upon the city's rows of houses. No tree, no flower, could live in it, no bright paint could survive a day. But Jan Michalisky's children must.

He shuffled home to them, ate heavily and slept. . . .

Angelo Canaro lifted a steel maul, edged to break the asphalt. He was helping to repair the streets. He confided to his friend Tony that something must be wrong with his back because all day whenever he lifted the maul there had been a stabbing pain there. Tony was sympathetic but cynical. In liquid Sicilian he counseled: "You change jobs with the boss; it cannot be that his back can be hurt." All day Angelo went on. At home there was Rosa and the "leetla Americans" Marie and Joe and Angelina. The alternatives were not clear to Angelo in abstract terms but he knew that he must go on to the end of the limit. . . .

Sam Katzenstein worked in a loft, all day bent in strange postures under the electric light. As his fingers flew he contemplated his world. A room fifty feet wide, perhaps, and as long. A hum of motors and wheels that gnawed at the mind, air unrenewed all winter, these were his first conceptions. Suddenly by contrast he remembered a pool of water starred with lilies, hazed by a country breeze—a Sunday picnic memory. His dream was shattered by a passing elevated train, crashing through the canyon of a street. . . .

Fred LeDuc rushed up to an astonished patrolman in Harrisburg one night and announced that several men were following him with intent to kill. He claimed the protection of the law. But his pursuers were persistent; they followed him into a station-house cell, and refused to give him peace for three days. It was his acute mental trouble alone which brought him into the psychiatric clinic in the white, sunny room where he sat facing the semi-circle of doctors and nurses. They listened to his story and asked certain pertinent questions. His case was diagnosed as "alcoholic hallucinosis." But what might have interested a non-medical listener in the clinic were first that his basal mental age was ten years; second that since his discharge from army service eighteen months before he had changed jobs at an average rate of

slightly less than one a month; and third that he claimed to have a chronic digestive trouble medical diagnosis failed to make much of and which was wholly belied by a sturdy physique.

One might go abroad and gather evidence indefinitely; he would be brought in the end to the conclusion that men and industry do not fit. And if at the instant of wonderment at the cause of it all he could be gifted with simultaneous realization of the original drives of men and of the conditions of work in America, he would know the fundamental incompatibilities of men and modern work.

Industry seems to blight its neighborhoods; it kills nature and leaves the bleaching bones exposed. The factory exterior is prisonlike but without the prison-neatness. It runs to grime and angles. And in addition to drawing men into its gloomy interior in the daytime, it reaches out into the workers' homes and with its fumes and smoke and fundamental lack of understanding reduces them to a uniform cinder color made worse by a uniform box-cage appearance as they stand side by side in long, harsh rows.

The Jan Michaliskys and the Angelo Canaros give us trouble; as we say, they are a problem. But might we not expect a problem in the nature of the case? Might we not expect much interesting work for the psychiatric clinic, many men to compare with Fred LeDuc?

The masses of the labor movement might without too sweeping an error be divided into three great groups. (1) The bread-and-butter men are typically good unionists or what is identical psychologically, possess the characteristics of good unionists. They are sound in body, possess normal reactions, are without education but with some skill which seems to them the most important skill in the world, and are in everyday contact with the physical forces of existence, machines and the materials of which the world's tools and food

and clothing are made. They are of good basic stuff, easily moulded into an effective and courageous, if slow-moving, army, requiring leadership but backing it up with irresistible determination. They are sometimes fooled, as Brindell fooled them, but they can punish terribly. And on the whole they move toward the acquisition of industrial control deliberately and slowly.

Infused into this mass, and with rapidly changing smaller masses of their own, are (2) the industrial nomads, the migratories. These are the unstable ones, usually with a basic mental age well below the average, in whom, with the ordinary inhibitions weakened all along the line, the gipsy strain predominates. This is not only because human nature is shot through with wanderlust, but because nomadic life offers an easy way of escape from the unrelieved stresses of industrial existence. The abnormal psychologist offers light here. There is a differentiation, well known, between the quiet and the restless types of moron. The one settles down to monotonous, simple tasks quite happily; the other cannot work steadily. Literally it is not in him. What is the casual laborer but a full-grown child?

The exchange of information between the psychiatric clinic and the personnel manager is beginning to indicate significant generalizations. The man who comes before the psychiatrist having a record of some temporary hallucinosis, or hysteria and who is revealed by the Binet-Simon Tests to have something less than a full mental development, upon further investigation, almost invariably shows a record of industrial casualty. Again and again the records show men to have been habitual wanderers for years, to have injected themselves into industrial life over and over and to have consistently broken down under the pressure.

Conversely the personnel manager has learned that in dealing with his unskilled group, he is dealing with men who

have boy's minds and boy's inhibitions. He learns not to trust them, not to expect them to stay with the job. He has pleasant surprises when a man unexpectedly fits into a process and carries on happily and consistently. But often the intense gipsy strain overcomes the desire for the good things of life the pay envelope commands, the call of the road is not to be denied and some morning the job is without a worker.

There remains (3) the leaders of men. No one who has been engaged in the business of industrial arbitration can fail to have been impressed with the likeness between the men who sit on the employers' side of the table and those just across who represent the workers. They might easily change places and operate as successfully. If there is a type we know as an American industrial success, these are the men of that type. They are physically big, having won through to leadership by the qualities of leadership men value. They are alert for advantage, but not supple in understanding. Their total make-up is something of crudity and with the power and drive of crudity. Imbued with a point of view, they are indifferent to general results, but bent doggedly on the specific results in the immediate foreground—this, perhaps, somewhat, because the confirmation and continuation of their leadership depends on these victories.

Partly demagogue and partly prophet; partly politician, partly idealist; these are the effective fighting leaders of American labor.

But there is another type, one which seldom comes to the arbitration table. He could not compromise because he sees none of the practical benefits of compromise, clear to the realist. He is the self-appointed martyr-prophet, the latter-day saint. The agitator and philosopher makes of syndicalism a mighty dream into which the casual can escape. By his instability forced out of the producing machine, he rationalizes his escape by the lip-service he does to his prophet's dream.

The Italian, the Irishman, the Jew and of course others, find an outlet here for their passionate martyr instincts. They exhort and they write. The I. W. W. exhorters have built up a whole body of literature, some of it as beautiful as the classics. They are poets and dreamers and they hold always before the eyes of the casuals their dreams of a worker's empire.

So we have leaders and led; and as with the led, so among the leaders there are the migratories, the men with the gipsy strain. And an industrial society must take them into account. When the forces of the industrial life begin to bear down and men's prudences crumble under the pressure, one inhibition after another giving way, the first to go is the rule of habit that holds men in a niche.

III

*Industrial Psychosis**

It seems fairly clear that in the migratory group of laborers, there exists a personal condition that approximates to what might be described as an industrial psychosis, just as a physician would speak of an exhaustion or a depression psychosis. Its beginnings have wider implications than the narrower medical terms and its manifestations are more complex but the term is fairly accurate and certainly illuminating. It takes labor casualty out of the class of phenomena which society represses by punishment and indicates possibilities of diagnosis and suggestions for treatment.

Given a man with normal impulses to wander such as the evidence from racial history and from the nature of literature show we all of us have; put him to work as we do in America for eight or more hours a day (ranging up to twelve); allow him a tenement home, a faded wife, undernourished children, whom, being a man, he must yet love;

(4) For this term we are indebted to the late Dean Parker.

block his normal impulses in many directions, plucking out of his equipment one single and minute ability, one small group of body muscles, leaving the rest unused; give him for amusement little else than tales among men or in books of lives lived better somewhere else or motion pictures that play upon his wander-hunger without mercy; what may be expected?

He develops an industrial psychosis; he deserts and goes drifting; either this or he gives evidence of his mental trouble in his home and on the job, the most violent manifestations of which are in the first case wife-beating and in the second the strike and sabotage.

This applies with special force to the group of something less than adult mental age with definite unstable factors of temperament. The solid, well-developed adult, the bread-and-butter unionist for instance, resists the wander-fever but finds more intelligent, permanent and rational objectification for his original impulses which will allow him to stay on the job with more or less success. But even among this group the statistics of strike phenomena betray an increasing restlessness and dissatisfaction. Conditions, he feels, might always be better, the job he has not tried seems better than his own, and he takes concerted action as the most available weapon against the imponderable pressures that weigh upon his life.

Strikes and labor turnover have risen to astonishing figures:

"The number of strikes and lockouts during the calendar years 1914-19 are as follows:

1914----	1,204	1917----	4,450
1915----	1,420	1918----	3,337
1916----	3,789	1919----	3,374

In about two thirds of the strikes during these years the numbers of strikers were reported as follows:

In 432 strikes in 1914-----	296,720
In 873 strikes in 1915-----	504,281
In 2,667 strikes in 1916-----	1,599,717
In 2,325 strikes in 1917-----	1,227,254
In 2,151 strikes in 1918-----	1,239,989 ^a

This is only a partial picture but as good as is available. It will be seen that it gives neither a complete total of the numbers of men affected in such strikes as were reported nor any estimate of strikes in small industries not sufficiently important to be reported. It fails to measure unrest of the uncounted number of strike situations that did not fully materialize or those settled after a fashion and barely avoided: but it does give an idea of the amount of acute unrest emerging in formal strike statistics, the only form of social measurement available.

A better notion may be had of the importance of labor turnover. The following for instance illumines a whole section of industrial fog: "The writer has collected figures for the turnover from 22 establishments in miscellaneous industries. The total average force. . . was 37,247. The number of terminations for the entire group was 44,254, a turnover rate of 118.8 per cent. These figures were for various years from 1906-16."^a

Of still greater significance are Slichter's figures showing the difference in labor turnover for various occupations. These ranged from a low 4 per cent for engineers and conductors and 34.6 per cent for firemen and brakemen to a high 206.5 per cent for maintenance of way and structure men. This last group is the locus of the migratory.

An unpublished report in the files of the Bureau of Labor statistics⁷ gives "turnovers for 1918 in a large agricultural implement factory on the Pacific coast."

(5) U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, September 1920, p. 189.

(6) Sumner H. Slichter: *The Turnover of Factory Labor*. Appleton.

(7) Quoted by E. D. Jones: *The Turnover of Factory Labor*. *Bulletin* 46, *Federal Board for Vocational Education*.

Occupation	Percent of annual turnovers	Occupation	Percent of annual turnovers
Truckers, hand -----	717	Assemblors, erectors and bench hands -----	205
Helpers and handy men -----	486	Milling machine hands -----	205
Drill hands -----	475	Watchmen -----	205
Carpenters -----	350	Blacksmiths -----	143
Janitors, sweepers, oilers, cleaners -----	321	Core Makers -----	143
Molders -----	315	Pattern makers -----	140
Grinders -----	210	Boring machine hands -----	118
Clerical employees -----	61		

The exact significance of this phenomenon is made clear by P. F. Brissenden and Emil Frankel writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* (December, 1920. p. 566). They show that in a certain series of figures covering 53 establishments with a working force of 69,553, "there were at the end of a year 43,321 employees representing 62 per cent of the total number on the pay roll with a service record of over one year. These employees were not responsible for any of the labor changes that took place during the year."

This meant that shifts on the working force of these 53 establishments were confined to 38 per cent of the men. But this 38 per cent formed a sizeable problem; it meant 189,413 changes of personnel.

There are steady workers; and there are shifting workers. They represent different industrial problems. We do not begin to make progress in planning new industrial adjustments until this separation has been made.

We at once want to know whether it may be inferred that 38 per cent of the total numbers of workers is the size of the problem of instability and casualty. The difficulty with a

generalization of this sort is that there are all gradations of casualty from the man who typically holds a job a week to the one who habitually works for three or four months before moving on. Heroic treatment is confined to extreme sickness. Treatment of casualty has to be just as individual as the treatment for pneumonia; but there are recognized groups within which treatment may be similar even if slightly modified. It does no harm to classify the pneumonias into pulmonary and bronchial. Perhaps casualty may be likewise usefully classified.

The first question is: when does a man move into the "casual" group? When does a cold cease to be a cold and become pneumonia? It is clear from Brissenden and Frankel's study that there is an industrial psychosis affecting something like 38 per cent of the nation's workers acutely—so acutely that they begin to drift. If our analysis has been correct this psychosis is the cause of casualty. We may then go on to a discussion of the acute manifestation of psychosis which is casualty. Within the wide category of men affected has the term "casual" any definite meaning?

It seems to imply typically the following characteristics:

(1.) Something less than full mental development; at least an original instability of character, a departing from the norm, which reduces the likelihood of response to highly intellectualized appeals to conformity and increases the effect of direct environmental stimuli. The immediate impact of blue sky, sunshine and the open road are irresistible. The opposition to this impulse of the impulses to lay by something against a rainy day or to develop a satisfactory home situation are negligible.

(2.) A consistent record of wandering from early youth is almost invariably present.

(3.) Typically the casual is without any particular highly developed industrial skill; he is very seldom in command of a "trade"; he is usually to be classed among the "unskilled" laborers.

(4.) He will be found to have a job-change record of at least four times in the year. This is purely arbitrary and in almost all cases will be found to be much higher. It simply seems that a man who can hold a job for three months or more has some characteristics not assignable to the group usually called "casual."

(5.) He will be found to be without the whole group of attachments we know under the heading "home."

These characteristics seem irreducible. It will at once be asked how we are to designate the worker who has persistently changed jobs three times a year rather than four. The answer to this is not clear. We may, of course, if it seems useful, create categories of "upper" and "lower casual." We should not need these terms if the argot of the migratories had grown with any reference to job-change or even wander records. But they have not. "Tramp," "Bum," "Hobo," mean little or nothing in the way of exact definition. Mills feels that "the line of cleavage between these classes at any one time cannot be clearly drawn."⁸ The terms are as likely to have reference to encounters with civil authority as to their characteristics as workers. "The tramp and the vagrant work at times; conversely the migratory worker is likely to beg or steal at times." There is a classification, exact as any in migratory terms, worked out by Dr. Reitman, himself a "tramp" (quoted by Mills) which shows how necessary new terms are because of the inexactness of the old as well as their inappropriateness for the purpose of diagnosis.

(8) F. C. Mills: *Contemporary Theories of Unemployment*. *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*. No. 183. pp 158-159.

Vagrants or penniless wanderers. Every species is itself subclassified according to (a) Character. (b) Geographical distribution, (c) Type.	{	1. Tramp	
		(a) Dreams and wanders	Tramp criminal
		(b) Trampdom—main lines of railroads	Criminal Tramp
		(c) Runaway boy	Neuropathic tramp
		2. Hobo	
		(a) Works and wanders	Tramp hobo
		(b) Hoboland—farms, ice-houses, section houses, mines, etc.	Train hobo
		(c) Non-employed	Bum hobo
		3. Bum.	Criminal hobo
		(a) Drinks and wanders	Neuropathic hobo
		(b) Bumville—barrel-houses and saloons	
		(c) Drunkard	

If we are justified in dividing casuals into upper and lower groups, it is clear that those already described were the lower casuals, and that the characteristics of the upper casual must be somehow different.

This difference would appear in job change records. There would still be the consistent wander history. But the upper casual, because of a basal mental age very close to adulthood, may have been able to acquire considerable skill of one sort or another. Tinkers and jack-of-all-trades are this sort. This skill and versatility would enable him to adapt himself more quickly to the rapidly succeeding situations of life, to work at pleasanter, better paid jobs where monotony and fatigue were not so marked and consequent psychosis not so acute.

His record of job changes might range less than three times a year. This upper casual, in contrast with the other type often possesses an engaging personality. The lower casual is characteristically sullen and resentful, sick with the unsuccessful attempt to cope with an industrial system that slowly breaks and discards him; the upper casual is more the master of his fate, less at the mercy of a ruthless system. In rare cases he may even be found migrating with his family but the cases are far rarer even than this where this wandering family life is successful.

We have three terms then. "Industrial psychosis" is to be applied to all workers suffering from the acute blockings and depressions attributable to this industrial experience which

emerge in abnormalities of action with relation to the industrial system. These abnormalities have a wide range: from unfocussed arrest, strikes and sabotage to breaking down and setting adrift as migratories. It is to this latter phenomenon that the terms "upper" and "lower casual" may bring descriptive definiteness. The "upper casual" is the worker so affected with psychosis that he periodically gives way under industrial pressure and shows a record of wandering, but who may, for all that, possess some skill: and he need not be a social debtor even though he would never make a successful entrepreneur. The "lower casual" is a clear loss to society; his wandering is continuous and he is quite without social roots; his working life, in consequence, is very incomplete, probably less than his loafing life: his physical health is bad and becomes progressively worse; he is without human relationships or any sense of responsibility that could operate to mitigate the danger he constitutes to organized institutions.

Approach to the Problem

The whole picture of the effects of the gypsy strain in men is necessarily complex. It is related on one side to the nature of modern work and on the other to the results of the breakdown of men. Does modern work furnish a cause? Is it true that we have built up our industrial system with a view to serving consumers (and capitalists) well and with complete disregard for the nature of the producers, the workers? And if this is so does an intelligent industrial program consist in continued emphasis on product and continued neglect of an evaluation of the consequences of machine production in the workers' lives?

It appears from the statistics cited above that job-changes are far greater in some kinds of work than in some others. The higher turnovers are in the unskilled, heavy, mucking jobs. Probably our casual type drifts into these jobs from

which higher-type men are exempt. But it may be too that the nature of the work stimulates this drifting characteristic. And it appears too that drifting is not wholly confined to these lower-type jobs, though it is found predominantly there. Then also it cannot be concluded that every unskilled worker drifts; nor can it be concluded at all that a change in the character of the work, the surroundings in which the work is performed and the social lives of the workers, would be altogether ineffective in stopping the migratory habit. On the contrary, reason seems to indicate that we cannot blame the worker and that we must blame the work and the life the worker is compelled to live.

The answer to the questions we have raised involves a study which will determine just how bad it is for society to have monotonous recurrences of these breakdowns of some large percentage of the workers. If the results are bad, if wandering men, are, as they seem, a permanent menace to civilization, the program for the prevention of these reiterated breakdowns ought to be formulated and pushed.

There is to be considered (1) the expense of hiring and training men to fit into a going industrial organization. This expense is admittedly large and in general it is unsatisfactory to have great numbers of changes of men in one specific job. The new kind of industrial management recognizes this expense and attempts in various ways to cut down turnover.⁹

And there are (2) the social problems involved, a few of which are apparent in the naming, such as the danger to the home and family life, the lack of political allegiance of the wanderers, the tendency to social delinquencies of a group without ties, and the economic loss involved in non-working periods.

It would probably be generally admitted that from the

(9) *The Human Factor in Industry*: Frankel and Fleisher: Macmillan.

industrial or the social point of view labor casualty is pretty much an evil without compensation.

The other phase of the problem, the question of reducing the numbers involved then becomes important.

It is perhaps clear that nothing can be done about the lower casual except to make an honest attempt to fit him into a producing niche where he can function with reasonable efficiency, happiness and permanency. But this aim being stated for the lower casual, it becomes apparent that the aim of society for the upper casual has also been stated; reasonable efficiency, happiness and permanency of working life. The difference involved is one of technique and practical questions at once arise. It is at once apparent that the cure depends on the seriousness of the sickness. The striker and saboteur, need one treatment; the upper casual another; and still another is needed for the lower casual. We may ask, nevertheless, in a general way, how can industry be transformed so that these results may emerge?

Is a higher wage or shorter work hours an answer? There is here a problem that can only be solved by technical investigation of the actual standards of life for workers and of the effects of fatigue and monotony on the different classes of psychoses discussed above. But it may be suggested that a "fair wage" in no way guarantees that a family will live wisely or well on it; and that reduction of working hours raises the alternative problem of what it is proposed that the workers do with added leisure. Certainly the usual city environment offers little in the way of environmental stimulus to better adjusted existence.

Is "welfare work" a scheme which promises well? In the sense that it revivifies something of a lost enthusiasm for the job and an esprit de corps in a producing organization, it probably does promise well within limitations; and so probably does any scheme with the aim of recreating a pride in work-

manship. But the difficulty with welfare schemes is that carried to the logical conclusion involved in the premise of revivifying enthusiasm the emphasis of the organization involved becomes something other than a drive for profits. And this, in last analysis, is not good business from a share-holder's point of view.

However, the whole scheme of industrial rehabilitation which has the germ of a beginning in this same welfare work is perhaps the answer to the problem of reducing casualty. We no longer force men to stay at a particular job; if we must persuade them to do so, industrial activity must be made attractive and fruitful; and to make industry attractive and fruitful involves changes scarcely envisaged as yet by most managers of business.

The conclusion seems to indicate itself; that the problem is not one for business alone to solve but in a very real way is one which involves the rights and duties of the whole social group which is intimately related to the industrial system. A program can be formulated and can be put through but it must be a social program. It involves not only the job, but the home, the city environment, the possible uses of leisure and the relation of men in industry to political authority.

Men's natures cannot be changed; the nature of their stimuli to act can be changed. The desire to stay in one place and become a useful citizen can be made to overbalance the impulse to wander. And the technique of accomplishing this result furnishes the long-run solution of the problem of casual labor.

IMPRESSIONS OF A HOBO

By GEORGE BUTLER

I have traveled as a hobo something better than seven thousand miles. I have found that hoboes were just men out of work, that they were not tramps, because they were merely transient workers temporarily out of employment. Frankly, I liked the hoboes. I consider myself a hobo because I sympathize with them and because I have shared in their common experiences. To me hoboes represent the effort made by labor to adjust itself to ever changing labor conditions.

February, 1915 found me in my home town, Yakima, Washington. Forced to quit school on account of lack of money I was carrying papers and trying to live. My meals consisted of ten cent ones bought at a Jap restaurant and even at that I was forced to postpone a few.

March was well started and still I saw no steady work in sight. Hearing that a great many men were soon to be needed in Montana, I decided to go there and try to get work in the electrification of the Milwaukee railway. Accordingly I sold my bicycle and packed a suit case with such articles as I expected to need. I also packed my rifle, thinking of what great times I would have tramping over mountainous country on Sundays. That afternoon I expressed my belongings to myself at Butte.

At midnight I nervously awaited the arrival of No. 2, the eastbound passenger. I had fourteen dollars all in paper scattered about my person, a five-dollar bill sewed under my collar, four dollars in one sock and five in the other. I expected this money to last me until I would be working.

A whistle and a light in the distance told me that she was approaching. A frost-clad, steam-breathing monster, the train stopped at the depot platform. I awaited in darkness, until she was almost ready to start and then climbed in

between the second and third coaches. A "shack" (hobo for brakeman) passed with his lantern, and as the light exposed me clinging between the coaches, he stopped.

"Hi! There! Where you going?" he yelled.

"To Spokane."

"Got any money?"

"No."

"Get off then. I can't carry you for nothing."

I made a move as if to get off, but wasn't in any hurry. The shack looked me over again, turning his lantern towards me.

"You haven't anything to drink on you, have you?", he asked, in a hopeful tone.

I handed him the half pint of whiskey a friend had given me saying that it would come in handy. The brakeman drank most of it and made a move as if to return the bottle but I told him to keep it. He did, hastily telling me to look out for the "Yard Bull" at Pasco, the next division point, as the train started to move.

I clung to two iron bars, standing erect with my feet firmly placed on a little iron projection. I was conscious of a feeling of pleasure not unmixed with pure joy of living as I stood there and watched the dim outlines of farmhouses flit by and listened to the click of the rails beneath my feet. However, my hands soon became numb and cold so I climbed up the side of the coach and lay on top, thinking that I could ride more comfortably there. The top was cold though and I was suffering quite a little by the time the train crossed the bridge to Pasco. I resolved to "make the tank" out of Pasco (ride the flat surface above the water on the coal car). Accordingly I hid behind a pile of ties while the train went through inspection. When a fresh engine came back from the round-house I carefully made my way along the coaches and caught her between the engine and the baggage car in

what is known as the "blind baggage." Getting on the tank as soon as she got out of town I found that there were other passengers besides myself. Two young fellows, well dressed, and pretty well under the influence of liquor greeted me. I took a sup from a bottle they offered and warmed somewhat I stretched out on the wet coal. My fellow passengers informed me that they got on at Pasco and were merely out on a lark. A friend who was with them stayed at Pasco, they stated.

Hours passed by. It was getting well towards daylight. I lay on the wet coal and almost went to sleep. Gradually I got cold and got up, flapping my arms and kicking my feet to get warm. As this did not help much I went down and passed coal for the fireman. This warmed me up and I enjoyed the ride as day became lighter and lighter. I had visions of being in Spokane by morning.

Suddenly, about six o'clock in the morning the train slowed down and stopped. A tall, well built man with a wide rimmed hat climbed up on the tank, brandishing a revolver like a frightened woman.

"Come down off there; come on every one of you," he cried, meanwhile handling his revolver as if he thought we were dangerous. We lined up by the watertank, the two young fellows, a Swede who had been sleeping in the tool box, and myself.

As the train pulled out, the sheriff, now somewhat composed, informed us that a man had been killed coming out of Pasco and that he would quarter us in the county jail until he could communicate with the authorities to see that we were not responsible for the tragedy. He conducted us through the streets of the town (Ritzville, Washington) into the jail and locked us in a steel cage.

The next hour and a half seemed long and tiresome. We were tired and hungry. The Swede had given the sheriff a

strong hint to the effect that it was customary for the county to feed its "jail birds." There were beds in the cell but it was the general concensus of opinion that the quilts were inhabited so we sat on the cement floor and talked in a drowsy fashion. Conversation touched chiefly on the following subjects: the filthy condition of the jail; the amateurishness of the sheriff; the probable identity of the dead man and cause of his death; breakfast.

About eight o'clock the sheriff returned with a smile, opened the cage and let us out. It had developed that the victim was the other companion of the two young men who were out for a lark; he had made the second blind in an intoxicated condition and fallen off. As nothing was said about breakfast we parted at the jail doors, each going about his own business; the Swede made some remark about "begging a lump" (hand out) somewheres and the young men walked off gloomily. I went to a restaurant black and dirty as I was and bought a warm breakfast.

A local freight pulled in and I caught it, riding a gondola full of coal. I was sleepy; I went to sleep. I woke up feeling about eighty years old. I heard the voices of near-by children in play. Looking around I found that the local had cut off my car on a side-track in the town of Sprague. It was two-thirty in the afternoon. I laughed at the humor of the situation.

A local passenger was scheduled at two-fifty according to the bulletin in the depot. A dim smoke was already perceptible in the distance. Soon the passenger pulled in and while the expressmen unloaded a few articles and loafers floated around the depot to see who came in, I walked around on the other side, crawled underneath the third coach and stretched my frame over the rods.

She rattled off, now and then stopping at small towns, but I had not more than begun to get tired of my cramped

position before the crossing and recrossing of endless side-tracks indicated that I was in Spokane at last. Finally she stopped and I carefully crawled from beneath and dodged here and there among the cars until I was out of the yards. It was about five o'clock in the afternoon as I hurried along the streets of Spokane. I went in a saloon, washed up, and took off my overalls and jumper. The suit that I wore gave me a fairly respectable appearance. I learned from fellow-travelers and switchmen that two railroad bulls rode all passengers out to Yardly, a suburb about three miles out, and that the only way to make the passenger would be to walk out there and catch it as it stopped to let the detectives off.

Accordingly I walked out of town, picking up with a young fellow who was walking along the track for the same purpose that I was. He said that he lived in the East, had come to see the Fair at 'Frisco. It was so dark that I couldn't see his face very plainly but from his conversation I concluded that he had a good education combined with a fine view of the best things in life, but had sown his wild oats too freely and was now reaping the results when he had ample time for reflection. We arrived at the switch where the train would stop about one in the morning. We sat and talked in the darkness, until a light and whistle in the distance brought us to our feet. She approached, slowed down, stopped. The detectives got off—we got on—but the brakeman saw us and yelled at us. One of the bulls put me off at the point of a revolver. Soon my companion followed at the shack's request. The bulls stood by us warning us that it would not be well to try to make her. She started, so did my companion. He didn't go far. He was clubbed and beaten by the cops. They took him off groaning as the train departed in the distance. I never saw him again; I never really saw his face plainly but I remember his personality.

Not in very high spirits I shambled down the track think-

ing of the events of the evening and decided that I had better wait till morning and get out on a freight. Closer to the round-house of Yardly I noticed some fires and went to them thinking that I would get warm, as the March night was far from being warm. The fires proved to be of burning ties. About ten men were around the largest one; they were strewn around on the ground promiscuously, some were asleep while others were talking in undertones and smoking. I received only passing notice as I curled up near the fire and went to sleep.

When I awoke I found every one busy around me. A couple of "blanket stiffs" were rolling up their blankets; a pot of coffee was boiling on the fire; "boes" were coming out with edibles of all sorts and were preparing to make a "mulligan."

"Don't go away, we're going to pull off the big eats pretty soon," one of them said, noticing that I had awakened.

I stayed and ate with them. A spirit of good fellowship prevailed and in spite of the condition we were all in, everyone seemed to be as jolly as he could under the circumstances.

Soon a freight pulled in; there was only one empty—we got it. There were about twenty of us in one car. The "con" went by inspecting the seals. He pulled the side door open, looked in, laughed and entered. He looked us all over carefully, and walked out, shutting the door behind him, and telling us to keep it shut. We all agreed that the crew was good. The rear shack soon came and paid us a visit. He looked us all over, put a couple off (fellows who were evidently not looking for work) and a foreigner "hunyak." Many men look upon a foreigner as the cause of many of our labor troubles. The shack went out with the remark, "I don't suppose there is a nickle in the crowd."

All that day we traveled through beautiful scenery, but nothing happened—not even a square meal; so we were all

pretty hungry when we arrived at Sandpoint, the next division point, about six in the evening.

I soon got out of Sandpoint, traveling on the outside of a gondola loaded with timbers. The train crew was "hostile" so I had to be careful to avoid discovery when the long "drag" rattled around sharp curves. Lying on the timber just at dusk, traveling through beautiful mountain scenery I received impressions I shall never forget. The evening air was just sharp enough to stimulate my enthusiasm. Going by Hope, Idaho, I saw about a hundred Indians fishing in Lake Pend d'Oreille. It was a beautiful picture that was presented to me as I flitted by to see them fishing from their canoes at dusk with the evening sun setting over the mountain pines on the other side of the lake.

But as it grew darker and colder my enthusiasm for the scenery died out and my thoughts took a more material and far less pleasant trend. I was hungry but there was no town that the freight would stop at. Soon it rained a mixture of sleet and snow. Try as I would I could not protect myself from the downpour. Soon I was wet to the skin and it was getting colder and colder as we approached the Rockies proper. Here there was snow on both sides of the track and it was so cold. My feet seemed to be frozen. I tried to warm my body by flapping my arms and stamping my feet but the odds were against me with my wet clothing. I was truly suffering intense agony. I longed to get to Paradise, Montana, the next division. Finally when I got there I was so weak I could hardly navigate. I clumb off and stumbled over the side-tracks till I got to the business part of town. My teeth chattered till I thought they would break. It was after one o'clock but there was a light in one of the restaurants so I entered, ate a warm supper, and drank several cups of warm coffee. I knew that I could not stand to go any farther that night so I went down and slept in the boiler room of the round-house.

In the morning I found that one of my shoulders was so stiff that I could hardly raise my arm above my head. I was sore and stiff all over. I traveled all day, making Missoula about noon and Garrison in the afternoon. At Garrison I changed to the Milwaukee and rode the remaining thirteen miles to Deer Lodge, the home of the Montana State Penitentiary, and a division point on the Milwaukee.

About eight o'clock in the evening I caught the blinds on a passenger. As I sat on the tank with clouds of smoke and fire streaming over my head I was thrilled with pleasure. In an hour I would be in Butte. For about twenty miles I could see the brilliant cluster of lights that marked out the smelter city, Anaconda. As the beautifully lighted hill of Butte loomed out I felt like jumping up and waving my hat for sheer joy. Here was the unique notorious city of which I had heard so much. There was the hill from which \$60,000,000 in copper ore is taken annually. Here was the city where I would get work.

When the train began to slow up for the station I climbed down from the tank and swung up on the iron rods at the side of the coal car. I jumped off and walked rapidly out of the yards into the street. Near by was a saloon. I went in, washed up, took off my overalls, and went to go out in the street, but the bartender stopped me by putting a glass on the bar and saying, "Have one on the house."

This surprised me because he had never seen me before, knew that I had come in on "the bum," and that I was very probably broke. But soon I found that Butte realized as few other cities do the importance of the hobo. I drank the beer in silence and asked the bartender where I could get a good room cheap. He told me. I got a room on lower Main street and paid my room rent a week in advance. That night I slept the sleep that is supposed to be enjoyed by the just, whoever they are.

In the morning I went to the express office and got my suitcase and rifle. Then I went to the Park Saloon where the electrical workers hang out. There were, I found, over two hundred of them waiting for the Milwaukee job to start. Many of them were broke.

A week passed by and after paying my room rent again I had just fifty cents left. Men would not be needed for about two weeks more; there were thousands of men in Butte out of work; the mines had been closed ever since the trouble of the previous August. Hundreds of men were sleeping in the never-closing saloons and eating at soup kitchens maintained by the unions. I began to think that work wasn't so plentiful after all. I sold my rifle and got four dollars for it. This kept me a couple of days, then I put up my watch at a restaurant for a meal ticket. I had a hard time keeping my economic independence the next week. I missed a few meals but I thank God that I have yet to accept charity.

Finally I got work at the opening of the mines. I worked at the High Ore Mine for about ten days and quit at the first opportunity to go out with one of the Milwaukee camps. I worked with Camp 7 for about three months, taking out an A. F. of L. card in the meantime. The men were a jolly lot, all hoboes and Americans. They spent their money as soon as pay day came around. Most of them became economically independent and quit at the end of two months' work. So by the time I had been there two months I had the distinction of being both the oldest and youngest man on the job, youngest in point of age and oldest in point of service.

I liked the men; they were honest-hearted and had a clear sense of economic morality. The hard life they led had not effaced the essentials of manhood from their characters. There were a few men in the gang at any time that I would not trust. One thing that distinguished the men particularly from other men that I had known was their utter disregard of money as

an end of human endeavor. Most of them had been up against it that very winter but they did not hesitate to throw dollars to hoboes going by in boxcars. I asked old "Denny" McManus why he had given his first pay check almost entirely to bums in the light of the fact that he, Denny, had been dependent on the soup kitchen a good part of the previous winter for his meals.

This is what he said: "Son, when I'm working I wouldn't feel right if I turned down a stiff on the bum. No, lad, you never want to think that just because you're working that you're any better than the boes who pass by every day on the rattlers. You never know when it'll be your turn."

Along in June each day found my thoughts wandering back to Washington. The novelty of the work I was doing began to wear off, the men began to seem less interesting, I began to replace the mountain scenery of reality with the peach orchards of my imagination. Even at the table I spent most of my time thinking of Yakima and how I would like some fresh strawberries or peaches. I realized that I had been in one place too long, that I had too much money to care specially for my job. I had over a hundred dollars and every time I thought of it I thought that I would rather be working in a peach orchard in Washington. It required more will power each day to keep from calling for my time.

One day I was filling slug holes in a particularly disagreeable swamp. In spite of my boots my feet and legs were wet. A swarm of bloodthirsty mosquitoes kept my thoughts pinned to realities. I grew more dissatisfied than ever.

A jolly voice hailed me. "Keep it up, Slim. That's the way I got my start."

I looked up and laughed. There was Jack Reeves. He was a pleasant sight to look at as he stood there with his wardrobe rolled up under his arm and a million dollar smile on his honest face. Jack and I were friends. He was one of

the best mechanics on the job, a good hobo, and a natural comedian. I stood with my muddy hands on my hips and looked him over. I knew he had quit.

"What's the matter? Too much money or is it the call of the bar?" I asked.

"I didn't quite have her made [meaning his stake] but the new boss got too important so I cussed him out and quit. I'm going to Butte for a couple of days and then I expect to get in with Homer Haggerty's gang out of Great Falls."

I filled my pipe, tightened my belt, pulled off my boots, threw the shovel I had been using into the slughole, put on my coat, and we started for camp as I made the remark that I was through with the job for a while at least and that I intended to go back to Yakima where the mosquitoes weren't so thick.

The timekeeper made the remark as he figured up my time that I didn't have much reason for quitting but I think that when a fellow's work gets too monotonous and irksome that he is wasting his time if he continues work just to be working. I like to enjoy my work and the conditions that surround it.

That noon I shook hands with all the boys and told them goodbye. Many of them gave me money to purchase articles in town with and mail out to them as the commissary was not very complete. This fact impressed me that they would trust me with such responsibilities when they knew they would probably never see me again. But hoboes seem to put more faith in each other than do many business men.

That afternoon Jack and I caught the local passenger at the water tank and rode her to Three Forks, the first stop, and a division point. We intended to get the Olympian at seven o'clock and be in Butte that night but Jack got to drinking too freely so it was decided to ride the cushions. We went in the smoker and attracted no little attention with our working clothes from some more or less snobbish gentlemen who hap-

pened to be well dressed. Jack was still quite talkative and he made the remark that one would find a more decent crowd riding the tank. It was snowing when we crossed the divide, and some Dakota farmers got out to gather snowballs at a water tank.

We arrived at Butte at eleven o'clock that night and went to the hangout at the Park Saloon. There were a number of men we knew there and as the drinks got to coming too fast I went out. The next morning I saw Jack leaning over the bar in the same position that he was in the night before. He told me that he had spent and given away most of his money. I did the shopping for the fellows out at camp and stayed around town two days more. Then I registered a letter to myself and sent my money ahead of me—all except a few dollars.

That night at midnight I walked down a hill to the Milwaukee yards. It was pitch dark. A long freight pulled in; it proved to be a string of empties bound for Seattle. I climbed in a side door, lit a match, looked the floor over and sat down in a corner. I lit my pipe and smoked quietly while waiting for the engine to whistle the "highball." The con went by checking up his cars. He pulled the side door open that I had taken pains to shut. He stuck his head in the doorway and peered into the corners as he flashed his lantern. Finally the light rested on me.

"Hey there! What you riding on?"

I got up rather unconcerned; I knew that I would get out of town even if he put me off. He looked at my card and pulled the door shut, yelling "Empty," as he hit the door with his stick.

In a few minutes the engine whistled the "highball," a long and a short whistle that means "All hobo's aboard." The steam tightened, one succession of bumps was telegraphed down the string of empties, then no noise except the clicking

of the rails, the rattling of the cars, and the steady puff of the engines. I lay curled up in the corner and thought of the job that I had left, of Butte, of my destination. I felt lonely. As far as I knew I was the only passenger on the entire freight.

After what seemed like a couple of hours she slowed down and stopped. I was getting cold by this time so I got out. I was in Deer Lodge. In about an hour she started out again and I held her down all day and night getting off only at division points for meals. I found that there were between fifteen and twenty hoboes scattered about various parts of the train. Many had been on the train ever since she left St. Paul. Most of them were going to Washington to harvest the fruit and grain crops.

Soon I was traveling through the picturesque route that the Milwaukee boasts of. The hobo gets a better chance to appreciate the beauty of the route than the man that travels on the limited. We were all sitting in the doorway, and looking over the freight I could see feet hanging out of almost every boxcar.

At a stop a shack went by and seeing us all hanging out of the side doors yelled, "What the hell do you fellows think this is—an open air picnic?"

We grinned and shut the doors, but as soon as she started the doors would invariably be opened again. We pulled into Avery, Idaho, about four-thirty in the afternoon and when I returned from eating dinner the train was already made up and ready to start. I jumped into a side door "Pullman" hurriedly. A man of about forty-five was sitting in the far corner. He was what we call a "blanket stiff": that is, he carried a roll of blankets and canvas. He had a fine honest-looking face, clear blue eyes, a sandy complexion, and red hair. He was dressed in a wellworn pair of overalls, a wool shirt, and a tattered coat. I liked his appearance and we were soon talking of labor conditions.

We were passing through some of the most beautiful scenery that I had ever seen. The train rumbled on for miles and miles along the St. Jo river. As we sat with our feet hanging out of the side door one could almost see the fish in the clear water as we went by. I have seen uneducated men admire beautiful scenery before but this man was all enthusiasm. I encouraged him and he grew confidential. This is the substance of what he said, although I can not describe the look of boyish joy and enthusiasm on his face as he spoke.

"Son, I'm what you call a scenery bum. I used to get drunk on whiskey, now I get drunk with scenery. I've been working up in the mountains for about two months, I've got a little stake saved up, and I'm going to drop off at a little town a few miles down the line and live as close to God and nature as I can. I want to fish and swim again. I love these mountains. When my supply runs out I'll go to work and do it all over again."

After he had dropped off, true to his word, I envied him in his philosophy. I wondered if he didn't get as much pleasure out of life as many people do of wealth and position who let the material things of the world worry them.

I traveled on, arriving at Ellensburg the following afternoon, and from there I caught a passenger on the N. P. for the remaining thirty-five miles to Yakima. That ended that trip. I felt glad that I had made it and started another and much longer one in about ten days after I had arrived in Yakima.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN PROCESS

By F. M. RUSSELL

The League of Nations will be two years old January 10, 1922—if it lives—and although early infancy is a period of high mortality, this particular infant, its sponsors claim, possesses abounding vitality. Without necessarily agreeing one must still conclude, after an examination of its activities, that the reports of its death are, to use Mark Twain's expression, greatly exaggerated. On the other hand it is certain that the child as yet does not behave like a super-state. Rather does it seem to be a fairly promising infant suffering, however, rather seriously from a harsh and unsympathetic environment and consequently arrested to some extent in its development. At the same time strong food and adventurous enterprises have been thrust upon it and, its bachelor enemies exclaim disgustedly, it has only cooed!

The League has three primary organs: Council, Assembly, and Secretariat. In the sense that the Council and Assembly may discuss and advise concerning any matter threatening the peace of the world, and in general consider political questions of world significance, they may be called the League's political organs. The duties of the Secretariat, on the other hand, are largely investigational and administrative. It gathers material for the use of the Council and Assembly, makes preliminary studies for them, executes their decisions, and carries on the correspondence of the League. Furthermore its members are chosen not to represent governments, but rather to work solely for the interests of the League.

The Council of the League is still frequently confused in the United States with the Inter-Allied Supreme Council, but although the membership of the two bodies is, unfortunately, not mutually exclusive, they are formally distinct bodies designed for different purposes. The Supreme Council is a

continuation of the Supreme War Council, which conducted the struggle for the Allied and Associated Powers, and remains in existence primarily to superintend and insure the execution of the Reparations clauses as well as other provisions of the peace treaties with the former enemy Powers. Thus it, rather than the League Council, is the enforcing agency of the victors. The Council of the League has, with certain exceptions, no part in the execution of the provisions of the peace treaties, and has in fact usually avoided such entanglement as far as possible. It was intended, like the other organs of the League, to smooth out difficulties and promote the common welfare and permanent interests of nations rather than to serve their special competing interests.

During its first year (Jan. 1920—Jan. 1921) the Council averaged a session a month and dealt with many perplexing matters. Outstanding among international disputes which received its attention was that between Sweden and Finland over the possession of the Aland Islands. Prior to the War these islands, lying at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia and important for strategic reasons, were under Russian sovereignty. At the conclusion of the war both Finland and Sweden claimed them, the Finns on historical and geographical grounds, the Swedes not only for strategic reasons but because the inhabitants were overwhelmingly Swedish and had voted during the war to cast their lot with Sweden. The dispute grew serious, Sweden recalled her minister from Finland, and Great Britain, in the interests of a peaceful solution, invoked her right under Article XI of the Covenant of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the Council. Finland was not a member of the League, and Sweden, though a member, was not represented on the Council, but both parties were invited to send delegates to the Council during its consideration of the question. At this juncture Finland asserted that the question was a domestic one and

therefore not within the competence of the League. Lacking a regular Court of International Justice the Council submitted this preliminary legal question to a committee of three jurists. The latter, after careful deliberation, reported that the case was within the competence of the League. The Council then appointed a mixed commission to study the question of ownership and make a report and recommendation to the Council. The Commission spent two months of investigation, visiting Sweden, Finland, and the islands before making a report and advisory decision supporting Finland's claim but requiring the latter to guarantee to the inhabitants of the islands their language and civil and political liberties. Sweden vigorously protested the major decision but the Council accepted the Commission's report and, to relieve Sweden's fears that the islands might at some time be used as a base of operations against her, decided that they should be neutralized. Even yet Sweden was scarcely content, but she acquiesced in the Council's decision and the controversy was closed. Whether the two countries would have resorted to war if the League machinery had not been set in motion is doubtful, but they seemed unable to settle the question by direct negotiation, and continued friction between them might in time have drawn neighboring states into the controversy and enlarged it into a general European broil. That the League machinery worked and removed the issue before it grew complicated must be regarded as a worthy achievement of the Council and a gain to the world.

It is true, however, that other disputes involving the national interests not simply of a pair of states but of several states have not yielded to the mediation of the Council. For example, we may take the Polish-Lithuanian controversy over the possession of the Vilna district. As early as September, 1920, Poland sought the intervention of the Council in order to avert war

with Lithuania over the issue. Lithuania agreeing, the Council took up the problem and sought a solution. A popular expression of opinion by the inhabitants of the disputed district was finally decided upon, the Council planning to ask the several members of the League for troops to be sent into the district for the purpose of preserving order and guaranteeing an honest plebiscite. At this point, however, opposition was encountered from both contending parties. Poland, though professing to agree in principle to the plebiscite, was dissatisfied with the boundaries determined by the Council within which it should be held. Lithuania was opposed both to the plebiscite as planned and to the sending of League troops into the district. She opposed the inclusion of the City of Vilna in the area of the plebiscite on the grounds that Poland had previously agreed to leave Vilna to Lithuania, that General Zeligovsky's so-called "insurgent" Polish forces had occupied the city and, with other factors, would insure a vote adverse to Lithuania. Lithuania was also constrained to oppose the sending of the League troops on account of the threatening attitude of Soviet Russia. The latter, outside the League, and certainly having no very cordial relations with it, notified Lithuania that she would consider the admission of League troops into territory claimed by Lithuania as a violation of a treaty in which each pledged that it would not harbor troops hostile to the other. From the point of view of the Council, of course, such forces would be on a mission of peace rather than on an errand of war, but however evident this might be to Lithuania she realized that Russia, already concentrating troops on her frontier, was not to be convinced. The outcome was the abandonment of the plan for a plebiscite, the Council having to content itself with the recommendation that Lithuania and Poland settle the matter by direct negotiation. It did succeed, however, during its activity in the controversy, in influencing Poland and Lithuania to act

with greater restraint and was throughout an ameliorating agency. Factors in its inability to accomplish the major task were: two self-conscious states with debatable claims, hostility from a powerful state outside its membership, and, it is said, division in its own counsels.

In addition to the general obligation of the Council to act for the preservation of peace as international disputes arise, it has undertaken special tasks provided by the Treaty of Versailles. Formidable among these tasks has been the government of the Saar Basin, a territory formerly belonging to Germany, lying contiguous to Lorraine, having large coal deposits and about 650,000 Germans. France wanted the district at the conclusion of the war, but was finally satisfied with the coal mines, the government of the territory being intrusted to the League of Nations for a period of 15 years after which the inhabitants might exercise a deferred right of self-determination. The Council, as required by the Treaty, appointed an international commission to sit in the Territory and govern on behalf of the League. The success of the Council in this inherited obligation is as yet problematical. Neither Germany nor the detached territory is reconciled to the arrangement. On the other hand France seems to be making the most of the extensive economic rights and privileges in the Basin secured to her by the Treaty, and the Governing Commission, despite German protests, retains French military forces and in general seems inclined to lean heavily on French support as well as to guard vigilantly French interests.

The protection of Danzig also fell to the lot of the League under the Treaty of Versailles. To insure Poland an outlet to the sea the Danzig district was taken from Germany and was established by the Allied and Associated Powers as a Free City. The Treaty further provided that Danzig should draw up a constitution in agreement with a High Commis-

sioner to be appointed by the League. After its adoption it was to be guaranteed by the League, the latter being responsible also for the protection of the Free City. Through its High Commissioner the Council has carried out its obligations intelligently, and has been able to smooth out the inevitable difficulties that have arisen between Poland and Danzig over their respective rights and obligations under the Treaty.

One of the most important duties laid upon the Council by the Covenant of the League was the supervision of the conduct of mandates. Prior to the Treaty of Versailles the practice of dividing territorial spoils of war among the victors was limited only by considerations of expediency and self-interest. At the conclusion of the World War, however, so strong was the opposition in many quarters to this practice that the mandate solution was applied to many of the colonies and territories wrested from the enemy states. It is true that the victorious Powers themselves allocated the mandates; it is also a fact that they distributed them with marked if not altogether praiseworthy fidelity to the terms of the "secret treaties" into which they had entered during the war, but at least a formal concession to the principle of self-determination and to world interests was written into the Covenant by the insertion of a bill of rights for the native inhabitants and provisions denying to the mandatory states special military and economic rights and privileges. The mandatory Powers were further required to render annual reports to the Council accounting for their stewardship. The Council was to appoint a Permanent Mandates Commission to receive and study these reports and advise it on all matters relating to the mandate system. The Commission has only recently been appointed, or rather eight of the nine members which are to compose it have been selected. The ninth place remains vacant (July, 1921) it is understood until an American can be selected who will serve.¹

¹ W. Cameron Forbes, originally the choice of the Council, was unable to serve on account, we are told, of his appointment by President Harding to the Philippines Commissions.

The Council decided that a majority of the Commission should be selected from non-mandatory states, but this ostensible concession to those interested in having an impartial verdict on the conduct of the Mandatory Powers was apparent rather than real. Even were the majority to control the decisions of the Commission, the Council has the final voice in all decisions relating to mandates. Thus the mandatory states having permanent seats in this body can, if so inclined, block any action designed to hold them to accountability.² Perhaps this explains in large part the dilatory tactics and extreme hesitancy the Council has shown in dealing with this subject. Prior to the meeting of the League Assembly it had not required or at least it had not secured satisfactory reports from the Mandatories either as regards the boundaries of the mandated regions or as to the manner in which the Powers concerned proposed to discharge their trust. Since then it has received draft mandates from the several Powers, some of which it has approved, but not reports, apparently, of the actual conduct to date of the Mandatories in these territories. In the meantime Great Britain and France have without question taken measures in Syria, Mesopotamia, Nauru and other mandated territories scarcely to be squared with the principles and limitations of the Covenant. In short, the least that can be said is that the Council has not firmly grappled with the mandate situation, and it remains to be seen whether it will yet handle it honestly and effectively.

In the non-political sphere the Council, seconded by the Assembly at its meeting last year, has been doing creditable work. To mention but a few of its activities: With slender resources and with relatively little encouragement from the governments of the world it has carried on the fight against the spread of typhus in Europe, and has been instrumental in securing the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of war

² The Council must reach nearly all of its decisions by unanimous consent.

prisoners. Contending with powerful economic interests it has not as yet been so successful in dealing with the international opium traffic but it can show progress even here. Finally, it has cooperated with the various existing agencies for the promotion of international health and morals.

The first Assembly of the League was held at Geneva November-December, 1920, with delegates from forty-two states present. To those who had been prophesying the death of the League the Assembly was, of course, an unqualified failure; to some of the League enthusiasts it was a conspicuous success; most impartial observers have agreed that it made a modest contribution to the cause of world political progress and gave promise of more substantial achievement in the future. Much of its time and energy was necessarily taken up in working out its organization and procedure and, aware as the delegates were of the scepticism and even hostility with which the Assembly was being regarded not only in States not members of the League, but also by influential opponents from within, the tendency was to avoid or postpone the consideration of high-tension questions upon which unanimous agreement was manifestly impossible.

The Assembly opened its plenary session to the public. Indeed it went further and recommended that, as far as possible, the Council adopt a similar practice. This the Council has since done on one or two occasions, although prior to the Assembly meeting its sessions had been held behind closed doors. Lord Robert Cecil, outspoken advocate of open diplomacy, also received some support for his proposal that the Committees of the Assembly, in which most of the decisions were actually arrived at, should adopt open sessions; but Viviani of France and others of less eloquence but of like mind were unwilling to stray so far from past practices, and the most that could be secured was the proviso that the commit-

tees themselves might depart from the rule of closed sessions and open them to the public when it seemed desirable.

Probably the greatest positive achievement of the Assembly was its agreement on a plan for establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court will have no power to enforce its decisions; and many who believed, too, that such a court to be of value must have compulsory jurisdiction were disappointed that this feature of the plan evolved by Mr. Root and the other members of the committee of jurists could not command the necessary unanimous support of the Assembly.

Not the least of the Assembly's accomplishments was its appointment of a number of committees to study and report to the next meeting of the Assembly (September, 1921) on a number of vital questions of international concern, and its decision to hold regular annual meetings like other parliamentary bodies.

In fairness it must be said that the League has been seriously handicapped in unexpected ways. The greatest single factor in its failure to accomplish all that had been hoped has been its restricted membership. The underlying idea of those who struggled for an Association of Power as opposed to the old and discredited Balance of Power was that of a *Universal* association. The League, in their view, must not be simply an alliance of victors, or a league of Great Powers existing for the furtherance of the selfish interests of these Powers, but rather a league representative of all the nations of the world, big and little, created to deal with world affairs and promote world interests. From the point of view of numbers the ideal of universality has been almost realized—few nations remain outside the League membership today. But as Alexander Hamilton once said, “in political arithmetic two and two do not always make four.” The Powers whose active cooperation the League most needs and whose enmity or

indifference can do it most harm remain outside its membership, outside its councils, largely outside its influence, but ever present as baffling and obstructive factors in many of the problems it tries to solve.

The membership of these Powers in the League *might* introduce greater discord, their absence *assures* partial paralysis. French influence has kept Germany out of the League. Russia remains on the outside apparently by general consent, and the United States, whose adhesion is most needed, remains aloof for reasons known, if at all, only to ourselves. The uncompromising attitude of the Democratic administration and its struggle for unqualified acceptance of the Treaty resulted in the defeat of the Treaty and our failure to enter the League. The protracted policy of negation of the Republican administration and its spokesmen, with their uncertain, ambiguous, and frequently inconsistent pronouncements has bewildered the League, made it excessively cautious in dealing with contentious questions, and in effect crippled it.

The theoretical limitations of a non-inclusive league designed to handle world problems are fairly obvious. In the first place it violates the representative principle. In the second place, if it attempts to play a positive part in world affairs it must inevitably encounter hostile intrigue among the nations outside its membership and probably sooner or later confront a counter league and be drawn into war.

So far as the League of Nations has failed to function positively and fruitfully to date the failure has been due principally to the fact that it has not had the advice, cooperation and support of the great nations mentioned. Take for example the question of the reduction of armaments. Article VIII of the Covenant of the League contained a statement of guiding principles for the solution of this problem and a method of procedure but the proposed solution was based on the assumption that all great powers, especially the United

States, would cooperate. The Assembly of the League met last year, however, without that cooperation and it is not surprising that it failed to make progress on this question. One of the decisive reasons for failure to come to any fruitful agreement was contained in the assertion that "there were nations outside the League not bound by the obligations imposed upon its members."

What the League Assembly meeting in September will accomplish remains to be seen. With its organization perfected and the advantage of the experience gained at its meeting last year it is to be hoped that it will courageously seek solutions of some of the outstanding problems facing it. Perhaps it may pave the way for the success of the Washington Conference in November on Disarmament and Far Eastern problems—it will hardly attempt to anticipate that Conference by attempting an independent solution.

TWILIGHT MADNESS

By JAMES LAND ELLIS

I do not fear the blazing sun nor the cold floods of rain;
On the storm-swept sea I ride with song to mock the hurricane;
The danger that the darkness holds I meet with high disdain;
And I greet with zest life's fierce melee when the dawn
 streaks red again;

But in the hush of twilight's fall I strive for cheer in vain:
A dizzy fear contracts my heart, stark terror cloy's my brain,
A hellish devil whips my soul, and the thousands in his train
Dance round and round to a ghoul's sound like a symphony
 of pain,

And I know that Hope has fled the earth and the blessed Gods
 are slain!

THE REVIVAL OF THE YELLOW PRESS

By RALPH D. CASEY

Tiffany Blake, a *Chicago Tribune* editorial writer, once defined news as an exalted form of gossip, an observation supported every day newspapers issue from the press. Many publishers spend a great deal of money, time and talent collecting the tittle-tattle of the world. Recently, in some of our communities a deliberate and definite news policy has been laid down which, in effect, orders trivial and banal news—gossip—played up at the expense of important news events. One of the tenets of such a policy also is featuring what the layman terms the sensational news story. The trivial and the violent—these are the twin gods of a type of journalism steeped in the tradition that the public desires emotional excitement rather than information.

That the reader may understand more particularly what appears to be gossip rather than news, let me refresh his memory by mention of the accounts of the so-called trunk murder that have taken up many columns of space in some of our Pacific Coast papers. Gossip about the man charged with the murder was a news feature for days. Newspaper readers were told that he snored all night; “threw a fit”; chewed gum methodically while awaiting arraignment; cast off his clothing in his cell; refused to talk to reporters. A woman reporter attempted to interview him and described him as rather handsome. How this man, an ex-convict, comported himself while imprisoned; how he dressed; what he said—this round of activities was as painstakingly recorded as a President’s early days in the White House. If officials questioned him, newspaper readers knew the man had been “grilled.” Sometimes there was nothing to tell of the result, but the fact that he had been questioned, a routine procedure,

was displayed as first-page news. The poor man was "grilled" regularly in newspaper headlines.

Conservatively-edited newspapers could never have devoted the space to the trunk murder case that some news editors gave the story. Within the limits of good taste and accuracy, even the most conservative newspapers will give prominence to murder stories. News is not judged on the basis of its pleasant or unpleasant qualities. But an important consideration governing publication of news is the necessity of maintaining space for the sober events of the day. Newspapers that carry informative despatches from Washington and European capitals would find it difficult to maintain a daily policy of "playing up" murders, and giving space to long gossipy "follow" stories on the speculations of a district attorney, a sheriff or a coroner, or the bits of information reporters are able to obtain from either defendants or witnesses.

In emphasizing the frivolous and the sensational, legitimate sober news is either "played down" or never gets into the paper. A publisher with a cynical attitude toward the public does not pretend to serve his readers with *information*. He desires to play on their emotions and to titillate their fancy. He does this deliberately through his choice of the news and its display, and the liberal use of syndicated "features" and pictures. Recently, there has been established in New York and Boston a form of journalism which gives the reader *pictures* as well as *gossip*. Solid information is altogether lacking. The appeal is made to the eye and the emotions, rarely to the intelligence. These journals, in spite of their guise, are in a strict sense not newspapers if the primary purpose of the newspaper is to give adequate reports of the day's news. "Although various inducements other than news may be employed to attract some persons to newspapers who would not otherwise read them regularly," wrote Willard G. Bleyer, professor of journalism in the University of Wisconsin,

“nevertheless these features must not be so prominent or attractive that readers with limited time at their disposal will neglect the day’s news for entertainment.”¹ Most persons of intelligence, regardless of their interest in syndicated features, syndicated editorials, humorous columns, cartoons and pictures, will agree to this.

Differing from Tiffany Blake’s is this definition of news of which Frank G. Kane, a former editorial writer on the *Detroit News*, is the author: News is information, more or less timely, more or less interesting, about life.

Is what the reader finds in his paper timely? Is it interesting? Is it informative? Answers to these questions will depend, of course, on the intelligence and point of view of the reader. The *information* we receive in many of our papers may be *about life*, but it is preponderantly about trivial and violent phases of life, and frequently about a sordid and brutal manifestation of life.

The account of a murder may be of transcendent interest to the public. How important the story is will depend in the eyes of a conservative news editor on the importance of the persons involved and the element of mystery in the case. The Elwell murder in New York produced a combination of these two elements, and the press may have been justified in the space devoted to it. The conservatively-edited Manhattan press does not lose its perspective on crime news, however. News executives do not edit their papers on the theory that murder is always a “big” story regardless of the persons implicated, the motive, or the man or woman slain. Moreover, no attempt is made by the sober press to build circulation on morbid curiosity or appeals to our combative instincts.

Some of the papers on the Pacific Coast, however, and in other important urban sections, proceed on the theory that murder is always interesting, and the display of stories of

(1) The Profession of Journalism. The Atlantic Monthly Press.

violence will build up a circulation. On a day when the defendant in the trunk murder gets a first page position, a newspaper with a policy based on this tradition "plays up" the capture of an Oregon dentist wanted for murder; the confession of a minister accused of killing a Catholic dean in Alabama; further details of the murder of a priest in California; a British Columbia woman's confession of murder, and developments in the J. Belton Kennedy murder case, also in California.

On the same day these stories are featured, the *New York Evening Post* displays on its first page the following: an official statement, a column in length, explaining the Administration's tax revision program; an Associated Press story from Dublin from the Sinn Fein, holding out hope for further peace negotiations with the British Government; a special cable from Shanghai expressing Japan's attitude on the Shantung case as it may be involved in the disarmament conference; the arrival of Suzanne Lenglen; a Washington despatch by Mark Sullivan on the opposition of the "farmer" group in the Senate to provisions of the proposed tariff law; an article by another Washington staff correspondent on Harding's effort to redeem his pledges.

While the *Evening Post* does not "play up" murder stories, it does not altogether dismiss them. Its policy is founded on a desire to present a significant picture of life. All the worth-while, timely and interesting information about life does not deal with homicide. There are legitimate news events that cannot possibly be classified as "human interest" stories involving such things as love, hate and death, the elements treasured by the sensational journalist. The world is attempting to solve its tremendous political, economic, financial, social and racial difficulties. Great questions involving the future peace of many thousands are awaiting solution, or are in the process of being solved. Political news ought to be

of utmost interest to a generation that has experienced the miseries of war and the acute disturbances of readjustment. Some of this news, true enough, may be of a gossip nature. It may involve personalities—Harding, Hughes, Lloyd George, De Valera, Smuts, Sir James Craig, Lenin, Ishii. But it is gossip, if you will, about men who affect our lives intimately and about events that may be epochal. I dare say there is as much of “human interest” in the careers of these men as in the lives of the Kabers, the Hamons, the Stillmans and the Mahoneys.

The late William Rockhill Nelson of the *Kansas City Star* had a definition of news. News is that which interests people. What was Nelson’s interpretation of the interests of mankind? The *Kansas City Star* under the Nelson leadership was for years the standard-bearer of progress in the Middle West. And it goes without saying that this leadership was not gained through news columns devoted only to trivialities and sensation. Nelson believed his readers were interested in ideas. The *Star* reprinted articles of political, social, economic, literary and civic interest from magazines and newspapers the world over. Reprints of the classics were to be found frequently in the *Star*.

“Nelson could not tolerate screaming head-lines,” wrote members of his staff after his death. “He steadfastly refused to make the *Star* a ‘picture paper.’ He insisted on good taste in every department. He kept his personality severely in the background. He had supreme confidence in the paper of an idea to work itself into the lives of people. Let the idea be presented often enough and he knew it would win. ‘Print one article on commission government,’ he said at a staff conference, ‘and nobody will read it. But if every few days there is a little article on commission government, reprinted from *Collier’s*, *The Outlook* or some other magazine or newspaper, or in the shape of an interview with somebody from a

commission government city, or perhaps in a letter from a conscientious reader, or in an editorial—why, by and by a few people here and there will begin to know there is such a thing' ".²

The *Star* printed stories of murder, suicide, robbery and divorce, of course. But it allotted news of this kind its proper place. Nelson was interested in giving his readers information. And he was supremely interested, also, in making Kansas City a better community. He made a successful fight for parks, boulevards, public buildings, proper transportation; cheaper and better lighting; and he attempted to create a feeling among his readers for art and music. The *Star* was a leading influence for good in Kansas City.

All this is generally known. The point to be made here is that the *Star* was a great commercial success. Nelson gave his readers news and he gave them leadership. He prospered. Other contemporary publishers prefer success built upon a disregard for the public, and prefer to follow the shrieking methods of yellow journalism rather than the dignified and sober journalism that made the *Star* almost a national institution.

Since the war ended, there appears in some communities to be a definite swinging back of the pendulum toward sensational journalism. Over-emphasis, cynicism in the selection of news, and the publication of trivial gossip in place of information are the product of the yellow journal. The methods of the yellow newspapers in the early days of their establishment in New York by Pulitzer and Hearst have been condoned on the ground that the mob was brought within the influence of printed news. The Pulitzer and Hearst papers appealed to a low average of intelligence, but they brought thousands of persons who had not read the dignified, conservative journals "into some sort of conscious relation to the

(2) William Rockhill Nelson. The Riverside Press.

national life." Pulitzer himself defended publication of crime news, for which the "yellows" were famous, in the following terms: "We are a democracy and there is only one way to get a democracy on its feet in the matter of its individual, its social, its Municipal, its State, its National conduct, and that is by keeping the public informed about what is going on."

Is the publisher thinking of the well-being of a democracy (as Pulitzer implied) when he informs his readers each day of yesterday's murders and yesterday's trivialities? Can sensational methods be excused in a Western community, where the percentage of educated persons is high, on the ground that such methods beguile the mass of the readers to become interested in printed news? Has the journalist judged his community properly when he fashions his newspaper after journals which have proved successful in communities where there is a low percentage of educated persons or in sections housing great numbers of immigrants?

The "yellows" of the Spanish-American War days set out to capture the uneducated reader through sensational methods: scare heads; condensation of news; practical abolition of the long and soberly-written editorial; the plentiful use of photographic halftones; exaggeration; and often deliberate coloring of the news. Later, the pendulum swung backward.

Quoting R. A. Scott-James, a leading historian of the press, on this phase of journalistic evolution: "The controllers of the popular press learned the market-value of decency. They discovered that accurate information paid; that an irresponsible sensational manner no longer created a sensation; that news must be news; that authority was still authoritative—that the largest newspaper audience in the world was not destitute of common-sense."

Although conservatively-edited newspapers of this period like the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *New*

(3) Joseph Pulitzer. By Alleyne Ireland. Mitchell Kennerley.

(4) *The Influence of the Press*. S. W. Partridge and Co., London.

York Times and the *Portland Oregonian* grew to power and became great commercial successes, "yellow" methods are preferred by an increasing number of publishers in the present period, which let us say arbitrarily began at the close of the Great War. The success of the conservatively-edited newspaper has been obtained through long years of service to its readers. Perhaps publishers launching new journals or buying old newspapers in straitened circumstances are appalled by the years of effort that must go toward establishing a reputation for solidity, sobriety and service. The sensational newspaper brings the quickest return. The return may not endure in the long run. But if a publisher is interested in commercial success to the exclusion of other interests, he does not bother about ideals and theory and patient effort. He gives the public what he thinks it will most greedily accept. An increased circulation makes an appeal to advertisers; and it is a truism that the advertiser pays most of the bill for the publication of a newspaper.

The *Kansas City Star* has a daily circulation (morning and evening) of more than 440,000 copies. But Nelson gave the best years of his life to the upbuilding of this property. On the other hand the *Illustrated Daily News*, a journal established within the past three years in New York City, without an Associated Press franchise and with only its pictures and its trivial and sensational news to commend it, has between 300,000 and 400,000 daily circulation. The success of this picture or "tabloid" newspaper (so-called because of the extreme condensation of its news) has astonished even the keenest journalists in the metropolis.

The *Illustrated Daily News* was established by the Chicago Tribune Publishing Co. The success of the *London Daily Mirror*, a picture paper, inspired the founding of this newspaper. The Tribune Company, according to Park Row gossip, expected to spend many thousands of dollars on its

New York venture before it was sure of a steady return above expenses. But the paper has had a quick success. The Hearst newspapers in particular have already begun to feel the effect of the competition of the *News*. Last summer the *New York American* began issuing an early edition at 9 P.M. hoping to catch the street crowds of New York before the *News* came from the press an hour later.

The *News* is about a third of the dimensions of the ordinary newspaper. This form is made possible through extreme condensation of news stories. It is easier to look at pictures printed on a magazine-size sheet. The pages of the *News* can be turned in a crowded subway or elevated train. It can be thrust handily into the pocket.

The paper is full of photographic likenesses of persons prominent in the news, but the *News* has a definite policy in regard to use of illustrations just as it has its individual news policy. There is no attempt to imitate the conservative roto-gravure sections of such papers as the *Sunday Times*, *Tribune*, *World* or *Herald* or the Wednesday or Saturday editions of the *Evening Post*. The ten photographers on the *News* staff are assigned to take pictures of persons who are the leading figures in murders, hold-ups, raids, street accidents, sporting contests, et cetera. Camera-men wait outside police stations and photograph prisoners on their way to arraignment; haunt the bathing beaches for pictures of bathing girls; are on hand at important criminal trials; in fact, are present on every occasion that affords good photographic copy in line with the *News* policy. It would be unfair to imply that the paper does not print likenesses of persons of power, intellect and place. But a study of its pages indicates that the *News* prefers for its first page the likeness of Nicholas Laresch, on trial for killing a police lieutenant, to that of Madame Curie.

The *News* demonstrated that a newspaper can enter a great competitive field without an Associated Press franchise,

and attract thousands of readers by giving them pictures, and syndicated features that yellow newspapers have always played up. It is doubtful if the editors of the *News* would use even a fair amount of Associated Press news if they could obtain a franchise. They do not need the service because the Associated Press does not make a specialty of trivialties and sensation. Parenthetically, it would be interesting for the layman to obtain access to the full Associated Press report in some Pacific Coast communities, and observe the selection of news that has been made by the telegraph editor of the newspaper of which he is a subscriber. Such a research would reveal that some publishers do not avail themselves of a valuable agency, and the reader does not, therefore, get a complete picture of what is happening in the world.

While the *News* can get the type of stories it wants by special correspondence, and is not dependent upon the Associated Press, it could further entrench itself if it could subscribe to the New York City News Association, a service which reports, among other things, the happenings at Police Headquarters, the Police Precinct Stations; the Municipal, Magistrates', Criminal, Federal and State Courts—the breeding places for the type of story the *News* desires. But even without City News service the picture newspaper does not often miss a good murder, robbery or suicide story.

Has the pictorial appeal made the *News* popular? Many acute newspapermen in the metropolis think the so-called features and the sensational tabloid news items have done as much to popularize the *News* as its pictures. If the yellow journalists who held the field before the coming of the *News* stop to think it over, they may have come to the conclusion that they have accustomed the masses to a type of journalism from which readers cannot be shaken. Fed on the trivial and the sensational, the drug has become a necessity. The careless reader, expecting sensation, has slipped to a plane of pictures

and condensed bits of gossip and frivolous comment. And there are evidences that the *News* has within a comparatively short period had its effects on journalism as a whole, and already has imitators.

Recently, Hearst purchased the *Record* in Boston and experimented with a picture newspaper after the New York prototype. Other publishers have used *News* methods in an effort to increase circulation. If Hearst's example is followed, newspaper readers may soon expect establishment of picture papers in the principal cities. The sober, conservative press will in all likelihood continue to hold its place, as the public is composed of various elements, and the *News* type of journalism will not satisfy the thinking and educated elements. But standards and tastes will be lowered if the tabloid newspaper increases its hold.

The limitations of newspapers that do not give information are apparent. There is not space to discuss the evils of creating a public "which reads only for distraction, which does not demand ideas or care about exact evidence, which requires no more than a flavor of the written word as it requires salt for its mutton chop." And it is clear that much could be said of the effect sensational and trivial journalism has on the men within the ranks of the profession. Under the conditions in which many of our metropolitan newspapers are managed, there is no real future for a man of intelligence who enters journalism. It matters little whether he holds a university degree or has had only a common school education, he will learn in a short time that reporting murders and robberies is not the most congenial work of which he is capable. If he is intelligent, he will tire of writing trivial news. Many young men entering upon their careers hopeful of climbing to posts as special correspondents or writers, trained to observe impartially and report important events, will never be able to endure the triviality of the work they are called upon to perform in

their early years of service. Cynical and disillusioned they will leave the professions for which they have been trained, and enter other fields. Insufficient rewards and uncertainty of tenure will discourage others. Men do not require university training to cover a police precinct. The best reporters for such work, and for many of the tasks of our contemporary newspapers, are those who can maintain their enthusiasm over the routine and trivial grist of events. With a telephone leading into his office, a reporter in our largest communities may not be required to write a line of copy, if he is a police reporter. If a man has industry, an unflagging interest in everyday events, no matter what their nature, and what is styled a news sense, what more is required to collect a great deal of the news that appears in the press?

Ninety per cent, (and the figure is not extreme) of the newspapermen who are members of the staffs of our sensational newspapers are at odds with the character of their work. "As a class the journalists of the United States are energetic and generous," said Mr. Scott-James. "In every way those whom I have met—and I have met a great many—are infinitely superior to the papers they produce." Those who know the workers of the press will support this observation.

The trivial and sensational press drives promising journalists out of the newspaper offices, and the ranks are filled by recruits who are either improperly trained, or are willing to write and edit the news with their tongues in their cheeks.

It is not an easy thing to give readers what they want. Different elements have different interests. But the public, regardless of the special interests of its various elements, demands, as a general thing, news as well as gossip, and a fair share of sober news as well as sensational news. The newspaper that underestimates public intelligence can be charged, as the least of its sins, with a failure to perform an implied

contract with its readers. And this failure amounts to a kind of censorship of the news. The press needs new men in the executive positions; reporters who are properly trained and properly paid; new methods which are not founded on the tradition, as Washington Gladden once expressed it, that the function of journalism is keeping the seamy side of life uppermost and the exploitation of crime and vice and scandal.

Walter Lippmann is of the opinion that reform of our newspapers will come "only by the drastic competition of those whose interests are not represented in the existing news-organization," and that organized labor and militant liberalism must set the pace against "the complacency and bad service of the routineers." After all, sensational journalism is, as Lippmann says, a routine journalism; an attempt to revive and hold a method that was discredited fifteen years ago or more. The public wants information and will get it eventually.

"In some form or other the next generation will attempt to bring the publishing business under greater social control," wrote Mr. Lippmann. "There is everywhere an increasingly angry disillusionment about the press, a growing sense of being baffled and misled; and wise publishers will not pooh-pooh these omens. They might well note the history of prohibition, where a failure to work out a program of temperance brought about an indiscriminating taboo. The regulation of the publishing business is a subtle and elusive matter, and only by an early and sympathetic effort to deal with great evils can the more sensible minds retain their control. If publishers and authors themselves do not face the facts and attempt to deal with them, some day Congress, in a fit of temper, egged on by an outraged public opinion, will operate on the press with an ax."⁵

(5) *Liberty and the News*. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

BY MIHO'S PINE-CLAD SHORE

A NOH PLAY

Translated by Yone Noguchi from the Japanese Text.

CHARACTERS

Hakuryo and his Fellow Fisherman

Fairy

Chorus

(This chorus sometimes speaks in place of the characters, sometimes interprets the meaning of their movements.)

Hakuryo and his Fellow Fisherman

Lo the sea where, as old poems say, the boatmen of the wind-tossed shore will bustle when the storm clouds fly.

Hakuryo

I am Hakuryo, a fisherman, living at Miho's pine-clad shore.

Hakuryo and his Fellow Fisherman

This is the morning fair and blessed. We recall an ancient song which says: "The clouds calm down in mountains of a thousand miles; the rain stops, the moon is clear by a tower." What a lovely time is Spring morn, graceful with the trailing haze on the pine shore! Above in the sky the silvery moon still remains; below, the waves are quiet. What beautiful scenery! Even our low-born fishermen minds are bewitched by it.

Chorus

Indeed 'tis the unforgettable sight. Being fanned by a morning breeze which hastens through the forests and hills, we have come from our homes. Let us launch our boats amid the unruffled waves! Oh, my friend-fishermen, why do you return without fishing?—is it that you are frightened by the rising winds and billows? No, no, they are only the billows of cloud! Wait! Wait! This is Spring! What blows is the

morning breeze whose song echoes through the pine trees.
There is no voice in the waves.

Hakuryo

Here at Miho's pine-clad shore I gaze round, being wrapped in admiration of the beauty of the place. How strange to see flowers fluttering in the sky and to hear heavenly strains of music! A more than earthly fragrance fills the air. While thinking that it is something most extraordinary, I find to my amazement, a mysterious robe hanging on the branch of a pine tree. In its color and fragrance, I know that it is no common mortal's property. I think I will pull the robe down from the branch. Let me take it home to show to the old folks in the village, and treasure it as an heirloom I could hand down in my house.

Fairy

Mine is that robe. What would you do with it?

Hakuryo

I have formed it by myself. There is nothing strange in my taking it home.

Fairy

That is a fairy's feather robe, a thing that may not be bestowed on mortal beings. Pray, leave it on the branch as before.

Hakuryo

What, then, are you yourself a fairy since you claim possession of the robe? As a keepsake for the long future age and a treasure of the country I will keep it. No, no, I cannot return the robe to you.

Fairy

Without a feather robe nevermore can I fly through the air; nevermore can I return to my celestial sphere. I beg you, therefore, to give it back to me.

Hakuryo

No, fairy, no, the more I hear you plead, the more my

desire grows strong. You can not have your robe—it is too late!

Fairy

Alas, I am like a hapless bird which has lost its wings. I do not know how to soar back to the realm of blue without my robe. I am bereft of the flying power.

Hakuryo

But you are not a thing that can live in the lower world.

Fairy

My grief only teaches me to pine.

Hakuryo

I will never restore your robe.

Fairy

Alas! What shall I do?

Chorus

The fairy, like a flower among the tresses wet with the dew of tears, sinks in woe from whose pollution even the Heavens are never to be free. What a wretchedness in her surrender to five woes!¹

Fairy

I look up in vain to the sky where the mists veil my own paths from cloud to cloud.

Chorus

Oh, how enviable are the clouds wandering up to the place where my home lies! The sweet strains of Paradise birds with which my ears were so familiar are becoming now inaudible. The crane passing in the sky, the plovers and seagulls among the waves in offing, and the spring breezes sweeping the plain, all of them, make me more sad. Oh, how enviable are they! They all do fly, but I can never fly again.

Hakuryo

Now I realize how wrong I am. Your robe will be restored to you.

(1) Vis., the withering of the crown of flowers, the heavenly robe polluted into dust, a deadly sweat, a feeling of dizzy blindness, and the loss of all joy.

Fairy

Oh, how glad am I!

Hakuryo

But one moment! I will restore the robe on condition that you do first dance for me one of your fairy dances. Its fame has already reached my mortal ears.

Fairy

What a joy that I may return to my Heavens! If this happiness be true, I will certainly leave a dance behind me to be remembered by you mortal man. But I cannot dance without my feather robe. Pray, give it back to me!

Hakuryo

No, fair fairy, you may fly back to your home without dancing, if I restore you the robe.

Fairy

Fie on you! The pledge of mortals may be doubted, but there's no falsehood in Heaven.

Hakuryo

Alas, I am ashamed! Forgive me! Pray, take your robe!

Fairy

How glad I am to wear the robe again and dance a piece of "Rainbow Skirt and Feather Jacket."

Hakuryo

Lo and behold, the robe so beautifully replies to the wind!

Chorus

What a beauty in the flowery sleeves with dew-drops lined!

When in the olden day of creation God and Goddess, Izanagi and Izanami, settled the whole world, the name of the "Heavens Far-Away" was given to the blue realms of air.

Fairy

And in the Heavens stands the eternal palace of the Moon, built and curved by an ax of jewels.

Chorus

Over that palace thirty fairies rule, of whom fifteen nightly do appear, richly clad in robes of silvery white, till the moon be full. And from the sixteenth night one vanishes into space, and fifteen fairies in black robes of silence take their seats.

Fairy

I am one of those fairies—

Chorus

—whose service to mankind is to show the heavenly dance of the golden spheres. When the spring is beautiful with the circling pleasant mists, the celestial flowers of the world of Moon do also bloom. Indeed 'tis a sign of spring to see my flowerets in the hair freshly colored. How delightful to be blessed by the heavenly winds who bring a joy even to this lower world! The morning moon shines over the Kiyomigata bay. Look at the snow on Fuji's summit! This Miho's pine-clad shore is kissed by calm breezes and waves. What lovely scenery of the inlet! Although heaven and earth are separated, this holy land is ruled by the heavenly kings descending from the immortal gods. List to the song, singing of the everlasting life of the country, everlasting as the granite rock; list to the song in sweet unison with tabors, cymbals and flutes, echoing on even beyond the clouds! Behold how beautifully the white-cloud sleeves of the dancer fly against the tints of sunset by a western mountain, and the azure waves gleaming from isle to isle!

Fairy

Lo, my blue robe like the blue sky!

Chorus

Again, lo, my robe like the mists of spring!

In fragrance and color is fair, the robe of the fairy. How beautifully these heavenly wings swing left and right, again right and left! Oh, how these dancing sleeves sway and flut-

ter! What a sight! Dance on, fair fairy, while the heavenly flowers crown your waving tresses, waving as if odorous breezes; beautiful fairy, dance on singing of life and celestial joy! From your bounteous hand, pour down a hundred treasures on our land! Bless our shore with hopes and desires fulfilled!

(She now holds the soft-lipped zephyr from the bluest plain with her seven-folded feather robe. From the pine-clad shore she now passes by the wild stretch of the Ukishima ga Hara moor, and over Ashitaka Mount, and higher and higher to Fuji's immortal summit, and then beyond the clouds and winds.)

(The Fishermen now stare around them over the empty sea. The calm chanting winds pass away amid the pine forests of the dreamy shore.)

ALLA NAZIMOVA

By ELLA HIGGINSON

Dancer or empress; begger-maid or queen;
 Girl of the streets; lady of high degree;
 Glowing with love; pallid with jealousy;
 Shaken with anguish, or on heights serene—
 Thou art the passion-flower of the screen!
 Thou art the burning-flame that shakes the heart;
 Both stage and screen too small are for thine art. . . .
 Nazimova—the *world* is thy demesne!

Thou art the rose that waits to blossom red
 Within the heart. . . the laughter and the tears;
 The song the maid sings ere delight be fled;
 The prayer that trembles down through all the years. . . .
 Genius begot thee out of willing Fate,
 And all for thee is spelled in one word—Great.

SOME ASPECTS OF WAR FINANCE

By CLEMENT AKERMAN

Business men and economists carried on a lively discussion in 1916 and 1917 as to the relative merits of taxes and loans as means of raising war supplies. Now, as it is almost three years since the Armistice, it may be of interest to review the main points brought out in the controversy with the purpose of seeing how the matter looks in the light of after-war experience.

Is it desirable to shift a part of the burden of war from the war period to the future? Is it possible? What are the merits of taxation, domestic loans, and foreign loans with reference to the interests of the present generation (the generation carrying on the war) and future generations? These are the questions which puzzled men's minds. Some severe things were said on each side, and the difference of opinion remained. But perhaps some progress was made in the search for the truth.

Agreement was far easier to reach as to the answer to the first question than in the case of the other problems. Professor Bonn gave an affirmative answer from a German point of view: "The cost of small colonial wars, such as occur in every generation, ought to be borne by the people who made them and who profited by them, giving their successors a clean sheet to start all over again. During this world war the generation which has to bear the brunt of the fighting ought not to be saddled with any burden it can be saved from." Professor Seligman, in America, held a similar view: "And with reference to the particular circumstances of the present conflict, if this is a war to make democracy safe, it is certainly just that the coming decades which will enjoy the benefits of security should bear some part of the cost of preserving it."

This position will no doubt meet with general approval. The advantage of shifting the burden from the present to the future is very evident when we compare present goods with future goods. What sort of estimation will a nation put upon present goods in time of war? Certainly a very high one; it matters not whether they are war munitions or goods for the consumption of the civil population. There is great need in the present for goods to satisfy those wants which the citizens regard as the very highest. Needs will not be so pressing in the future and goods will be used to satisfy wants of a lower order. A country in the midst of a great war is justified in contracting a heavy burden for the future if in this manner more goods can be obtained in the present.

Can the burden be shifted? This is the point over which there is the sharpest difference of opinion, and it must be disposed of before one can answer the questions regarding the methods of raising revenue. The writer will give his own view of the matter and then take up some of the arguments of those in the opposing camp.

First of all, we must have a clear idea of the nature of the economic burden of war. The two outstanding facts are that great quantities of supplies are consumed by the armies and navies and that many millions of men are taken from their ordinary work in producing commodities and rendering services. Some items in the list of supplies demanded represent a clear loss, such as explosives, guns, and horses killed. Professor Kemmerer has pointed out that the loss in the living costs of the soldiers may not be so great as it seems, since the men would have to be fed and clothed any way, and there are many economies in preparing food and clothing on such a vast scale as is done for armies and navies. This is true, but the loss is still very heavy. The men for the most part would have remained with their families had there been no war, and many items of family expenditure run on whether the man of the

house is away or not. Professor Kemmerer mentions as another credit item the simple living of the soldiers and their families at home. This should not be considered on the credit side in the same sense as the gain from large-scale production in feeding and clothing the soldiers, for it is simply a matter of going without, and represents sacrifice.

As to the sacrifice due to the withdrawal of millions of men from their usual occupations, it is clear that even though the national income (including war supplies) is kept up, it is only through great sacrifice. It is perfectly true that millions of persons—old men, men who have been living on the income from investments, women and children—are working who would not have been working in time of peace; but their labor plainly represents a national burden, since they are not relieving the soldiers of toil and their labor for the most part must be more irksome than such labor would have been for the strong men who are in the armies. It means that the nations are working much harder than they were before the war came, and consumers' goods other than war materials are less.

Modern governments do not acquire their supplies by a direct collection of produce but by the use of money, which may be obtained by taxation, by domestic loans, or by foreign loans. The use of money in the transactions involved is the cause of much of the confusion of thought which has arisen about this whole subject. Let us, therefore, for the present pass over this feature of the process and try to make a statement of the means of raising supplies which will throw light upon the fundamentals. Supplies are obtained by shifting part of the labor and capital of the countries at war from the industries of peace to the production of war materials, by continuing the usual industries and exporting their products to pay for imports of war materials, by purchasing abroad munitions with gold or securities, by importing goods and giving in exchange promises to pay at some future date.

The first method causes a heavy burden during the war. Old plants must be converted and many new ones constructed. Materials which would have been used in peace industries and men who would have been employed in them must be taken for this purpose. Ordinary consumption must be cut down to set free these men and materials. Germany and the United States had to rely almost wholly upon this method. Germany was cut off from the outside world and when the United States entered the war the nations of Europe had pre-empted all other available sources of supplies. In fact, this country had already taken up a considerable part of the burden of the war in the form of exports to Europe. These advances to the Allies continued after our entry into the war and reached such enormous proportions as to increase materially this country's share of the necessary sacrifices. Germany also made advances to her allies. Failure to grasp the true nature of this process gave rise to absurd notions which would have been highly amusing if they had not sometimes appeared in high places. As an example, many thought that Germany really was at a great advantage because forsooth she had to bear the whole burden without aid from the outside. Many of the cruder notions of mercantilism were revived. Witness the idea that America's loans to Europe would not be felt if the money were only spent in this country.

In the case of exporting ordinary products and receiving war materials in exchange the sacrifice consists in doing without the goods which were formerly imported.

Advantage can be gained by sending gold and securities abroad to pay for imports, for present income is increased by drawing upon the income of other nations.

Coming to the last method of importing goods and giving promises to pay, it is clear that the national income is increased for the time being and the lenders take a mortgage on the future income of the borrowers.

We are now ready to consider the possibility of shifting part of the burden to future generations. The different situations outlined above will be reviewed in this connection.

Where a nation is thrown entirely upon its own resources, as in the first case, or where it gives up goods in exchange for imports, as in the second case, some writers think there are two ways in which the present may benefit at the expense of the future. Equipment of all kinds which is in existence at the beginning of the war and which is used for war purposes or for keeping up the supply of ordinary articles may be worn out and no provision may be made for its replacement. Students of economics will recall how much of the current product of society has to be turned over to the replacement fund in order to keep the capital equipment intact. "What is true, however, of capital, is equally true of labor. It is possible that the speeding up of production involves such a strain on the laborers, resulting from long hours, night work and unremitting toil, as to impair their health and transmit to the future a body of workmen less efficient than they would otherwise have been." There might be some difference of opinion as to the importance of the causes mentioned in bringing about a deterioration of the labor force, since in many cases it was found that output could be increased by shortening hours, but in some countries underfeeding of workmen and overworking of women, or the taking of food for workmen which was needed for the proper development of children, will have important effects upon future labor power. No one will deny that the after-war generation will feel keenly these results of the war, but the writer questions whether it is proper to think of this process as drawing upon the future. Nothing is obtained for present use which is to be created in the future. Is not this rather drawing upon the past? To use up existing equipment and wear out existing labor power must be considered as of the same nature as using up a supply of guns and

shells accumulated in peace times. Under the conditions here considered the goods consumed must be the accumulation of the past or the creation of the present. No sleight-of-hand performance or jugglery of credit can draw anything out of the future.

When a nation at war imports goods from abroad and pays for them with gold and securities it increases its income at once and is thus enabled to take advantage of its past accumulations without the delay necessary in the case where it uses up gradually its capital equipment and its men. As to the future burden caused by lessening the stock of gold, it is not necessary in this place to go into a discussion of the cause of events leading to readjustment of the gold supply, but one may say simply that the country receiving the gold during the war has stored up purchasing power which can be used in the future in drawing goods from the country which has made the purchases during the war. In this way A, the war time seller, can increase its real income in the future at the expense of B, the war time purchaser. Wealthy European countries, notably England, had exported great quantities of goods in the course of the nineteenth century for which they had not received goods in return but had accepted in lieu thereof the government bonds of the countries receiving the goods or the stocks and bonds of private enterprises in those countries. The yearly interest and dividends flowed to the lending countries in the form of imports, thereby increasing the national income. Very considerable amounts of these securities came to the United States during the war in payment for supplies exported to Europe. For the immediate use of goods represented by the principal of these securities the European countries gave up their claim to a part of the annual production of America, and their future citizens will suffer accordingly. It is also possible that a nation may sell abroad during the war securities of its own industrial enterprises and thus

mortgage their future income, but in the recent war the chief belligerents had been lending nations and neutral countries were not accustomed to making investments in those countries. When it comes to the question of shifting the present burden to the future through getting supplies by means of exporting gold and securities, the answer must be again that we have no drawing of anything out of the future, but we have an almost immediate using up of its past accumulations on the part of the country giving up its gold and securities, and this is made possible by the fact that these accumulations are in reality claims upon part of the product of the men and equipment of other countries. It is as if the population and capital equipment of the country in question were very much larger for the time being than they are. However, there may be an element in the case of exporting gold which makes this transaction more akin to the operation of paying for imports with bonds, described below, for the future generation will be at a real disadvantage in international trade until something like an equilibrium of the gold supply has been reached among the nations.

The case of a nation which imports war supplies and sends its bonds abroad to pay for them is simpler. When that country alone is considered we have a clear case of shifting the burden to the future. Let us take as an example a loan made to Great Britain by Americans in the recent war. Sums of money were deposited in banks to the credit of the British Government by the purchasers of the bonds. These sums were turned over to certain persons manufacturing war munitions, which were shipped to Europe. This meant that Americans had put labor and capital into the making of goods to be sent abroad for which no goods were returned at that time. They by refraining from consuming goods which might have been produced by this labor and capital were bearing part of the burden of the war; but these bond holders have a claim on

Great Britain for principal and interest and this means that goods will ultimately go out of Great Britain and come into America. The war-time income of the British nation was materially increased, and in the future British citizens will have to give up a part of their income. But it will be noted that in this case also when we consider the world as a whole there has been no contribution to present income by the future. One country simply receives goods made in the present by another and in the future goods will be transferred from the first to the second.

Can part of the burden of war be shifted to the future by the use of bonds? The foregoing discussion should help us in answering this question. We must first of all make a sharp distinction between domestic and foreign bonds. How can there be any drawing on future income if the supplies bought with the proceeds of the bonds are produced within the country? Surely the issue of so and so many billions of bonds does not increase the stock of tools, machinery, raw materials, and men. Surely a machine gun which is to be manufactured ten years hence can not be used now. As to the burden which the future generations bears in the form of depleted capital and exhausted man power, is it evident that the effect would be the same whether the government made its levies in kind or bought goods with the money raised by taxes or sold bonds and bought supplies.

Professor Plehn grants that we can not consume wheat now which is to be grown next year, but by the use of credit he thinks we can bring down out of the future the value of the wheat. This value is a mysterious thing the nature of which is not easily understood. It would be interesting if some chemist would make an analysis of the contents of the stomach of a worker in a munitions factory who had consumed the value of wheat to be grown ten years after the close of the war.

Those who hold such views as this do not seem to realize that when a manufacturer borrows he does not come into possession of goods drawn from the future. He obtains machinery and materials and food for the consumption of his laborers. All these things are already in existence and in the hands of other persons before he gets control over them. For the time being there is no increase. There will be an increase shortly, for he is able to use materials and direct men to better advantage than the persons from whom he borrows. The function of credit is to put the means of production into the hands of the more capable managers. Let us follow the illustration of the private borrower one step further. Is there any decrease in the supply of goods when the debt is paid? Certainly the borrower loses goods, but the lender receives them. The mere transfer does not change the amount. Now consider the case of the State in war. Presumably the State can make better use of men and materials than the individuals who have control over them, and it may borrow them. Just as in the case of private borrowers it comes into the control of men and things already created. But there is this great difference, the State may take what it needs by force, that is to say, by taxation. If it has employed a loan, when the time comes to pay back, the State also simply transfers goods from some persons to others, thus causing no loss in goods when both sets of persons are considered. However, the transaction of repayment by the State is different in very important particulars from the payment of debts by the individual. We found a while ago that the manufacturer had produced commodities which could be turned over to his creditor, or at least could be exchanged for something which would be acceptable in discharging the debt. In the case of the government loan that which has been produced through the use of the borrowed materials is an immaterial thing, the safety of the citizens or perhaps glory. Will the bond holder be satisfied with interest

or principal paid in such an intangible substance? He wants things of a grosser nature, and the State proceeds to obtain these by levying taxes upon some of its citizens. Another strange thing about this is that citizens who pay these after-war taxes may be the same persons as those who made the advances during the war. If they are the same and are taxed to the exact amounts necessary to meet the interest and amortization charges on their bonds the debt is a mere matter of bookkeeping and a great deal of valuable time could be saved by wiping it off the records. The bond holders pay out with one hand what they take in with the other.

The discussion so far leads to the conclusion that a war must be carried on with materials in existence at the beginning of the war or created during the course of the war; that these are turned over to the State by individuals no matter whether a tax receipt or a bond is given in return; that the sacrifice takes place when the goods are given up; that in case of loans there is no loss in terms of goods on the part of the nation as a whole when the interest and principal are paid, since that which is paid to Citizen Paul is taken from Citizen Peter or even from Citizen Paul himself.

Professor Seligman does not agree to all this. He has discovered a source of revenue which can be tapped by loans which can not be reached by taxation. His contention is that the limit of taxation "is to be measured not by the social income, but by the social surplus, that is, the excess of the net income over the consumption of the members of society. 'This social surplus is very much less than is often represented.' In Great Britain this social surplus if taken over entirely by the government "would be absurdly short of meeting the war expenditures which are now over eleven billion dollars." Where then did Great Britain get the supplies represented by the eleven billions? A part came from abroad, but the greater part came from the British people somehow, and most of the

population survived. Can it be possible that the citizens substituted bonds for food and clothing and thus set free material to be used for war purposes? Many will sympathize with the editor of *The London Economist* in his inability to find this wonderful source of supplies made available by bonds.

The same authority considers that there is also a gain in another way, by using bonds. "But even in this most unlikely case, where precisely the same sums would be raised from each taxpayer that would otherwise be contributed by each bondholder, it nevertheless remains true that loans imply a lessening of subjective costs or sacrifices. For although the taxpayers of the future have indeed to repay the loan, they do not have to pay the amount all at once as would be necessary in the case of the sums being raised immediately by taxation." The difficulty about this is that the contributors do pay all at once when they buy the bonds. The above statement indicates a belief that they do not give up anything when they buy the bonds, but give up something by installments when they pay themselves back later. If there is any lessening of the burden when the same persons buy the bonds and pay the taxes after the war, it is simply another proof that man is not a rational animal.

Just at this point notice should be taken of the undeniable fact that men do buy bonds more cheerfully than they pay taxes. This appears to come from that characteristic of human nature described in the old statement that the people like to be fooled and from the altogether rational notion that some one else may be made to pay the taxes after the war. It is true that as long as men think as they do and as long as it is possible to enact such legislation as to put a great part of the after-war taxes on classes which do not own the bonds, to raise all the revenue for a war by taxation is politically impossible. One writer goes so far as to say that because so

many business men and parliaments thought they could lighten the burden by using bonds they must have been right. A little reflection will make plain that such a notion carried to its logical conclusion would make all progress impossible. One would be led to the conclusion that the earth must have been flat for thousands of years because most people believed this to be true. There is no good reason why we should not persist in our efforts to learn the facts in the matter and work towards the adoption of the most enlightened policy if we are to be cursed with another war.

No attempt will be made here to give an exhaustive study of all the points brought out in the discussion of taxes and loans. However, some attention must be given to the relative ease of collecting taxes in the war period and the after-war period, the effect of taxes upon consumption, the danger of checking production by high taxes, and the different effects of taxes and bonds upon prices.

As to the ease of collection of taxes, those who favor heavy war-time taxes appear to have the better argument. Men are strongly impressed with the needs of the government, the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice shows itself on all sides. If the notion of shifting to the future by bonds could only be got rid of, there would be even greater willingness to be taxed. Most of the writers who favor bonds as against taxes are very skeptical of the patriotism of the well-to-do classes.

Mention has already been made of the necessity of cur-tailing non-essential consumption in war time. Recent experience shows how hard it is to accomplish this. As one means Great Britain took the drastic action of stopping importations of luxuries in order to make more of her exports available for the purchase of munitions. One recalls the thrift campaigns in this country. Preachments fell on deaf ears when men were becoming rich over night. Heavier taxation and steadier prices might have taken the customers from

some of the silk shirt manufacturers and might have turned them to producing something for the army.

The notion that extreme caution should be exercised in taxing lest production be checked also comes from a skeptical doctrine. To state that business men will strike and will sulk like Achilles while our armies are being destroyed by the enemy because they are not allowed to make huge profits is to bring a grave charge against a large body of citizens. *The London Economist* points out that any lessening of zeal on the part of the business classes will be more than made good by the greater cheerfulness of labor. One of the greatest hindrances to speeding up production in the war in some countries came from labor strikes and threats. Under a system which allowed constant rises in the price level and the fabulous profits which accompanied these changes, it is only natural that labor should have become restive. The wonder is that there was not more trouble.

Difficult problems are presented by the relation of bonds to the general price level. The facts of the case are hard to ascertain, partly because past experience is not as helpful as one might expect. Bond issues have usually not stood alone, but have been accompanied by issues of many kinds of paper money and general expansion of bank credit. Some help in answering a question or two may come from considering the different ways in which bonds are paid for, with reference to the effect upon the amount of money in circulation. Take the case of a man who saves a hundred dollars and buys a bond, which he locks in his safe. He has simply turned that much purchasing power over to the government and he continues to stay out of the market for goods and services. In this respect the situation is the same as if he had paid the hundred dollars in taxes. Our next prospective bond buyer goes to a bank and borrows one hundred dollars, depositing some railway stock as security. There has been an increase in pur-

chasing power, for whatever money the buyer had before the transaction began is still at his disposal and besides he will now turn over to the government one hundred dollars of bank credit. The result would have been the same if he had borrowed to pay taxes. We find the same outcome if he uses the bond itself as security and obtains a loan at his bank. When banks issue notes on the basis of bonds we likewise have expansion. The conclusion is that bond issues will contribute to inflation unless they are paid for with savings and are not used as security for loans. The war bonds doubtless were used to expand credit on a vast scale in the recent war. One who holds that great profits are to be favored as a stimulus to production could logically consider the rise in prices a good thing, but the hardship on persons other than those engaged in business was great.

All the nations engaged in the World War resorted largely to loans. The Continental countries made very little effort to meet the costs of war by taxation. Great Britain made a better showing, due partly to a tradition of heavy war taxation and partly to the existence of a powerful engine in the income tax, which was already well oiled. She showed great courage in her excess-profits tax. The United States endeavored to do much better still, but in spite of the announced "50-50" policy, the best we could do was to raise possibly something more than thirty per cent of the war revenue by taxation. It was a very fortunate circumstance that we had introduced an income tax in 1913, although a very mild one, and we had something of the necessary machinery, and it was very fortunate that we had British war experience to draw upon. In addition to great domestic loans, France and Italy borrowed heavily from the United States and Great Britain, and Great Britain borrowed from the United States, but to a great extent she simply acted as agent and passed on the borrowed goods to the Continental Allies. Those countries that have borrow-

ed from others now find that they must pay a considerable part of their national income to the lenders. This is a very real after-war burden, but they increased their income during the war through these loans, and they won the war, which may make it possible to collect enough from Germany to pay a large part of these debts. Germany had to forgo the advantage of borrowing abroad during the crisis, and yet her citizens are saddled with a burden in the form of reparations which is in effect the same as a great foreign debt.

What is the situation in the United States? Every one knows that although we entered the race late we succeeded in piling up a debt of staggering figures. It has already been pointed out that the private loans to Europe and the \$10,000,000,000 advanced by the government are to be reckoned as part of our war-time burden, but they are to be put on the other side of the account now. However, these are proving troublesome because of the effect of the payments upon exchange and gold movements and the disturbances of trade through the prospect of the annual importation of some \$500,000,000 worth of goods to pay the interest. Just now some members of Congress are working hard to keep us from receiving the benefits of these payments by setting up a high tariff wall.

It may seem from a good deal of the preceding discussion that it is of little importance to us now that such a great domestic debt stands on the books since there was no shifting of sacrifices to the future, but in reality we shall not be rid of the effects of the loan policy for many years. The great rise in prices has left its mark. There has been a change in the distribution of wealth, and in the wrong direction, through the great profits obtained by some classes. We are also finding the readjustment to a lower price level a severe trial. If the reasoning of this paper is correct, much of this might have been avoided. But the great battle over taxation has begun.

Most of the changes which are being discussed in Congress look to shifting the burden from the more fortunate classes to the masses of the people. We may expect to see efforts to raise as much revenue as possible from the tariff and internal taxes on commodities of general consumption and we may have a general sales tax, although it seems now that members of Congress fear that the people will know that they are paying this tax. For thirty years after the Civil War this sort of shifting was successfully practiced. This operation itself may cause more uneven distribution of wealth, for it is not unreasonable to suppose that the bonds will come largely into the hands of the more wealthy persons and the taxes to pay the interest and ultimately the principal may be taken largely from the poorer classes. We see a real menace to the well being of the nation, for Peter may be much poorer than Paul and the same goods will give Paul less satisfaction than they would have given Peter. And we gained the joy of living in a fool's paradise during the war.

SAMUEL BUTLER REVISITED

By JOSEPH B. HARRISON

"I know nothing about science, and it is well that there should be no mistakes on this head; I neither know, nor want to know, more detail than is necessary to enable me to give a fairly comprehensive view of my subject. . . my reader will not, I take it, as a general rule, know, or want to know, much more about science than I do, sometimes perhaps even less; so that he and I shall commonly be wrong in the same places, and our two wrongs will make a sufficiently satisfactory right for practical purposes."—Butler's "Life and Habit."

Complete Erewhonians have of late met with such sharp challenge from defenders of the gates that it is no longer quite a certainty whether the recent discoverers of Samuel Butler are to usher him into the kingdom of heaven. We are told that the Butler cult is already passing, that the vagaries of a mere literary eccentric can neither be erected into a philosophy nor buy him a place in the ranks of the elect. He cannot be rated a thinker for the whimsical follies of his attack on Darwinism, nor an artist for a single formless novel and a rhapsodic satire unique only for its consistent perversity. Altogether, the author of *Life and Habit* and *The Way of All Flesh* and *Erewhon* has been brought sternly before the bar, and become a subject for everyone to write about.

It is unnecessary in a short paper to attempt an exposition of Butler's elaborate and subtle, whether or not convincing, analysis of evolution in his four Darwinian books; but it is possible to touch upon a point or two which suggest its relationship to the rest of his writing.

Butler's interpretation of evolution is dependent mainly upon his two hypotheses, unconscious memory and continuity of personality. "The unconsciousness with which habitual

actions come to be performed, must be assigned as the explanation of the unconsciousness with which we grow and discharge most of our natural functions." A following out of the implications of this doctrine brings us to "a perception of the unity of person between parent and offspring in successive generations." A first-rate pianist well-practised in his music can, he tells us, while thinking and talking about something quite different from that music, give an accurate and expressive rendition of it that may require the exercise of attention on as many as ten thousand occasions within the space of five minutes. Indeed, "he finds it hardly less difficult to compass a voluntary consciousness of what he has once learnt so thoroughly that it has passed, so to speak into the domain of unconsciousness, than he found it to learn the note or passage in the first instance." For our present purposes this one of many examples must suffice. The conclusion is that the things we are least conscious of knowing are the things that we know best, and that so long as we remain conscious or so soon as we become conscious of our thoughts, feelings, efforts, and functions, our assurance trembles. To become conscious, for instance, of a belief in God or a belief in our own existence, is to begin to doubt them. "Knowledge is in an inchoate state as long as it is capable of logical treatment; it must be transmuted into that sense or instinct which rises altogether above the sphere in which words can have being at all, otherwise it is not yet vital." Now it is with just this sort of inchoate knowledge that those whom we call scientists chiefly deal, to the frequent disparagement of those others who are scientists not under law but under grace, who are proficient only in such well-known sciences as having good health, good looks, good temper, or common sense. But the more generally recognized kinds of science are valueless except in so far as they minister to these, and are capable of being absorbed into that part of knowledge which is above self-consciousness.

"Science is like offences. It must needs come, but woe unto the man through whom it comes; for there cannot be much beauty where there is consciousness of knowledge, and while knowledge is still new it must in the nature of things involve much consciousness."

Examining, then, the higher sciences of the unconscious, we discover that we are most conscious of and have most control over such later acquisitions of the human race as speech, the upright position, the arts and sciences; that we have less control over and are less conscious of such functions as eating, breathing and seeing, which, though acquisitions of our pre-human ancestry, are, geologically speaking comparatively recent; and that we are most unconscious of and have least control over, digestion and circulation, which are habits of extreme antiquity. A consideration of the full implications of this methodical arrangement leads us to the second of Butler's two fundamental hypotheses, "a perception of the unity of person between parent and offspring in successive generations." "Can we see," asks Butler, "that actions for the acquisition of which experience is such an obvious necessity that whenever we see the acquisition we assume the experience, gradate away imperceptibly into actions which would seem, according to all reasonable analogy, to presuppose experience, of which, however, the time and place seem obscure, if not impossible?" It is clear to him that we can, and that the experience required in these latter instances is enjoyed by offspring in the person of his progenitors, who were in reality only his earlier self; and he is "only unconscious of the extent of his memories and experiences owing to their vastness and already infinite repetitions." Such an identification of parents and offspring presents upon analysis less difficulty than its denial, for who shall say where personality begins or ends in the process of reproduction? Is the octogenarian more personally identical with the child an hour after birth,

than that child is with its embryo two hours earlier? And "if that hazy contradiction in terms, 'personal identity', be allowed to retract behind the threshold of the womb, it has eluded us once for all." When we have admitted personal identity between the octogenarian and the impregnate ovum, there is no sufficient reason for denying it between that ovum and the ovum before impregnation or the spermatozoon, both of which in turn are parts of the personalities of the parents. The process does not stop short of the primordial cell, and each of us is what he is because he is able to fashion himself according to his unconscious memories of all his experiences since the time he was that primordial cell.

"Life, then," says Butler at length, "is faith founded upon experience, which experience is in turn founded upon faith—or more simply, it is memory. . . .

"A living creature bereft of all memory dies. . . .

"Life is that property of matter whereby it can remember. Matter which can remember is living; matter which cannot remember is dead."

It is characteristic of Butler that he should have made the opening gun of his defense of vitalism not a denial that life is mechanical, but an assertion that machines have life. "Who can say that the vapour engine has not a kind of consciousness?" asks the Erewhonian author of the *Book of the Machines*; and the alarm aroused by his development of the subject caused the Erewhonians to destroy all their machinery save the more primitive types necessary to human existence, and to adopt elaborate measures preventive of their further evolution. Machines were shown to have developed organisms with an appalling rapidity, organisms that functioned with a complexity approaching that of man's. It may even be said that they have a reproductive system. True, man is necessary to its working, but so is the bee to the reproduction

of the clover; and while "we are never likely to see a fertile union of vapour-engines with the young ones playing about the door of the shed," nevertheless the fact that the system works differently from others does not disprove its existence. And already machines can do thousands of things more ably than can man; man will doubtless continue to be in many respects superior to the machine, but so also are the bees superior to man in traversing the air, and both the ant and the bee in the organization of their communities and social arrangements. Are there not already signs that man is becoming "a sort of parasite upon the machines? An effec-tionate machine-tickling aphid?" The machinery of war and industry surely exact their human service with a relentless disregard of human values. Machines serve us, but only on condition of being served; the servant glides by imperceptible approaches into the master.

These ideas are too fascinating not to be flirted with, but Butler's own opinions on the matter are rather those expressed in the Erewhonian answer provoked by the author of the *Book of Machines*. A disputant arose who suggested that "machines were to be regarded as a part of man's own physical nature, being really nothing but extra-corporeal limbs." Like the eye or the hand, a spade or a railway train is a part of himself which man has invented for his own convenience. It was this writer who originated the custom in Erewhon of classifying men by their horse power, and pointed out that none but millionaires possessed the full complement of limbs with which mankind could become incorporate. "Who shall deny," he asked, "that one who can tack on a special train to his identity, and go wherever he pleases, is more highly organized than he. . . . whose legs are his only means of locomotion?"

In *Luck or Cunning* Butler elaborates this theory with much seriousness. In the chapter on Property and Common Sense he follows the scientists in their pursuit of life into the

protoplasm and beyond, and finds that they are headed for futility as unerringly as the theologians. The attempt at isolation cannot stop at the gates of protoplasm or at any discoverable point beyond but lands squarely in the logical absurdity of a principle not in matter or like matter, but acting in some mystic way upon it. The most incorporate tool, say the eye, is a part of personality only and exactly in the same sense as a locomotive engine "when it has kissed the soil of the human body." The matter in the one functions in just the same fashion as that in the other, and to deny design in the one case and admit it in the other is to offend both philosophy and common sense. Once we admit non-living matter within the body we have no ground for denying personality to analogously functioning non-living matter outside the body, or for insisting that these two act according to different principles. "A foolish organism and its fortuitous variations will be soon parted, for as a general rule, unless the variation has so much connection with the organism's past habits as to be in no proper sense of the word 'fortuitous', the organism will not know what to do with it when it has got it, no matter how favorable it may be, and it is little likely to be handed down to its descendents." The same qualities that make a man the successful head of a banking system make him successful in being born, and not only luck but cunning must be recognized as responsible in both cases.

The implication of all this seems to be that life has created its own world, teleologically, out of chaos. Life is its own great designer, its own God. Step by step, and guided by faith based upon experience, it organizes whatever in matter suits its immediate purposes and goes on from complexity to complexity. The identity of our personality with that of our progenitors brings us to an identity of personality with each other, so that each of us lives in a world variously

peopled by himself. As plant and machine we are unconscious, but so are we in large part as men. We are God, immortal so long as memory lasts, and omnipotent and omniscient in that whatever of knowledge or power exists, exists in us. It is the pale privilege of science not to imprison us in its categories, but to organize into pleasant systems the phenomena through which we have expressed ourselves. Life will continue to shape its world in accordance with its desires, a process in which science can humbly assist in so far as it chooses to heed the imperious dictates of millions of years of experience. If, however, like the theologians, scientists attempt to dragoon us, they must expect heretics to arise. Any scorn on the part of scientists for the unscientific is the scorn of an invader who will be quickly absorbed by those whom he thinks to have conquered. "Unscientific" experience has made the world; self-consciousness always stumbles and falls. Laws that it remains necessary to formulate are to be regarded with unfaltering suspicion.

It is possible that, as Gilbert Cannan maintains, Butler suffers from the sin of earnestness in his many-volumed pursuit of that self-consciousness which is the bane of humor. But it is as a humorist that he must stand or fall. His humor did not fail when he turned to science as the most inviting field for heterodoxy in his time, but he does seem to have become a little shrill in the later scientific books. His fun with the theologians in *The Fair Haven*, and with the pedants in *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, and with everything and everybody in the two *Erewhons* and *The Way of All Flesh* and *The Notebooks* is in a safer vein, though the ideas of the scientific books run through and underlie them all. Mr. John Harris, in his study of Butler, expresses the opinion that Butler's argument that Nausicaa wrote the *Odyssey* was a belief and not a brick to heave amongst the academics. But the characteristic passage which he quotes

need not, perhaps, be interpreted too literally. "They say no woman could possibly have written the *Odyssey*," writes Butler. "To me, on the other hand, it seems even less possible that a man could have done so. As for its being by a practised and elderly writer, nothing but youth and inexperience could produce anything so lovely. That is where the work will suffer by my translation. If the poem is ever to be well translated, it must be by some high-spirited English girl who has been brought up at Athens, and who, therefore, has not been jaded by a study of the language." Now this may or may not be a belief, but it is clearly enough a brick. And Butler was so constituted that a good brick fascinated him as much as anything else. He was willing to follow an idea as long as it proved suggestive, and here was one that lasted well. He probably cared not a rap *who* wrote the *Odyssey*, but was very much interested in the personality that it expressed. That the *Odyssey* was written by someone or had passed through the hands of someone who believed that ships had rudders at both ends and who thought that men could indulge in vigorous outdoor sports immediately following a banquet, was enough for a beginning. The idea proved capable of subtle ramifications; Butler elaborately analyzed the temperament and circumstances of the writer, and named them Nausicaa. So long as he falsified no real values he was content. Perhaps the whole thing was a joke; but a good joke has in it the heart of wisdom, and is worth effort. At any rate a good joke runs far less danger of folly than does erudition; between the two a humorist has no choice. Champions of Butler have maintained that in his scientific books he very much meant what he said. Of course he did; but that need not necessarily imply that he did not mean it as a joke. The difference between the propositions of a humorist and those of a serious person is that the former are made with a consciousness of fallibility, the latter not. Scientists

and philosophers tend to become comic figures to the degree in which they lack the humor to see that they are jokers. A joke is funny solely because it is no funnier than something else that isn't funny at all, or at least is not aware of being so. The interesting case of that reputable citizen of Erewhon, Mr. Nosnibor, who became an object of public sympathy because he had "embezzled a large sum of money under singularly distressing circumstances," is funny because his situation is logically the same as if he were suffering from typhus fever. The lady who excused her husband from an afternoon call on the ground that when going through the public-market that morning he had stolen a pair of socks, or in other words because he was suffering from a slight attack of "the socks," furnishes another case in point. If Butler is to be interpreted as meaning what he said either about Nausicaa or about unconscious memory, in the sense that he was not in these matters speaking as a humorist, he may certainly be accused of a fall from grace. Surely Butler would have told us privately that the only difference between his joke and Darwin's was that his was not half so laughable as Darwin's, though neither the latter nor his friends could see it. It is only to the complete humorist that the most humorous things seem humorous; to others they seem facts.

The truest humor is therefore that which cuts more ways than one. One cannot laugh uproariously at a really good joke; he who does so convicts himself by the act of not seeing the point. A good joke is too true to be cackled over; but nothing is too true to be amusing. You prepare to shake your sides; you pause, gulp, stare, and reflect; you feel that something within you is spreading its warmth and setting its light in your eye: you have seen the point. In the same instant it is shoutingly funny—and cuts off the shout. Butler fashions his jests like a lapidary; they have facets that refract light from any angle.

It is in *The Way of All Flesh* that he expresses this humor most directly in terms of life. The errant trail followed by Ernest Pontifex cuts across most of the solemnities of English middle class existence. Green bay trees of science, art, religion, and morals, lie prone in his wake. And that Butler here does his slashing with his favorite weapons is easily pointed out.

Contemporary readers who show signs of impatience with the writer for being so slow to get to his hero need only be reminded that a man who has been himself since his beginning in the primordial cell can scarcely be presumed to be understood unless we begin to examine him in the person of his great-grandfather at the very least. As his great-grandfather, Ernest was a capable man and good; as his grandfather, he was shrewd and pious and something of a knave; as his father he allowed himself to become a fool, a brute, and a hypocrite through suppression; as Ernest Pontifex he naturally had to overcome a good many confusing recent memories before he could rediscover the wisdom which was the heritage of his ages of experience. His assault upon the virtue of Miss Maitland was an act of instinct blinded by two generations of piety. It landed him in jail, and set his spirit free. The machine stitched thread of convention, started, came out at a single pull. He was stark naked before the world, and found his nakedness comfortable, for it put him beyond the scope of the proprieties. He discovered that his skin and his passions were his by nature, but that his clothes and his morals were cut for him chiefly by elderly people to suit a temporary fashion. Codes and creeds and conventions are the tentatives which the elderly substitute for instinct. For after the reproductive age is passed men are no longer guided by the experience they have had in the persons of their progenitors, which has taught them how to get born and to grow up, but not how to grow old and die. On the analogy

of his youth a man can piece together enough of a system to keep him going a score or two of years beyond it. But his gait is wobbly, and he walks with a crutch, with which he belabors youth whenever he comes near it; for one so weak is naturally on the defensive. He invents all sorts of curbs for youth, such for instance as the Church Catechism, which leaves the general impression upon the minds of the young "that their wickedness at birth was but imperfectly wiped out at baptism, and that the mere fact of being young at all has something with it which savours more or less distinctly of the nature of sin." There are, it is true, certain compensations in age, such as finding "life to be an affair of being rather frightened than hurt," and escaping from the tyrannies of the elderly with which youth is afflicted. For "youth is like spring, an overpraised season—delightful if it happens to be a favored one, but in practise very rarely favored and more remarkable as a general rule, for biting east winds than genial breezes." However, age proceeds under law rather than under grace, and it is a pity for both young and old that we are not like the wasp: "Why," asks the author, "should the generations overlap each other at all? Why cannot we be buried as eggs in neat little cells with ten or twenty thousand pounds each wrapped round us in Bank of England notes, and wake up, as the sphex wasp does, to find that its papa and mama have not only left ample provision at its elbow, but have been eaten by sparrows some weeks before it began to live consciously on its own account?"

Of course it is the world of culture as much as the world of science that is at the basis of Butler's revolt. If Huxley is the deep, then Matthew Arnold is the devil. To cultivate oneself consciously and introspectively in accordance with the best that has been thought and said in the world, is to surrender oneself to the devil without a murmur. The best that has been thought and said in the world is a feeble substitute

for experience, but it asserts itself with "the cocksureness of pushing vulgarity and self-conceit." The best that has been thought and said in the world consists merely of the largely unassimilable speculations of individual minds, or at any rate of the collective mind of man during the brief moment of recorded history. He who trusts himself so little as to trust this guidance much is doomed to a fatuity from which less conscious organisms are safe. Man, the most self-conscious thing in nature, is guilty of nature's supremest follies. No one can write a satire on the behavior of an ant or a tree, for whatever folly they are capable of is instinctive. As soon as man permits himself to become the victim of his conscious knowledge he becomes the fool of nature. The only true test of such knowledge is that it shall be profitably assimilable. And of the profitableness the individual is the only judge.

The parents of Ernest Pontifex did their utmost to prevent his living a life according to nature. And like most people who have sold themselves to the devil, they even tried to conceal from him the traces of humanity that remained in themselves, and make of him the perfect spiritual automaton that they were not. Had it not been for this little hypocrisy they would perhaps never have been undone; for Ernest's first perception of hypocrisy was the beginning of the end. The weakness of all conventionalists is that they can only pretend to live according to their conventions, and are certain sooner or later to be found out. However, if they are sufficiently callous in their pretenses they can, especially if they are parents, keep themselves fairly comfortable while greatly disturbing the comfort of others, thus establishing a superiority that comes near to moral justification:

"To parents who wish to lead a quiet life I would say: tell your children that they are very naughty—much naughtier than most children. Point to the young people of some acquaintances as models of perfection and impress your

own children with a deep sense of their own inferiority. You carry so many more guns than they do that they cannot fight you. This is called moral influence, and it will enable you to bounce them as much as you please. They think you know and they will not have caught you lying often enough to suspect that you are not the unworldly and scrupulously truthful person which you represent yourself to be; nor yet will they know how great a coward you are, nor how soon you will run away, if they fight you with persistency and judgment. . . . Tell them how singularly indulgent you are; insist on the incalculable benefit you conferred upon them, firstly in bringing them into the world at all, but more particularly as your own children rather than anyone else's. Say that you have their highest interests at stake whenever you are out of temper and wish to make yourself unpleasant by way of balm to your soul. . . . True, your children will probably find out all about it some day, but not until too late to be of much service to them or inconvenience to yourself."

Ernest Pontifex found out all about it in time to save himself and to be at least a mental trial to his parents, but his case solves no problem, for there was in his salvation more luck than cunning. His parents did not get themselves eaten before his birth, but, thanks to his Aunt Alethea, his majority came to him wrapped in Bank of England notes. It was the best that Butler could do; and he loved his hero too well to leave him unrescued, though the rescue cost a *deus ex machina*. Indeed, a *deus ex machina* is quite to be expected. Gilbert Cannan is tempted to regret that Butler did not write a better novel, though he implies he wrote a great one. But Butler was writing to suit his purposes rather than to make a novel. He was prepared to revel in anticlimax, should anti-climax give him scope. A humorist should be an amateur, as scientist, novelist, or what you please. The grim purposiveness of professionalism exists not in the humorist, but in

others that humor may be possible. So Ernest is rescued, and is allowed great artistic license at the end of the book, being permitted, among other privileges, that delightful and outrageous return to his native heath. Most people who are able to read Butler at all are willing, I imagine, to sacrifice the "novel" for the single picture of Ernest kneeling beside his sister Charlotte at family prayers, asking the Lord to make him *truly* honest and conscientious.

But Butler succeeds, with it seems but occasional lapses, in being a humorist rather than a satirist, by taking his triumphant revenges upon folly rather than upon its puppets. He never does worse than *almost* hate Theobald; we have always in the background the pictures of his will-shaking father and of the Misses Allaby in the eldest Miss Allaby's bedroom playing at cards, with Theobald for the stakes. Theobald had no Aunt Alethea. As for old George Pontifex, he left numerous offspring, to whom he communicated not only his physical and mental characteristics, but his pecuniary characteristics as well. As for the rest, in the words of his epitaph:

HE NOW LIES WAITING A JOYFUL RESURRECTION
AT THE LAST DAY.
WHAT MANNER OF MAN HE WAS
THAT DAY WILL DISCOVER.

Ernest's mother Christina, whether abetting his papa, or pumping Ernest to his undoing from the end of the sofa, is too perfect in her religious romanticism to be anything but loved. The water with which her Theobald had been baptized was from the Jordan, "which had left its bed and flowed into her own house"; by way, it is true, of a bottle, a sponge, and a piece of blotting paper—but what matter. Naturally she and Theobald "had given up all for Christ's sake. *They* were not worldly. At least Theobald was not." And Mrs.

Jupp, in her "old whore's body with a young whore's mind," had what Bernard Shaw calls a sense of reality that disables convention, and took things as she found them: "I can't make out what the young men are a-coming to," says she: "I wish the horn may blow for me and the worms take me this very night, if it's not enough to make a woman stand before God and strike the one half on 'em silly to see the way they goes on, and many an honest girl has to go home night after night without so much as a fourpenny bit, and paying three and sixpence a week rent, and not a shelf nor a cupboard in the place and a dead wall in front of the window."—All these were what God and men had made them, and to the judgment of fate humor adds charity; it cries woe to the offense rather than woe to him by whom the offense cometh.

In a time when a religious orthodoxy has given way to a scientific, the perplexed amateur turns with relief to Butler's world as to one in which it is possible to breathe, even timidly and furtively to think, without a taint of specialization. The burden of knowledge is fast becoming too heavy to bear. Time was when a man would rather be right than be president; time is when he would rather be dead than be mistaken. It is very soothing to be told that it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for the learned to enter the kingdom of heaven; that once a man begins to dally with knowledge he is in danger of hell fire. It is quite as bad to be scorned for knowing little as to be scorned for knowing nothing at all. Indeed it is worse; for our tenderness lies chiefly in the area of our pretensions. The best that the most of us can do is to know a little. Those who are busy striving to attain to good health, good looks, good temper, and a balance in the bank, have little opportunity for speculation; they and the specialists are of different races. The specialist, too, is beginning to become uncertain of the virtues of mere scorn and knowledge. He

is, at any rate, beginning to admit the need of recognizing other specialties, however horribly they may qualify his own conclusions. The old presumption that in order to know anything about anything one must so isolate it that it has no connection with anything has begun to falter. A new scepticism has arisen which wonders whether it is worth while to know anything about anything unless it is connected with everything. Science has worked so far into its certitudes that occasionally it comes out on the other side. Of course it cannot really be said that the solidarity of specialists has as yet been seriously disturbed. But occasional signs of humility lead one to hope that our leaders may presently be far enough ahead of us to catch up with us. The century of leadership that brought us to 1914 must surely feel some need of re-furnishing its pride. Already there is talk of abolishing machines. And it seems to be clearly established that if the specialist is to continue he must subordinate himself to the man in the shop and the man in the street. Men want to be born well and to live well, and will thank no discoverer who discovers anything but means to these ends.

"If people should require us to construct, we set good breeding as the corner-stone of our edifice," wrote Ernest Pontifex in an essay which succeeded in getting itself read because everyone thought it must be by a bishop. "That a man should have been bred well and breed others well; that his figure, head, hands, feet, voice, manner and clothes should carry conviction on this point, so that no one can look at him without seeing that he has come of good stock, and is likely to throw good stock himself, this is the desiderandum. . . Towards this all government, all social conventions, all art, literature and science should directly or indirectly tend. Holy men and holy women are those who keep this unconsciously in view at all times whether of work or pastime." In this odor of sanctity let us permit our author to depart.

THREE LETTERS FROM HENRY ADAMS TO
ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

[These letters form part of a little series written in 1910 and 1911, after I had suggested to Mr. Adams, a total stranger to me, the publication of his privately printed *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*. The earlier letters were published in the *Yale Review* for October, 1920.—A. S. C.]

I

16 Octr. 1910.

23 Avenue du Bois de Boulogne

My dear Sir:

I have been so much occupied of late in less agreeable matters as to have neglected acknowledging your *Christ of Cynewulf* and your *Authorized Version*. I wish I had something of equal value to show my appreciation of the books. Perhaps, when I get home next winter, I may be able to find a copy of my *Anglo-Saxon Law*,¹ which was the toughest bit of translation and editing that I ever attempted, and required the help of all our Anglo-Saxon Professors thirty years ago—or was it forty? I imagine it to be now a literary curiosity, for I have not heard it mentioned since then, but it might amuse you, not as law, but as literature.

In the combative days of Whitney and Max Müller, I had more than enough to do in merely trying to keep out of the range of weapons. Since then I have been ambitious only to understand the actual state of the linguistic war. There, as elsewhere, I find that the more questions I ask, the less answer I get, and the comments that you make on the language of the *Authorized Version* coincide with my timid observations. In all early societies that I have known, the best

(1) Written in collaboration with Henry Cabot Lodge and others, and published in 1876.

result has shown itself in oratory (or the chiefly [and] formal address) and in poetry, both of which are "not of their age," but inheritances. How far can this rule be carried back? Certainly beyond my power of reckoning!

With many thanks,

Very truly yours,

HENRY ADAMS.

II

2 Feb. 1911.

1603 H Street

My dear Sir:

I have to thank you for yours of yesterday, as well as for the copy of *Mâle*,² which arrives with it, and which I will return promptly. It answers all my purposes.

I have not received your *Cathedral Building*.³ As you say, Saint Bernard was immense, but the most difficult of all these great figures for me to realize. Perhaps it is because of his Puritanism, although his was a sort of Puritanism that would rather puzzle better heads than mine. I wonder what Pascal thought of him! These intense energies of the twelfth century quite stagger me.

You ask what he would do now! I suppose I ought not to discuss that question, because, as Lord Kelvin somewhere says, any man past seventy commonly says and does foolish things. He shows wisdom by holding his tongue. Yet, as I violated this rule a year ago by sending out a little book⁴ discussing this very question in its widest possible bearing, I will send you the volume herewith, trusting I have not sent it you

(2) *L'Art Religieux en France au XIII^e Siècle*.

(3) A privately printed pamphlet, containing brief extracts from twelfth century historians.

(4) A Letter to American Teachers of History.

before. Students of the twelfth century will understand its historical bearing better than any one else.

But, all the same, Kelvin was quite right!

Yours truly,

HENRY ADAMS.

III

9 Feb. 1911.

1603 H Street

My dear Sir:

I return Mâle with thanks. Curiously enough, it was a new book when I was working up the subject, and I never saw it. This autumn a friend of mine, who is passing the winter at Chartres for the sake of the Cathedral, alarmed me by quoting his account of the Charlemagne window, which made me fear I had betrayed some unpardonable ignorance. Reading these legendary windows is now becoming so deep a science that one quarrels over it as though it were a question of dates. Meanwhile the writers quarrel more than ever about dates also.

I have to thank you for the *Cathedral Building*. The revival of 1144-1145 is of course deeply interesting, but I am rather inclined to agree with the Frenchmen that Suger and Bernard were the new sources of energy, and that, of the two, Suger was what we may call the artistic source or origin. Suger was distinctly a creator and one of the very few we meet in history. Bernard I take to be a Puritan reaction—a sort of twelfth-century Luther—a premature Port Royal.⁵ The conflict of the two energies was astoundingly rich in emotional products. But St. Denis prefigured it all.

Very truly yours,

HENRY ADAMS.

(5) Perhaps miswritten for "Port Royalist," as "reaction" for "reactionary."

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF TARIFF LEGISLATION

By JACOB VINER

Most Americans, whether they be politician or scholar, or simply the man on the street, are agreed that the tariff is wholly a domestic matter, not subject to foreign interference. While it is not true of any country that its tariff legislation is merely a matter of domestic policy, it has been more true of the United States than of any other country. Altruistic regard for foreign interests is nowhere a characteristic of tariff policies, but by the use or by the potential use of political, military, or economic pressure, one country can and commonly will influence the tariff policy of another. In the main, instances of the use of direct political pressure by one country to prevent unfavorable or to induce favorable tariff legislation in another country can be found only in the relations between the great powers, on the one hand, and countries of feeble and impaired sovereignty on the other. The application of military pressure for the same purpose is never clearly visible and overt, except in the settlements following wars. When it is expedient that military pressure be used, it is not done crudely and boorishly; the purpose will be adequately served if a gentle rattling of the sabre is permitted faintly to resound above the well-modulated hum of courteous and friendly diplomatic conversation. Whatever may be the underlying causes of wars and threats of wars, tariff disputes have never been the avowed cause. Between countries of the first rank economic pressure is the chief instrument whereby nations are constrained to consult the wishes and to consider the probable reactions of other nations before deciding irrevocably upon the height and the method of construction of their tariff walls.

Well-informed Europeans would never think of speaking of tariffs as domestic matters, for such a concept is altogether counter to European experiences. The tariff was the primary factor in the construction of a German Empire out of a host of petty independent states. For most of the European countries an important change in tariff rates is a matter for diplomatic negotiation, and not merely for internal legislation. Many of the European tariffs are to be found in international treaties and conventions rather than in statutes. In a number of instances during the latter part of the nineteenth century, failure to conciliate foreign interests when tariff changes were being made resulted in "tariff wars". European statutory tariffs generally embody two or more schedules of duties, so as to provide scope for international bargaining and for mutual concessions. Even free-trade England was obliged on several occasions to revise some of her revenue duties in conformity with the wishes of other countries. But between European countries, if decayed and impotent Turkey be excluded, the economic pressure was invariably the apparent, generally the only, instrument whereby each country exercised a restraining influence upon the upward movement of tariff rates in the other countries.

Turning now to the United States, it is obvious that the use of political or military pressure by other countries to influence American tariff policy was out of the question. Unfortunately for the rest of the world, however, the use of economic pressure for this purpose, at least in its common form, was during most of the nineteenth century equally out of the question. What made economic pressure, if not a conspicuous success, at least moderately effective as a check to the upward flight of protectionism in Europe, was the fact that in most European countries exporting industries and industries producing for the domestic market were both politically powerful. European countries were governed in their tariff policies,

therefore, by two main considerations: the protection of their home markets from foreign competition, and the protection of their export industries from being shut out of foreign markets. In order to safeguard its export trade, it was necessary for each European country to assure itself not merely of equality of treatment in foreign markets between its products and those of other countries, not merely against outright tariff discriminations in favor of third countries, but also against unduly high general rates of duty on the commodities in which it was especially interested, and against unduly restrictive customs and sanitary regulations and harbors and tonnage dues. Each country used its own tariff on foreign goods as a means of negotiation for favorable treatment for its exports.

Commercial diplomacy, most-favored-nation and tariff treaties, multiple-schedule tariffs, penalty duty clauses, were all part of the common machinery whereby commercial peace between nations was constantly regaining a constantly disturbed equilibrium and whereby conflicts of interests between domestic producers seeking a protected home market and exporters seeking open foreign markets were reconciled by compromise. Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century the exports of the United States consisted almost wholly of raw materials and foodstuffs upon which foreign markets were dependent, whereas the American producing interests seeking protection in their home market were very largely confined to the manufacturers of the Atlantic seaboard. American exports, therefore, found open markets abroad without the assistance of diplomacy, while American tariff policy was dominated by the protected industries producing for the home market. Under these circumstances there was neither the need nor the willingness to use the tariff on foreign imports as a means of securing favorable treatment for American imports. Moreover, the absence of a responsible

executive and the separation of treaty-making and legislative powers in the United States made the determination of American tariff policy by negotiation a practical impossibility. As long as Europe continued to import from the United States mainly foodstuffs and raw materials for which no other source was available, the United States was free to carry on the process of raising its tariff wall against European products higher and higher subject to no more serious rejoinder than vigorous protest.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the situation began to change disadvantageously for the United States, and the tariff ceased to be even for the United States so wholly and unquestionably a matter of purely domestic concern. The increase in population, the gradual exhaustion of natural resources, the drift of population to the cities, the development of large-scale manufacturing technique, led to a gradual process of exchange in the character of the American exports. Manufactured products became more prominent in the exports; the imports were not so predominantly manufactures of European make, but were to an increasing extent raw materials and even foodstuffs. American manufacturers, who had in earlier years been uninterested in the character of the treatment extended to American products in foreign markets, now were beginning to show concern at the high levels of European duties on their products, and especially at the occasional instances of overt or concealed discriminations in favor of their foreign competitors. Their newly-aroused interest found expression in the fondness which the Republican Party suddenly acquired for a new tariff policy, new although called an old name, the policy of "reciprocity." The "founding fathers" of the republic had followed a policy of reciprocity, but by it they meant the mutual elimination of special discriminations. The new reciprocity was something altogether different, the mutual exchange of special favors.

There had been sporadic instances of reciprocity negotiations of this kind between 1840 and 1880, but these had been isolated cases, governed by special and generally political purposes, and having no general economic significance. Now, however, there was to be attached to the general tariff schedule a standing offer of special reductions in exchange for reciprocal favors by foreign countries.

The policy of reciprocity had only a very limited degree of success. The American manufacturers were prepared to grant generous reductions in the American duties on imported agricultural products in return for foreign concessions on their manufactured products. But there were not many countries to whom an American offer of this kind was attractive. If agreements involving concessions of a wider character were negotiated, the protected American industries were generally successful in inducing at least one-third of the Senate to champion their interests, by either shelving or rejecting the treaty embodying such concessions.

To the policy of reciprocity the United States later added the policy of the "open door", which signifies, in colonies and dependencies, equality of treatment in tariffs and other economic matters between mother country and foreign countries, and in quasi-independent countries, equality of treatment of all countries. By much repetition, Americans convinced themselves that, with John Hay as its standard bearer, the United States had adopted the pioneer role of champion of the open door policy. But the endeavors of the United States in the interest of the open door were confined very largely to China, where other countries had already acquired special privileges injurious to the interests of the United States. Where American political influences was dominant, no zeal was shown for the open door policy. The United States at the same time that the open door was being demanded in China, itself slammed the door shut in Hawaii, intro-

duced indirect discrimination in its favor in the Philippines in violation of the spirit if not the letter of the treaty of cession with Spain, accepted preferential treatment in Cuba, assimilated the Porto Rican tariff to its own, and began an intensive campaign of economic pressure against Brazil to induce her to discriminate in its flour duties against her Latin-American neighbors, the Argentine and Uruguay, and in favor of the United States—a campaign which ended finally in the unwilling submission of Brazil in 1904 to the repeated demands of the American Ambassador. An attempt to abandon the open door in the Panama Canal Zone was unsuccessful only because the Republic of Panama was able to show treaty pledges to the contrary.

Since 1914 the United States, under the distinguished leadership of President Wilson and the newly-appointed Tariff Commission, has adopted a new slogan for its commercial policy, "equality of trade conditions." The insistence upon this policy is the substance of Article III of the Fourteen Points of revered memory, but there is little harmony between Article III and the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. "Equality of treatment" is in all essentials the same as the old policy of reciprocity which dominated American commercial diplomacy until about 1850 but it is not the policy actually followed after 1850. The United States, soon after the Declaration of Independence, had given a new twist to the most-favored-nation clause, whose presence in European commercial and tariff treaties was the world's most effective guarantee of the observance of the principle of equality of treatment. In its origin, in its European form, and, regardless of the form, in the practice of all countries except the United States and its dependencies, the most-favored-nation pledge in a treaty meant the mutual promise of the treaty countries to give each other as favorable treatment as was given to any other foreign country, except where special exceptions, justi-

fied by special circumstances, were specified. The United States, however, with only one or two unintentional exceptions, in its most-favored-nation treaties pledged itself to grant to the treaty countries favors granted to other countries freely if they were granted freely to other countries, but only upon receipt of equivalent compensation if they were granted to other countries for compensation. Since, however, each country is alone the proper judge of the equivalence of concessions, the American form of the clause provides no protection against a violation of the principle of equality of treatment, except in so far as such violation arises out of wanton and arbitrary discriminations not growing out of bargains.

Moreover, the United States has on several occasions insisted upon its right to exclusive concessions in foreign countries, even when these countries had given pledges of most-favored-nation treatment, conditional or unconditional, to other countries. In the two reciprocity treaties negotiated with Hawaii prior to its annexation to the United States, and in the reciprocity treaty with Cuba—which is the only American reciprocity treaty still in effect—the United States insisted upon the concessions granted to it being made exclusive, not merely in the sense that they were not to be extended to other countries without compensation, but in the sense that they were not to be extended to other countries under any circumstances. In three other instances, all of them arising out of the execution of the penalty duty clauses in the Tariff Act of 1890, the United States denied the right of countries to claim equal tariff treatment in the United States with the world at large, even if the countries making the claims had pledges of most-favored-nation treatment from the United States, unless their duties on American products were not higher than the American duties on their products. In these instances the conditional most-favored-nation pledge appeared to be meaningless. In no case does it seem to have operated

as an obstacle to American departure from the principle of equality of treatment. Unless and until the United States adopts the European form of the most-favored-nation clause, other countries will have no adequate guarantee that the United States will itself follow the policy of equality of treatment, adherence to which it now demands of them. In the cases of Cuba and Brazil, it is not carrying out that policy at the present moment.

As has already been pointed out, the United States was during most of the nineteenth century able to disregard foreign interests in its tariff policy because it was not subject to economic retaliation. As the character of American export trade changed, however, there became available to European nations in their commercial relations with the United States the weapon of defense against unfair or unreciprocal tariff treatment which had served to bridle protectionism in Europe. To cite only two instances out of many, American products were, in 1892, subjected to higher duties than the products of other important countries by both Germany and France, and this discrimination continued on the part of Germany intermittently until the Treaty of Versailles was signed, on the part of France continuously to the present day. The McKinley, Dingley and Payne-Aldrich Tariffs were equipped with penalizing and concessional clauses. The penalties were not fear-some enough to induce European countries to acknowledge that the American general duties on their products were a fair return for their lowest duties on American products. The concessions, on the other hand, generally were not really available for distribution, since they required treaty negotiation and subsequent ratification by the American Senate. The Senate, always alert in the defense of the supposed interests of protected domestic industries, adhered to the tradition that American tariff treaties are negotiated in order that they may be politely pigeonholed in the Senate Foreign Relations Com-

mittee or rudely rejected in the Senate itself. Of ten tariff treaties negotiated and submitted to the Senate from 1888 to 1914, only one—that with Cuba—was ratified by the Senate.

There is now under consideration in Congress a tariff bill which if passed in its present form will be a bitter pill for other countries to swallow. In order to make it more palatable the Fordney Bill proposes to allow the President to make tariff concessions to foreign countries in return for reciprocal concessions. It is probable, however, that no concessions going beyond narrowly specified reductions in the law can be constitutionally made upon the authority of the President himself. The prospect of obtaining substantial concessions going beyond the power of the President to grant on his executive authority will not be very inviting to foreign diplomats who can recall what almost invariably happens to such treaties in the Senate. Lest the prospect of tariff concessions does not prove sufficiently attractive, however, to induce foreign countries to admit American products on favorable terms, it is also proposed to authorize the President to levy penalty duties on the products of countries whose treatment of American products is not reciprocally fair and reasonable. Presumably the sugar stick will be offered first, and if this fails, the big stick will be flourished.

The tariff threat, as used by the United States in the past, has been moderately effective in securing modifications of foreign duties on American products. Nevertheless, it offers little promise of success under existing conditions. The greatly increased export of manufactures from this country gives other countries a weapon of retaliation which they did not possess a generation ago, and a weapon, moreover, which would be pointed at just those interests in this country which are most largely responsible for the establishment and continuance of the policy of extreme protectionism. There is little ground, moreover, for appeal to considerations

of international comity or ethics against foreign tariff discriminations on American products, as long as the American tariff on imports is extremely high. The United States in the past has itself laid down in clear and specific terms the doctrine that no country has grounds for protest against tariff discrimination if that country levies higher duties on the products of the United States than are levied by the United States on its products. Under its conditional interpretation of most-favored-nation treatment, the United States has always reserved, and exercised, the right to differentiate in its treatment of the products of different countries. From 1898 to 1910, the United States granted more favorable tariff treatment on a number of important items to France, Germany and other European countries with high tariff on American products, than to Great Britain, which admitted almost all American products free of duty. All American tariffs for many years have contained "conditional duties," i. e., duties levied on specific commodities only when coming from countries which subjected similar American products to import duties. Such duties are also inconsistent with the policy of equality of treatment.

The only hope of obtaining the removal of existing tariff discriminations and excessive duties in foreign tariffs against American products lies in the adoption of the European form of the most-favored-nation clause, in the abandonment of the policy of reciprocity, and in the recognition by the United States, including the Senate, that tariffs, including the American tariff, like the commerce they regulate, are matters of international concern, and are properly subject to international discussion. This recognition should come all the more easily since in the past the United States has not hesitated to treat the tariffs of other countries, whether discriminatory or not, as matters of American concern. Only through honest and generous participation in mutual agreements to modify the

unduly harsh features of tariff enactments will the United States be able to act as effectively in defense of its foreign trade as in the past it has acted in defense of its protected domestic industries. Another weapon, it is true, has become available since the war—the use of financial pressure. The injection of dollar-diplomacy into tariff negotiations would be regrettable, however, from every point of view. It would cause deep resentment abroad at the exploitation by a former ally of the financial distress into which their relatively greater efforts in the common cause of civilization has brought them. It would inject another factor of bitterness into international relations at a most inopportune moment. It would be ungenerous, unprofitable, and dangerous to the continuance of friendly international relations.

TO ONE WHO ASKED (IN PILATE'S SPIRIT):
"WHAT IS BEAUTY?"

By George Herbert Clarke

Beauty? Divine the burning wing
Of yonder redbird poised to sing,
 The whispers in your wakeful ear
 While ghostly pines are swaying drear,
Under the cold moon murmuring!

Keats the elusive, lonely thing
Charmed with his magic musicking,
 And Shakespeare struck from stormy Lear
 Beauty divine.

The dearest secret she can bring
She breathes to virginal, shy Spring;
 Their footfalls (only fairies hear)
 In rosy outlines reappear,
In miracles of blossoming:
 Beauty divine!

Some Problems of the Pacific

TWO YEARS AFTER PARIS

*Changes Since the Spring of 1919 in the Far Eastern Problem
and the Relation of the United States to It.*

By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

As the forth-coming armaments conference approaches it becomes necessary for the world to take a fresh survey of the situation in the Far East. It is obvious, as General Smuts has so well reminded us, that the problems of the Pacific are to loom large at that gathering and promise to attract much more attention than they did at Paris. They may, indeed, become the chief topic of interest, and upon the progress made toward their solution will depend to a great extent the success of the main object of the gathering and the future peace of the world. As we approach November 11, wisdom demands that there be an unhurried, sober discussion of the situation in which light rather than heat shall predominate. No apology need be made, then, for an attempt to contribute to that discussion by a review of the changes in the situation during the past two years. In making a survey of this kind one naturally asks what the status in the Far East was when the Paris conference assembled, what alterations were made in it during the progress of the negotiations and by the treaty, and finally, what modifications have been introduced since. In the light of such an historical retrospect it ought to be possible to lay down certain general objectives by the attainment of which the success of the coming gathering may be measured.

What was the situation in the Far East when the diplomats gathered at Paris? In the first place, there was a divided China. The fair promise of progress given by the Revolution of 1911 had, for the time at least, proved largely

illusory. China had broken in two under the strain of declaring war on Germany, and in theory two governments were pitted against each other: one at Peking which had the recognition of the Powers and which represented, insofar as it had any historical background, the tradition of the Peiyang party and Yuan Shih-kai; and one in the South which claimed legitimacy under the provisional constitution of Nanking of 1912 and which had back of it much of the group that had brought about the Revolution of 1911 and had supported Sun Yat Sen. In practice, the existence of these two governments was complicated by numerous local and provincial jealousies and the selfish ambitions of designing military leaders, and the country threatened to break up into a number of petty and constantly changing principalities ruled by the strong men of the moment. Back of all this disunion, however, was a great people passing through one of the most momentous transitions known to history and slowly and painfully attaining national consciousness. Whether the imperfectly conceived, half-expressed national aspirations would be realized depended in part upon whether the Powers would forego their desires to control, each for its exclusive benefit, portions of the rich natural resources of China, and unite in assisting, by pressure or financial aid, the achievement of a unified, independent government.

In the next place, when the Paris gathering assembled, Japan was in a far stronger position than she had ever been. Two of her former rivals, Germany and Russia had, for the time at least, disappeared from the Far Eastern arena. France and Great Britain were associated with her in the war and had all but given her permission to do as she liked in the Far East. Only the United States remained as a possible opponent, and if one interpretation of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement were correct, even the State Department had conceded much. The war had given Japan a chance to strengthen her-

self in the East of Asia to an extent that only the dreams of her extreme imperialists had dared to picture. Her situation had been very critical. Financially she was poor, and was a debtor nation. Her population was growing rapidly, her arable land was limited, the best vacant territories of the earth had been preempted by European peoples and closed against Oriental immigration, and her one hope lay in manufacturing and commerce. Her deposits of coal were inadequate and she had no iron. If she were to become a manufacturing nation she must have easy access to ample supplies of coal, iron, and other raw materials and to a market. These were all to be found in China, but that country was weak and in danger of being partitioned among Occidental nations. What wonder then, that when Europe engaged in internecine strife Japan should seek so to strengthen herself in China that when the war should be over she could not be dislodged. And what wonder that, taught in the school of nineteenth century European imperialism, she should seek the means of strengthening herself in the accredited methods of force rather than in the slower and seemingly uncertain methods of international friendship and cooperation. Her seizure of the former German properties in Shantung, her "Twenty-One Demands" of 1915, her loans to China and her military agreement with her, the secret arrangements she made with the Allies in 1917, and her intrigues at Peking, were all of the sort sanctioned by repeated European practice, and had made her position in China far stronger than that of any other power.

It is true, she had won the enmity of the great majority of the Chinese people, but that for the moment did not greatly concern her. Japan had, moreover, joined in intervening in Siberia and had more troops there than had all her associates. Her commerce and her manufactures had increased enormously, both because of Allied orders for munitions, and because her rivals were concentrating their efforts on the war and

so were withdrawing from the trade of the Far East. Her debt, compared with the post-war obligations of the other powers, was small, and she was becoming a creditor instead of a debtor nation. Voices of liberalism, however, were not wanting in Japan. The avowed war aims of the Allies had helped to arouse in some quarters a conscience which demanded that the nation adopt a more nearly just policy toward China. There were those, moreover, who believed that aggression was short-sighted, and that the hope of Japan's future lay in conciliating rather than antagonizing her neighbor.

The United States came to Paris possessed of great and dangerous prestige in the Far East. She had the unquestioned sympathy of the Chinese. Her open door policy, the extensive altruistic work done by missionaries who were American citizens, the large number of Chinese who had studied in her universities, her part in inducing China to break with Germany, her opposition to the "Twenty-One Demands" (only cautiously expressed by the State Department but emphatically voiced in the press) and her loudly proclaimed aims in entering the war, had all led the Chinese to look toward the United States as their friend and their protector against the imperialism of Europe and Japan. Forgotten for the moment were the past failures of the United States to maintain consistently a vigorous Far Eastern policy and to carry out in deed more than a fraction of her platonically expressed ideals for justice and peace in the East of Asia. Ignored were the Chinese exclusion laws and the fact that American capital, if it ever seriously sought an outlet in China, might prove as selfish as that of Europe and Japan. For the time America was, in the eyes of young China, an angel of light. The truth of the matter was that the people of the United States had not as a whole more than a good-natured, hazy liking for China. There were groups in the United States, some influential in diplomatic,

some in financial, and some in religious circles, who were profoundly and unselfishly interested in China, who ardently wished to help her, and who for a reward asked only the satisfaction of a job well done and a united, progressive, liberal republic. There were also groups who wished to turn into cash dividends Sino-American friendship. The former groups had on the whole, controlled American policy so far as there was one, but the inertia and ignorance of the nation were too great to permit as yet of more than a mild interest in China which in times of stress might be galvanized into temporary action. For the time, however, American influence was strong. In Japan, too, American prestige was growing. President Wilson's speeches had won the hearty support of the liberal elements, and the rapid and phenomenal mobilization of the United States for war had evoked the surprised and reluctant respect of military men. Intervention in Siberia presaged a possible continued interest in the fate of Russia's Asiatic territories. Never, on the whole, had the stock of the United States been higher in the Far East than when Mr. Wilson went to Paris.

What happened at Paris is still fresh in the minds of all of us. The prestige that Japan had won during the war was reenforced at the Peace Conference. She was admitted to the select society of the Great Powers. She got most of what she asked for; as much, probably, as she expected. The former German Islands north of the Equator were awarded her under mandate, the German holdings in Shantung were given her, and she won a seat on the Council of the League. She did not, to be sure, obtain the recognition of race equality, but it is somewhat doubtful just what she meant by that phrase, and whether she really wanted it. The Americans were opposed on the whole to the Shantung award, and it seems fairly certain that President Wilson gave his consent to it only because he believed that otherwise Japan would withdraw from the

conference and wreck the League. That award was and is widely condemned, but it is yet by no means clear that in the long run it was not the wisest and even the most nearly just course. Certainly it would prove to be better for the ultimate peace of the Far East if Japan were voluntarily and entirely to restore the Shantung properties to China, rather than have been compelled to do so, and certainly, too, it would have been unfair to have singled out Japan for the application of an anti-imperialist policy while permitting Great Britain, France, and Italy to realize in part or in whole their imperialistic aspirations.

China came away from Paris intensely disappointed but with more of the respect of the world than when she came. She had failed to obtain the Shantung properties or the cancellation of the concessions she had been forced to make in 1915, but her representatives had, by their masterly presentation of her case, won the admiration of those who witnessed it, and by refusing to sign the German treaty she had retained at least part of her self-respect.

The United States was not as fortunate. The Shantung award was a blow to her prestige, for she had posed as the friend of China; it was clearly known on what side her sympathies were, and the decision was in its effect on her position in the Far East almost in the nature of a diplomatic disaster. She had seemingly abandoned the nation whom she had encouraged to enter the war, and had done it out of fear. Something, however, was saved from the wreckage. The League, could it have functioned, might have exercised sufficient constraint on its members to have insured justice and a fair chance for China. The Consortium, initiated by the State Department of the United States and backed by New York bankers, would, if it could be made to work, help China to her feet, check the expansion of exclusive zones of interest, and mark the dawn of a better day in international finance. Its

success was highly problematical, however. It seemed primarily to be directed against Japan, and so would meet with her opposition or half-hearted acquiescence. The American members of the group would apparently have to supply most of the money. If they did so, they would, probably, with the usual caution of bankers, insist upon the backing of the State Department, with the accompanying necessity of political intrigue and the possibility of a contingency in which force would be necessary. If they went into the enterprise with but little stomach for it, the Consortium would probably be a failure. In other words, the Consortium ran the risk of being either a fiasco or the disguise for an American financial invasion of China. Ideally it seems to be the only safe way to finance China, and it can probably be made to work, but it is attended with great difficulties. The United States, then, had at Paris lost prestige and committed herself to two experiments whose outcome was highly doubtful.

What has happened since Paris? What changes in the situation have there been which the world needs to take into account? In China disunion continues to be the order of the day. In the North there is still a government which is recognized by the Powers, and in the South, in Kwangtung, there is a government which, under the leadership of those who were the moving spirits in the Revolution of 1911, claims to have back of it the only legitimate constitution. Increasingly, however, there is a tendency toward provincial independence and the rule of various sections of the country by a kaleidoscopic procession of military autocrats. In Shansi a strong governor maintains an orderly and progressive government, the president at Peking is a benevolent figurehead, and the mighty Chang Tso-ling of Mukden is the strong man of the North. Hunan and Chekiang are moving toward virtual autonomy. What will be the situation and who will be the leaders a year from now no one can with certainty predict.

And yet, in spite of all this political chaos, there is seemingly a growing unity of spirit among the people of China. The Shantung award provoked a nation-wide storm of anger. Under the leadership of students, the dismissal from the cabinet of men accused of pro-Japanese proclivities was demanded and a boycott was instituted against everything Japanese. It looked for the time as though the action at Paris had helped rather than hindered the cause of Chinese independence. Abandoned by their friends and forced to stand on their own feet, the Chinese seemed at last to be finding themselves. It is not at all certain, indeed, that this may not still prove to be the case. Dislike for the control of national finances involved in the plan of the Consortium has stirred the country to efforts toward financial independence, and there is serious talk of a group of Chinese banks to finance the nation and so to obviate the necessity of foreign control. The League has as yet done very little, if anything, for China, but even with its sponsor, the United States, out of it, it is not yet quite moribund, and China has been elected to its Council. The Consortium has been slow to function. Japan delayed joining and then came in under conditions which at least partially exempt Manchuria from the operations of the international group. The project has already lost prestige from the delay in getting under way, and its future is very doubtful.

Japan has gained rather than lost in the past two years. The boycott against her in China has at least partially subsided and feeling is not as acute as it was. She has offered to negotiate with China over Shantung, but the latter country is unwilling to recognize the action taken at Paris by doing so. There has been a strong movement in Japan to conciliate China, partly, probably, from expediency and partly from principle. Liberal sentiment is still strong, but it has suffered, as it has in other nations, from the reaction that followed the war and the Treaty of Versailles. Troops are still in Siberia,

rather than hindered the cause of Chinese independence. but the government has been severely criticized for retaining them there and they have been partially withdrawn. The Korean revolt of 1919 and the severity with which it was suppressed aroused the indignant sympathy of many in America. and, when the facts were known, of many Japanese. A mitigation of the harshness of the administration has been promised and seems in part to have been carried out. Korea certainly seems to be in no position to govern herself and the question of her future is so largely a domestic one for Japan that it can hardly be brought before the forth-coming conference. Japan has entered upon the administration of the former German islands north of the Equator, and the question of the future of the Island of Yap will probably be one of the minor but thorny problems that will vex the diplomats. The California situation is still unsolved. Negotiations have been under way, but nothing final seems to have been determined. Should the question be raised at the coming conference, as it well may, it will, of course, be complicated by the attitude of Australia and Canada. For the past year or more the future of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been under discussion. Its renewal would be a distinct diplomatic victory for Japan. British residents throughout the Far East seem on the whole to oppose it, and the attitude of the British dominions has been in doubt. There has been the fear in some quarters that a renewed alliance might mean the consent of each power to the aggressive program of the other in China, and concern has been more widely expressed that its renewal might be regarded as directed primarily against the United States and her program of naval construction. It is probable that the Alliance will be renewed, at least in some form, but great effort has been made to assure public opinion in the United States and the British dominions that under no consideration could it be used to lead Great Britain into war with the United States.

There came in Japan after the war a sharp business depression, as was to be expected. The country is, however, immensely richer than it was before the war, and if it can maintain an open door into China and steadily increase its industrial efficiency, its future ought to be assured.

For the United States the situation has not changed greatly since Paris. The prestige lost there has not been regained, nor has it been improved by the outcome of the Siberian expedition. The controversy over the Yap mandate appears to be as much a question of jockeying for diplomatic advantage as of the intrinsic importance of the island. The country has probably lost, and lost immensely, in its failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and to maintain membership in the League. It was seemingly to save the League that Mr. Wilson gave his consent to the Shantung settlement, and the success of the League was contingent upon our support. Had we gone into the League wholeheartedly, a vigorous, impartial international policy might have been adopted for China, and the wisdom of our course vindicated. As it is, we and the Far East are the losers. The Consortium has not been successful enough to retrieve our losses. Our influence in China is, however, still strong. By their very disinterestedness American missions still cause many Chinese to believe in us, and the presence of many former students in this country is still an asset to mutual understanding and goodwill. The fact, too, that as yet we have not the great vested financial interests in the country that some other nations possess is not without its value in encouraging confidence. The United States may still, if it will, play the part of the disinterested friend.

The status of the European powers in China has been modified somewhat since the war. British interest in the Far East is returning, as is seen by the recent project in South China. German trade is slowly reviving, and seems to have

a bright future. The French are making a strong bid for Chinese friendship and are taking vigorous official action to encourage Chinese students to go to France. During the past year, in fact, there have been more of them in France than in the United States. The formerly strong Russian influence has, of course, all but disappeared.

In the light of the above situation, what can be hoped for from the armaments conference? Much of the problem is beyond the reach of diplomacy. The weakness of China and the economic situation in Japan, for instance, can be remedied only in part by arrangements between governments. China's dis-organization can be overcome only by the slow-working processes of internal redemptive forces, and all that diplomacy can do is to give these a chance. That it can do, however, and that it is to be profoundly hoped that the conference will do. The territorial integrity of China must be protected against all comers, whether Oriental or Occidental, for partition can mean only humiliation for the Chinese, jealousies among the Powers, added race bitterness and nationalistic uprisings, and the constant danger of a new world war. Similarly, in the long run Japan must work out her own economic salvation by enterprise, industry, and efficiency. Similarly, too, the conference can as far as possible guarantee to Japan free access to the markets and natural resources of the continent. It is difficult to see how the conference can award to Japan any new territory or freedom of emigration to North America or Australia. New territory could come only from China or Siberia. To take any from the first would be unjust and provocative of new trouble, and the future of Russia is still too nebulous to permit now of any just distribution of the possessions of the former empire. There would, of course, be impassable obstacles in the way of opening either Canada, the United States, or Australia to Japanese settlers. What the Powers can do, however, is to see that no special leases, conces-

sions, or tariff or freight rates militate against Japan in her legitimate ambition to develop the Chinese market and natural resources. Perhaps the Consortium can be strengthened and made truly international, and so the means be provided for opening the mines and building the railways of China without special national enclaves, either Japanese or Occidental.

In the conference it will be necessary for Americans to make a special effort to overcome their prejudices and national ambitions. For the moment our sympathies are strongly with China and against Japan. Most of the experts in our State Department have had their diplomatic experience in China and are suspicious of all that emanates from Tokyo. The administration is partially committed, by the attitude of the Republican senators to the Shantung question in the fight over the Treaty, to the restoration to China of the former German holdings in that province. Some of our capitalists are eager for support and protection for American investments in China. It will be quite possible for the conference to disband without lessening the suspicion with which this country and Japan regard each other, and even to increase it. If the gathering is to have the success that it may have, and that for the future peace of the world it must have, our representatives and our public must make an honest effort to achieve an unselfish desire for justice in the Far East to all nations.

THE SHANTUNG QUESTION

By PAYSON J. TREAT

The essential facts which must be taken into consideration in any examination of the Shantung question, so far as they are at present available, are very much as follows. Limitation of space will require a suggestive rather than a

thorough treatment of several of the interesting points which will be mentioned.

(1) In 1898, Germany secured from China, by treaty, the leasehold of Kiaochow Bay for ninety-nine years, together with the right to build two railways in Shantung province, to operate mines within ten miles on each side of them, and to enjoy the right to be first asked to furnish assistance in personnel, capital or material, when such were desired in the province.

This treaty, of March 6, 1898, was the direct result of the murder of two German missionaries on November 1, 1897, in Kiachwang village, Kuyeh district, Tsaochow prefecture, Shantung. A German squadron promptly occupied Kiaochow bay, and remained there pending the negotiations in Peking. In addition to the usual demands for an apology, the punishment of the responsible officials, and an indemnity, Germany also demanded the leasehold of Kiaochow and the railway and economic concessions. For some time before 1897 Germany had desired a commercial and naval base on the coast of China. It is probable that China would have made such a grant if approached directly, especially as Germany was entitled to some reward for coming to the assistance of China, in 1895, at the close of the Sino-Japanese war, and as Germany and Russia had agreed to support each other in demands for leased ports. But instead of acting directly, Germany chose to use the murder of the missionaries as an excuse. China, on the other hand, settled the missionary demands first, and then, in a separate convention, granted the additional German requests. The opening words of the treaty state: "The incidents connected with the Mission in the Prefecture of Tsao-chow-fu, in Shantung, being now closed, the Imperial Chinese Government consider it advisable to give a special proof of their grateful appreciation of the assistance

rendered to them by Germany." This statement, which hardly told the whole truth, was interpreted by Japanese to mean that Kiaochow was the price paid by China for Germany's intervention against Japan at the close of the Chinese war.

Germany's action started "the vicious circle of foreign demands upon China." Russia promptly demanded Port Arthur; Great Britain, Wei-hai-wei; France, Kwangchow-wan; and Britain also asked for Kowloon, to offset the French leasehold. China was promptly divided up into spheres of interest by the Powers, and all Japan secured was a promise by China never to alienate Fukien province. But although Germany established herself in Shantung in this reprehensible manner, she soon altered her policy into one of moderation and consideration for China. The new city of Tsingtao became a model port, and the railway from Tsingtao to Tsinan, 256 miles long, opened in 1904, contributed greatly to its development. German troops, which had occupied some cities in the neutral zone during the Boxer disturbances in 1900, were withdrawn in 1905. In 1911, Germany relinquished all her mining rights except to one iron and two coal districts, and in 1913, she relinquished three railway concessions, and in return secured loan options for a line from Kaomi to Hanchuan, on the Tientsin-Pukow line, and from Tsinan to Shunteh, on the Peking-Hankow line. While on June 10, 1914, on the eve of the Great War, China granted her a loan option on any westward extension of the Tsinan-Shunteh line, on the Chefoo-Weihsien line, and on the Tsining-Kaifeng line. In other words, even under the Chinese Republic Germany seemed to be *persona grata* in Shantung, as the concessions of 1913 and 1914 testify. It seems to be true that, in the early days of the Great War, Chinese officialdom had far more sympathy with Germany than with Great Britain, Russia and Japan, the three allies with whom she had had most to do.

(2) In 1914, Japan gained possession of the German leasehold and other rights by conquest.

This was due to Japan's entrance into the Great War under the obligations of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In the ultimatum served upon Germany, the surrender of Kiaochow was demanded, for eventual restoration to China. It must be clearly understood that "the entire leased territory of Kiaochow" was specified, and not all the German rights in Shantung. Some British and Indian troops cooperated with the Japanese in the operations against Tsingtao, which surrendered on November 7, 1914.

Japan's conduct during these operations was based upon the precedents of the Russo-Japanese war. In both cases a European power, with whom Japan was at war, held a fortified leasehold on Chinese territory. In both cases China promptly proclaimed her neutrality. In both cases Chinese territory was used as a field of military operations. In 1914, China promptly proclaimed a war zone in which these operations might be conducted. There is no basis in fact for comparing the Japanese violation of Chinese neutrality with the German invasion of Belgium. During the campaign the Japanese occupied the entire length of the German railway, to Tsinan, and retained troops in that city along the railway after Tsingtao was surrendered.

(3) In 1915, China agreed "to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the province of Shantung."

This was the first article of the Shantung treaty of May 25, 1915. Japan, in an exchange of notes at this time, promised to restore the leased territory on condition: (a) that the whole of Kiaochow bay be opened as a commercial

port; (b) that a Japanese concession be established at a place designated by the Japanese Government; (c) that an international concession may be established if the foreign Powers desire it; (d) that the two governments shall arrange for the disposal of the German buildings and other properties before the restoration.

The "Twenty-one Demands" made upon China by Japan in January, 1915, were the greatest mistake of Japanese diplomacy in recent years. But this cannot be discussed here. The Shantung demand was again based upon the Russian precedents. In 1905, at Portsmouth, Russia ceded to Japan her leasehold of Port Arthur and her railway and mining rights in South Manchuria. But China had to agree to the transfer, so Baron Komura and Mr. Denison proceeded to Peking, and after long negotiations secured China's assent. But relations between China and Japan were so strained in 1915 that Japan determined to secure China's approval before, rather than after, the German peace treaty. Some of the twenty-one demands were withdrawn and others were considerably modified before the treaties were signed, but Japan insisted upon gaining China's assent to any settlement she might make with Germany. It is true that China yielded under pressure. But it is also true that in the past China has rarely granted any treaty concessions except under pressure. If China could tear up every treaty which was forced upon her, few foreign rights would remain in China, as anyone who is familiar with the history of the great treaties of Nanking, 1842, Tientsin, 1858, Aigun, 1858, and Peking, 1860, knows perfectly well. China later took the position that the treaties of 1915 were of a temporary nature, subject to reconsideration at the close of the war. Japan refused to accept this interpretation.

(4) In 1917, the allies of Japan, i. e. Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy, promised that they would support her claim to the German rights in Shantung and to the Ger-

man islands north of the Equator at the Peace Conference.

This was due primarily to the fact that in 1915, by secret compacts, the European allies had agreed upon certain territorial gains in Europe and Asia Minor. Japan, the only one of the five allies who had received no promise of territory, asked her allies to support her claims. The first discussion took place with the British ambassador in Tokyo, on January 27, 1917. Japan asked for the above assurances, and on February 16, Britain replied favorably, on condition that Japan would support her claim to the German islands south of the Equator. It is alleged that Japan advanced this request at the time when Britain besought her to send her destroyers to the Mediterranean to help meet the German submarine menace. If Japan had based her compliance with this request upon Britain's consent to her desires, it would indicate that Japan was taking advantage of the necessities of her ally. But the Japanese maintain that their Government was ready to send the destroyers as soon as they were requested—which they did—and that in raising the question of the German rights and territories they were simply following the precedent laid down in the arrangements between the European allies in 1915. Japan then approached France and Russia. France approved, on condition that Japan use her influence to persuade China to dissolve relations with Germany, which Japan promptly did. Russia apparently agreed without any *quid pro quo*, probably because Japan had already promised to France what Russia also desired—support in causing China to break with Germany. Italy later agreed to the Japanese request without any conditions precedent. These secret compacts of 1917 are of great importance. Great Britain and France attached conditions, which Japan accepted. In 1919, Lloyd George and Clemenceau were called upon either to support Japan or to break their pledge to the most powerful state in Asia.

(5) In 1917, China entered the war, and announced that "all treaties, agreements, and conventions, heretofore concluded between China and Germany, and between China and Austria-Hungary.... are, in conformity with the law of Nations and international practice, hereby abrogated."

This was the basis of the Chinese contention, at Paris, that Germany had no rights to cede to Japan, as they had reverted to China the moment China entered the war.

The way in which China became a belligerent offers an interesting subject for investigation, which can only be suggested here. Soon after the United States dissolved relations with Germany, on February 3, and asked all neutral powers to follow her example, China took a similar step on March 14. The United States declared war upon Germany on April 6, but China did not immediately follow her lead. At this time a bitter feud raged in Peking between the Parliament and the Cabinet, led by General Tuan Chi-Jui, the premier. Both parties wished to have China enter the war, but for very different reasons. Parliament wished to have China stand beside the United States, while the militarists believed that entrance into the war meant loans and supplies which would strengthen their control of the government. When Parliament refused to pass the necessary declaration, the generals brought such pressure to bear upon the weak but well-meaning President, General Li, that he dissolved Parliament. Many of the members promptly assembled in Canton, and a southern republic was proclaimed, which has functioned to this day. During this crisis the United States formally advised China that it was far more important for her to restore unity than to enter the war. Then came the ill-fated attempt to restore the boy Emperor, and after its suppression General Tuan was again premier. China entered the war by Presidential proclamation on August 14, but before she did so she had bargained with the representatives of the Allies as to what she

should receive. All her requests were not granted, but they promised that she would be granted a remission of the Boxer indemnity for five years, except in the case of Russia who would only remit one-third of her share, and that the tariff would be raised to an effective five per cent. Nothing was said about regaining the German rights in Shantung.

(6) In 1918, China granted Japan additional rights in Shantung.

On September 24, the Chinese minister in Tokyo signed a loan contract granting Japanese capitalists the right to supply funds for two railways in Shantung (the very ones which had been granted to German capitalists in 1913). An advance of 20,000,000 yen was made at the time. On the same day, in an exchange of notes, Japan promised to withdraw her troops from the Kiaochow-Tsinan railway, except for a detachment at Tsinan; to permit Chinese to police the railway; to abolish the civil administration along the line; and, after its ownership was finally determined (at the Peace Conference), to make it a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise. The Chinese Government agreed to these proposals. It goes without saying that the railway concessions of 1918 were predicated upon the Japanese control of the existing German railway, as promised by the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1915. Why the Peking Government signed such an agreement or exchanged such notes passes comprehension. If it were due to Japanese pressure, it still does not explain why the Chinese accepted 20,000,000 yen. Probably the best explanation is found in the corruption of the Peking administration, its need of funds, and the Japanese readiness to advance the money in order to secure so important an agreement.

(7) In 1919, at the Peace Conference, China demanded the direct restitution of the Shantung rights to herself by Germany.

The Chinese case was based largely on principle and jus-

tice. As such it won the endorsement of the American peace commissioners and their advisers. Her legal case, which appealed especially to Mr. Lansing, was based upon the alleged temporary nature of the 1915 treaty (as well as the 1918 agreement) and upon the claim that the German treaties were abrogated when China entered the war.

Japan opposed China's claim in every instance. She insisted that the 1915 treaty was binding, which precluded China from negotiating directly with Germany. And she maintained that it was doubtful whether a declaration of war can abrogate a lease treaty. As a matter of fact, the Treaty of Versailles was later based on the assumption that China's treaties with Germany were binding except such as were specifically abrogated by its own terms.

In considering the decision at Paris we must remember that Japan had a very strong legal and practical case. China would have to denounce treaties which her recognized government had signed in 1915 and 1918. Japan also had the promise of Great Britain and France to support her, for Italy had withdrawn from the Conference before the Shantung decision was made. President Wilson certainly wished to see China succeed in her desires, but to hold him responsible for not forcing the British and French premiers to break their pledges seems unfair, to say the least.

The Shantung case was presented to the Council of Ten on January 27, by Japan, and the next day by China. On the twenty-ninth, Japan learned that instead of gaining the German islands she could, at most, only hope for a mandate. On April 11, the Japanese amendment to the Covenant of the League of Nations, providing for the equality of states and the just treatment of their nationals, was defeated by the ruling of the presiding officer, President Wilson, in spite of a large majority in favor of it. Under these circumstances, Japan could not consent to the rejection of every one of her

desires. When Japan presented her reply to China's case, on April 22, Baron Makino announced that Japan could not sign the treaty if her claims to the German rights in Shantung were denied. So when, on April 28, he announced that Japan would accept the Covenant of the League, in spite of the rejection of the Japanese proposal, it was believed that an agreement had been reached, that Japan had agreed to sign the Treaty and the Council of Three had promised to grant her desires in Shantung. The latter decision was announced on April 20. China refused to sign the treaty on June 28.

According to the treaty Germany renounced to Japan all her rights, title and privileges in the province of Shantung. This meant, concretely, her lease of the bay of Kiaochow, covering a land area of 200 square miles, which would expire in 1997; the railway from Tsingtao to Tsinan, 256 miles long; two coal mines, one iron mine, and such additional mining, railway and industrial concessions as Germany had received; the German cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and to Chefoo; and such movable and immovable property as Germany might possess in the leased territory. The cession, therefore, covered German rights and not Chinese rights. China lost nothing which she enjoyed in 1914, and Japan gained nothing which Germany did not possess. The treaty did not confer upon Japan the ownership or even the control of the great province of Shantung with its 38,000,000 inhabitants. If China succeeds in reorganizing her political and economic life she can reduce Japanese influence in Shantung to a minimum, but if she continues in a state of disunion and disorder the development of that rich province will pass rapidly under Japanese control.

Japan, on the other hand, made no pledge to the Powers in return for the cession of the German rights. She stated that she would observe her promises to China of 1915 and 1918. Later she announced that she would be satisfied with

an international settlement in Tsingtao in place of a purely Japanese one. She has not restored the leasehold to Chinese control as yet, simply because China has refused to enter into the negotiations called for by the notes in which Japan agreed to restore Kiaochow.

Such seem to be the facts in the case. The interpretation of these facts depends largely upon the point of view of the investigator. In my opinion Japan made a serious mistake in insisting upon the acquisition of the German rights in Shantung. Her conduct was absolutely justifiable in the light of previous European conduct in China, but the good-will of China is so essential for Japan's own prosperity that it would have been far wiser to have yielded much rather than to have aroused the resentment of the Chinese people.

THE YAP ISLAND CONTROVERSY

By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

The small island of Yap, or Jap as it is spelled on some pre-war maps, is a part of the widely scattered archipelago of the Caroline Islands which are located about 1,200 miles east of the Philippines on the direct route between San Francisco and Manila and within about 500 miles of Guam. Except for its strategic position the island is insignificant. It is a peak of a submarine range which accounts for many of these small islands in the South Seas, is inhabited by a population of some 8,000 Polynesians, attains an altitude of 1,170 feet above sea-level, and is surrounded by a coral reef about twenty-five miles in extent. It is a station of the cable line from the American island of Guam, in the Landrones, to Shanghai, and of another line from Yap to Menado (Dutch East Indies). Both of these cables before the war used to be alternate despatch routes to the main American cable, San Francisco-

Honolulu-Guam-Manila-Shanghai. When the Guam-Manila-Shanghai line was out of order the Guam-Yap-Shanghai or the Guam-Yap-Menado-Hong Kong connection could be used for cable messages from the United States to China. A cable also leads from Yap to Guam and via the Japanese Bonins to Tokyo with connections thence to Korea and China.

The cables landing at Yap, belonging as they did to a German company, were cut, west of the island, by Japan at the beginning of the World War, and their ends have been sealed ever since, to the great injury of commercial traffic between the United States and China and Manila, which in case of a break in the American line via Manila must now pass from Yap to Asia by way of Japan. The embarrassments of having diplomatic or commercial messages between America and China diverted under a possible Japanese censorship are obvious.

Yap is not only a nodal point for trans-Pacific cable communication, a communication very important to the United States both in time of peace and in time of war, but the island along with the other German islands conquered by Japan north of the Equator is on the main route of naval communication between Honolulu and Manila, a route which is essential to the Far Eastern territorial possessions of the United States. In this respect, however, Yap is no more important than many other of the islands recently put under Japanese mandate. Almost any of these numerous islets would make admirable submarine bases for a fleet operating against American transports or battleships engaged in a Pacific war. Yap's greatest importance is its existence as a cable station and its relation to the larger aspects of the international politics of the Pacific and to the prestige and honor of American foreign policy.

In order to understand the background of the Yap controversy, we must review some fundamentals of international

politics in the Far East since the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was first ratified in 1902. That Alliance became the basis of Japan's world policy and has remained until this year an axiom of the Far Eastern question. It was last renewed for a term of ten years from July 13, 1911. It was that alliance which cleared the way for the Russo-Japanese war by assuring Japan that she could meet Russia alone on the plains of Manchuria. As last renewed its terms read: "if by reason of any unprovoked or aggressive action wherever arising, on the part of any other power or powers, either contracting power should be involved in war in defense of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement (i.e., "the regions of eastern Asia and of India") the other contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally." An article was added in 1911 which was intended to eliminate any obligation of Great Britain to fight a war at the side of Japan against the United States: "Should either high contracting party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such contracting party an obligation to go to war with the power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force." At that very time a general arbitration treaty was being negotiated between Great Britain and the United States, but it was never concluded, as the Senate so amended it that President Taft refused to resubmit the treaty to England. Hence it is argued by some that the clause in question, being anticipatory and prospective in its language, does not apply to the United States, though one arbitration treaty, the so-called Hay Treaty ratified in 1908, exists between the United States and England and provides for the arbitration of a limited category of disputes.

It was in fulfilment of this treaty of alliance that Japan entered the recent war after Great Britain was forced to declare a defensive war on Germany. As a result of her mili-

tary operations Japan's forces are now in possession of Shantung and the former German islands in the Pacific north of the Equator.

After the occupation of these territories the chief aim of Japanese diplomacy was to secure a universally acknowledged title to the new acquisitions. To this end Japan began by forcing China, after a pointed ultimatum, not only to agree to recognize whatever settlement might be reached between Japan and Germany for the disposition of German rights in Shantung province, but also to agree to a much more far-reaching Japanese influence over China, a great stride toward what many authorities on Far Eastern politics regard as a clean-cut program for an eventual Japanese protectorate. The Chinese, after a declaration of protest to the world, accepted most of the Japanese demands, at the same time stating that they did so only when confronted by armed force. The United States at that time, May, 1915, responded with a note to China saying that we could not recognize any agreement which would impair treaty rights of American citizens or violate the political or territorial integrity of China or the principle of the "open door." We thus enunciated in the face of the Japanese demands a policy protective of Chinese sovereignty. Though since then at no time have we protested the "Twenty-one Demands" as contrary to that policy.

On January 31, 1917, Germany announced her resumption of ruthless submarine warfare which led to the severing of diplomatic relations with the United States on February 3, with the imminent likelihood of war. The Secretary of State issued the note to neutral powers inviting them also to sever diplomatic relations with the outlaw nation. To do this the Chinese were very eager. In fact they had been keen to enter the war against Germany in order to gain a seat at the Peace Conference as an equal with Japan and there to be able to plead on the grounds of justice for the return of Shantung to China.

Such return might also be demanded as China's legitimate share of the common victory, though the reduction of Tsingtao had been accomplished by Japanese forces nominally aided by a few English troops. On the other hand it was the policy of Japan to keep China out of the war and out of the Peace Conference. The other Allies wanted China to come in if only to get hold of the interned German merchant ships at a time when such tonnage was desperately needed. The appeal of the United States now gave China stronger position, and apparently the Japanese recognized that it might be impossible to keep the Chinese out of the war.

Precisely at this time were concocted the famous secret treaties between Japan and the European Allies, Great Britain, France and Russia, securing to Japan future possession of German rights in Shantung and the former German islands north of the Equator (which included Yap). These treaties or rather formal exchanges of notes were signed in February and March, 1917, in the brief period intervening between the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany by the United States and the American declaration of war. The coincidence is significant. In case the United States and China should become practical allies against Germany, China would perhaps find a way to the peace table at which would be sitting the United States who already consistently had manifested a disposition favorable to the maintenance of Chinese independence and sovereign rights. Accordingly, before the United States should declare war Japan was careful to get from the Allies express and secret recognition of her possession of Shantung and the German islands north of the Equator as her prize of victory. These treaties were not divulged by the Allies to the United States, neither by Mr. Balfour nor by M. Viviani on the occasion of the visits of those gentlemen to Washington to accept and to arrange for loans and military and naval cooperation, nor by

Viscount Ishii when later in 1917 he arrived on a special mission from Tokyo. This was the situation despite the fact that Mr. Balfour declared to the House of Commons, March 4, 1918, that President Wilson was kept "fully informed" as to Allied diplomacy. ✕

Before mentioning briefly the mission of Ishii and its relation to the question of the Pacific Islands it is worth while to speak of the Chinese break with Germany and of an incident connected with it which justifies the summary we have given. After the United States gave Von Bernstorff his passports a movement was speedily got under way in Peking for a rupture with Germany and eventual war. China, however already had demanded express recognition by the Entente Allies of her territorial integrity and sovereignty. This the Allies, already secretly bound to Japan in the Shantung matter, could not and did not give. When the United States invited China to make the break the repulses of the Allies had left her in an uncertain mood. Again China attempted to get guaranties from Great Britain and France (Russia was now slipping toward Bolshevism) but could get no definite assurance beyond the recommendation to come in along with the United States whose presence ought to indicate that Chinese rights would be taken care of at the Peace Conference.

The Chinese Government now demanded of Mr. Reinsch, American Minister at Peking, the assurance it could not get from the European Allies. According to the testimony of Mr. Thomas F. F. Millard, who was told this by Minister Reinsch himself (see Millard's testimony before Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Aug. 18, 1919). Mr. Reinsch tried to get the consent of his Government to give such assurance. "It happened at just this moment there was a break in the Pacific cable, and for several days Dr. Reinsch was out of cable communication with the State Department. It was very urgent and the thing had to be consid-

ered quickly, or everyone there thought it should be concluded quickly, because they felt that if they did not get the Chinese to act promptly the various Japanese intrigues would get to work and they would succeed possibly in preventing China from taking any action. Dr. Reinsch said [to the Chinese], "The cable is interrupted, and I cannot communicate with my Government at this moment, but I feel justified in telling you verbally my opinion that in the event that you follow the advice of the United States and sever diplomatic relations with Germany, and in the event that that leads us into war with Germany, you can count upon the diplomatic support of the United States in seeing China's rights are protected in the Peace Conference.' "

As a result China severed relations and eventually, in August, came into the war with a well justified expectation that her rights would be protected by the United States.

A break in the cable communications of the Pacific, however, had prevented a position and efficacious guaranty of the fulfilment of those just expectations. There is no evidence that Dr. Reinsch's assurance ever received the sanction of his Government. Against the advice of the other peace commissioners and of the Far Eastern expert advisers to the Peace Commission, President Wilson consented to the reversion in the Treaty of Versailles of German rights in Shantung to Japan.

All of the above statements are very clearly and authoritatively established by the testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and by the more recent revelations of Ex-Secretary Lansing. These facts show the supreme importance of uninterrupted cable communications in times of crises in peace or war. The writer does not know whether the cable break was east or west of Guam. Had it been west of Guam and had it occurred at a time before the Yap cables were sealed in 1914 there would have remained two alternate routes to Shanghai. Those routes were closed in 1917 and the only

alternate wire was by way of Japan. This is the case at present.

Having by secret agreements tied up the European Allies it now remained for Japan to obtain the sanction of the United States to continued possession after the war of the occupied German Pacific islands and Shantung concessions. In November, 1917, when the European situation was fast approaching a desperate turn, Viscount Ishii induced Secretary Lansing to sign the exchange of notes in which the United States and Japan agreed that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries and that for that reason Japan has "special interests" in China. According to Mr. Lansing's testimony before the same Senate Committee the Secretary of State in oral conversations with Ishii insisted that "special interests" did not mean interests in a political sense. Viscount Ishii maintained a discreet silence as to the force of this remark. From what we gather from Mr. Lansing's testimony there is no record of these conversations attested by both diplomats. Mr. Lansing's testimony is based on a dictation which he made to a stenographer immediately after the interview. The phrase "special interests" nevertheless appeared in the note with no further definition, whatever may be the private interpretation which the Secretary of State attached to it. Mr. Lansing thought American policy toward China sufficiently safeguarded by including in the notes a statement that neither party had any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, together with an expression of the confidence of the United States in the assurances of Japan that the latter had no wish to discriminate against the trade of any nation in China.

The Japanese Government thus secured written recognition of its "special interests" in China from the United States without any definition of what that phrase means. Japan immediately interpreted it to China as a recognition of not the

"special interests" but the "paramount interests" of Japan over China, a phrase which Mr. Lansing had definitely rejected when, during the negotiations, it had been suggested by Viscount Ishii. The words "paramount interests," one remembers, are the description of Japan's attitude toward Korea which was recognized by Great Britain in the renewal in 1905 of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which prepared the way for the annexation of that ancient monarchy to Japan in 1910. The present meaning of the Lansing-Ishii agreement is a puzzle to the diplomatic world. It will be interpreted by either power according to the convenience of existing circumstances.

The Lansing-Ishii agreement did not apply to the German islands north of the Equator, but it is notable that in conversations (September 6, 1917) preceding the exchange of notes, Viscount Ishii informed Mr. Lansing that "some-time in 1915" an understanding had been "practically arranged" between Great Britain and Japan that at the peace the islands north of the equator would go to Japan and those south of the line to Great Britain, an arrangement which corresponded then, as now, with the military occupation of those islands. Insofar as Mr. Lansing's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee informs us, there is no record of his having interposed any protest to this arrangement. Nor is there any record of his having agreed to it.

Japan cannot very well plead that a lack of protest involves the United States in any recognition of permanent possession of any or all of those islands by the Mikado's Government, because within two months after the Lansing-Ishii Agreement President Wilson enunciated the American peace program. Of the Fourteen Points, thirteen of which were accepted definitely by Germany at the time of her surrender as the terms of the peace to be worked out, Point Five bears on the matter before us: "A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict

observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."

The Paris Peace Conference assembled one year later. One of the first matters to be considered was the status of the former German colonies. The mandate theory was now advanced, and accepted by President Wilson as a means of adjusting the question of colonial claims in accordance with his program. When the matter of the disposition of the German colonies was being discussed President Wilson is said (according to the depositions of advisers to the peace commissions) to have proposed that this question for the time being could be brushed off to one side by agreeing at that session that the colonies be separated from Germany and that their disposition be invested in the League of Nations to be parcelled out later in some mandatory form. There appeared to be agreement on this point until the Japanese representative, Baron Makino, rose and objected that this would be contrary to agreements which Japan already had with some of the Allied powers. The dramatic moment had come. President Wilson demanded that Makino lay his cards on the table—that the agreements be brought forth. The Japanese Plenipotentiary replied that since the agreements were confidential he would have to consult his home Government and the other parties to the treaties before making them known. The next day, nevertheless, the famous Shantung secret treaties of February-March, 1917, which the United States now learned of from its associates for the first time, were produced. One part of these treaties, it is remembered, was the award to Japan of the islands north of the Equator.

In some way—the explanation will be eagerly sought in future diplomatic memoirs and in the minutes of the Council of Four if they are ever published—Japan was brought to ac-

cept the mandate theory. A guess might not be out of order to the effect that she accepted that principle only after she had been definitely awarded by the Treaty the reversion of the German rights in Shantung. It was some weeks after that award, namely on May 7, 1919, that the Supreme Council considered the matter of the distribution of mandates. From the meeting of the Council on this date springs the present Yap Island controversy. It is fitting here to reproduce word for word the testimony of one of the leading participants in the meeting, none other than President Wilson himself. The following is the President's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee at the White House, August 19, 1919:

THE CHAIRMAN. [Senator Lodge]. Going now onto another question, as I understand the treaty the overseas possessions of Germany are all made over to the five principal allied and associated powers, who apparently, as far as the treaty goes, have power to make disposition of them, I suppose by way of mandate or otherwise. Among those overseas possessions are the Ladrone Islands, except Guam, the Carolines, and, I think, the Marshall Islands. Has there been any recommendation made by our naval authorities in regard to the importance of our having an island there, not for territorial purposes, but for naval purposes?

THE PRESIDENT. There was a paper on that subject, Senator, which has been published. I only partially remember it. It was a paper laying out the general necessities of our naval policy in the Pacific, and the necessity of having some base for communication upon those islands was mentioned, just in what form I do not remember. But let me say, this, there is a little island which I must admit I had not heard of before.

SENATOR WILLIAMS. The island of Yap?

THE PRESIDENT. Yap. It is one of the bases and centers of cable and radio communication on the Pacific, and I made the point that the disposition, or rather the control, of that island should be reserved for the general conference which is to be held in regard to the ownership and operation of the cables. That subject is mentioned and disposed of in this treaty and that general cable conference is to be held.

THE CHAIRMAN. I had understood, or I had heard the report, that our General Board of the Navy Department and our Chief of Operations, had recommended that we should have a footing there, primarily in order to secure cable communications.

THE PRESIDENT. I think you are right, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. That we were likely to be cut off from cable communication—that is, that the cables were likely to pass entirely into other hands—unless we had some station there, and it seemed to me a matter of such importance that I asked the question.

I wish to ask this further question: There was a secret treaty between England and Japan in regard to Shantung; and in the correspondence with the British ambassador at Tokyo, when announcing the acquiescence of Great Britain in Japan's having the German rights in Shantung, the British ambassador added:

It is, of course, understood that we are to have the islands south of the Equator and Japan to have the islands north of the Equator.

If it should seem necessary for the safety of communication for this country that we should have a cable station there, would that secret treaty interfere with it?

THE PRESIDENT. I think not, sir, in view of the stipulation that I made with regard to the question of construction by this cable convention. That note of the British ambassador was a part of the diplomatic correspondence covering that subject.

THE CHAIRMAN. That was what I understood.

SENATOR MOSES. Was the stipulation that that should be reserved for the consideration of the cable conference a formally signed protocol?

THE PRESIDENT. No; it was not a formally signed protocol, but we had a prolonged and interesting discussion on the subject, and nobody has any doubt as to what was agreed upon.

THE CHAIRMAN. I asked the question because it seemed to me a matter of great importance.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes; it is.

THE CHAIRMAN. As a matter of self-protection, it seemed on the face of it that the treaty would give the five principal allied and associated powers the authority to make such disposition as they saw fit of those islands, but I did not know whether the secret treaty would thwart that purpose. I have no further questions to ask, Mr. President.

As finally signed the Treaty contained three provisions pertinent to the present Yap controversy. The first of these occurs in Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This is the article which pronounced the principle of mandated administration. Its sixth paragraph reads: "There

are territories such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can best be administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population." The next is Article 119: "Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions." The third is Article 224, Annex VII (Cables): "Germany renounces on her our behalf and on behalf of her nationals in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights, titles, or privileges of whatsoever nature in the submarine cables set out below, or in any portions thereof: [there follows an enumeration of cable lines other than the Yap line]; Yap-Shanghai, Yap-Guam, and Yap-Menado (Celebes); from Yap Island to Guam Island, and from Yap Island to Shanghai, and from Yap Island to Menado." Nothing in the Treaty stipulates the future ownership of the cables thus renounced. Nothing determines who are to be the mandatories over the South Pacific islands. These things were the tasks of inter-Allied diplomacy.

In October, 1920, while the question whether we should ratify the treaty was being put to the "great and solemn referendum" of the American electorate, President Wilson for the first time heard of a contention being made by certain of the allied and associated states that at the meeting of the Supreme Council of May 7, 1919, a mandate to Japan had been agreed upon as to the former German islands north of the Equator, to the disposition of which the President had made several oral reservations in the discussions which went on before the Supreme Council, as above described in his own words. Mr. Wilson immediately maintained that he had nev-

er consented to the award of the island of Yap to a Japanese mandate. The minutes of the meeting of the Supreme Council, which apparently were not kept by an American, and to which the President "had not previously given particular attention" do not seem to mention any such reservation. All the world had to go by, up to April, 1921, was the President's word for it, a statement which Secretary Hughes last spring made the backbone of his note of protest.

Protests to the Allies were dispatched by the Wilson administration, November 9, 1920, taking exception to the reputed contention and reasserting the oral reservation that had been made by the President as Plenipotentiary of one of the "Principal Allied and Associated States." Incidentally the protest included a suggestion of the policy of the United States as to the further disposition of the island of Yap—internationalization.

The replies of the several states to this first protest do not all appear to have been made public at the present writing. Japan's rejoinder, however, was published by the Department of State on April 18 last, together with other correspondence which had passed between the United States and Japan from December to February. In brief, Japan denied the force if not the existence of President Wilson's oral reservations and rested her case on the written minutes of the Supreme Council's decision of May 7, which make no reservations as to Yap. In her reply of February 26 Japan maintained that the British delegates put the same construction on the Supreme Council's decision as does the Japanese Government. We are now informed that at that important meeting no representative of the Mikado was present. Naturally, Japan has nothing to go on except the recorded minutes. Eighteen months after the meeting and after the publication of the Council's decision, Japan points out, the American Government has come forward with the contention that an exception

has been made as to Yap. On this point Japan uses language which is as strong as nations which are good friends ever use to each other: "It must be remembered that if a decision in favor of the exclusion of the Island of Yap—a question of grave concern to Japan and one on which the Japanese delegation invariably maintained a firm attitude—had really been made, at the meeting of May 7, at which Japan was not represented, it could not but have been regarded as an act of entirely bad faith."

Meanwhile the International Communications Conference, which had been anticipated by the Peace Conference to dispose finally of the ceded German cables, had met at Washington in the Fall of 1920. The Allies and Associates could not agree on the division of the German cable booty. It was soon evident that if possession of them was confirmed to the powers which had cut and diverted them at the beginning of the war the United States would be without any independent cable communication to Germany and Scandinavia and would be confronted with the possibility of serious interruptions to unimpeded cable communication with the Orient. The American delegates proposed an international control of the ceded cables: The powers actually in control of the lines—Great Britain, France and Japan—would not agree to this. The conference broke up with an agreement on a *modus vivendi* for joint operation pending a final settlement. It would not appear now that such a settlement can be made, in case of the former German lines in the Far East at any rate, until the Yap controversy is settled.

The valedictory utterance on foreign policy of the Wilson administration was the Colby note of February 21, 1921, despatched to the Council of the League of Nations five days before the "bad faith" note of Japan was received. The Colby note is an adjustment of the Administration's policy to the verdict of the solemn refer-

endum of last November. The Council of the League, observed Secretary Colby, had approved the text of a mandate to Japan over all the German islands north of the Equator, a mandate purporting in its text to have the sanction of the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers." Such a statement was inaccurate as to fact, said the Secretary of State, for President Wilson had made express reservation as to including the Island of Yap in the Japanese mandate. "As one of the 'Principal Allied and Associated Powers' the United States has an equal concern with the other Principal Allied and Associated Powers in the overseas possessions of Germany, and concededly an equal voice in their disposition, which it is respectfully submitted cannot be undertaken or effectuated without its consent." That the United States had not ratified the Treaty did not exclude the necessity of its consent as to the disposition of the German possessions severed from Germany by American aid. The Council of the League dodged the Colby note by the time-honored expedient of 'passing the buck' to the Supreme Council, its *alter ego*. The actual awarding of mandates was vested in the Allied Supreme Council, not in the League whose functions were limited to administrative powers. As Mr. Kingsworth remarks in the April 2 number of *Millard's Review*, "this technicality in its admission takes the mandate power out of the hands of the League, weakens its functioning and gives the United States even greater grounds for her present action."

The very definite position of Secretary Colby has been emphatically reiterated by the present Republican Administration. Secretary Hughes in his identic note of April 5, 1921, to the Supreme Council Powers quoted in full a memorandum left at the State Department by President Wilson the day before he went out of office, where the President carefully recorded his sense of the Yap reservation. The latest Japanese note had suggested that any such reservation was in bad faith,

if, indeed, it had ever been made. Secretary Hughes in reply has come out with a precise repetition of that oral reservation dictated by President Wilson himself and has stood squarely on its purpose.

As this is written (August 17) the final answer of the Big Four has not arrived. France has sent a covering note definitely placing on record the recollection of the French peace delegation of Mr. Wilson's Yap reservation, but the French Government has reserved its final answer until after conferring fully with the other Council Powers, a conference which it declares it will approach with "an ardent desire to find a solution satisfactory to the United States." Moreover, the French note states: President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing in the course of the preceding meeting [i. e., the meeting preceding that of May 7, 1919] had formulated, in the presence of the Japanese representative categorical reservations on the subject of the island of Yap; that Baron Makino had not refused to allow discussion of the question raised by the United States, and that consequently the Japanese Government had knowledge of the American reservations." Thus is the President's memory unreservedly corroborated and a lucid denial is entered of the ignorance of the Japanese Government as to the reservation. Italy has professed to understand the Hughes note as a plea for the equal privileges of all nations in Yap and has declared that she "completely agrees with the text of the American note."

Great Britain and Japan delayed their answers. In fact, so far as the writer is aware, no public notice had been given out that Great Britain has yet tendered any formal answer. Meanwhile, in June last, a great state visit was made to the Court of St. James by the heir to the Mikado's throne, Prince Hirohito, accompanied by the Marquis Saionji and Viscount Chinda. The ten-year term of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was due to expire on July 13. More and more a strain on the

bonds of the British Empire had that Alliance become since the end of the war, for by its terms it is technically and legally possible for Australia, New Zealand, and Canada to be enemies of the United States and allies of Japan in a Pacific war. The outcome of the conversations at London was awaited with undisguised impatience by the Anglo-Saxon world.

It is impossible to say whether it is a coincidence that at the time when it became necessary to discuss the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the British Imperial Conference was due to meet at London. That the renewal of the Alliance had to be discussed seriously at all is significant, for by its terms it is to continue automatically after the expiration of the ten-year period until denounced one year in advance by either party. Before the meeting of the premiers of the Empire and after the visit of Prince Hirohito, there was given out by the Department of State at Washington (under date of May 27) a notice that there had been received from Japan a communication which made possible a continuation of negotiations on Yap Island and which was friendly in tone. The text was not published. This communication, apparently unaccompanied by a reply from Great Britain, suggested to some observers a difference of opinion between the two allies of the Pacific which the state visit of Hirohito had not reconciled. This became more evident when in June the Imperial Conference could not agree on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. At London it was necessary either to allow the Alliance to continue indefinitely in its present wording, or at least to modify it so that it could not be construed to apply against the United States. For Japan, of course, the Alliance in reality has little present utility unless it can be used to split apart the two great Anglo-Saxon naval powers, one of whom is the most visible potential enemy of the Mikado's realm. The British Empire had to choose between deserting a faithful ally or shaking the foundations of Anglo-Saxon solidarity,

on which rest the securest hopes of the peace of the world today and on which rests also the unity of the British Empire. The choice could not be made by the Imperial Conference. Someone there suggested that the two allies ought to confer together with the United States to consider the problems of the Pacific. Under cover of such an international conference it might have been possible for Great Britain to cut clear from an embarrassing alliance without appearing to desert an ally who had also helped to save her life three years ago. According to an interpellation in the British Parliament it would appear that the Prime Minister actually sounded the United States about participating in such a conference with Great Britain and Japan; but before the invitation could be completed Secretary Hughes forestalled what would have been an unfortunate blunder (so far as American participation is concerned) by inviting all the principal allied and associated powers—and *China*—to meet in a disarmament conference at Washington at which the problems of the Pacific should be frankly discussed in order that disarmament might be possible. Stressing the disarmament feature hit a popular chord of approval possibly beyond the anticipation of the Administration, and the fact that the invitation proceeds from Washington (all official public traces of the British overture have been carefully wiped away, even to the deletion of the interpellation from *Hansard's Debates*) and that the Conference is to meet at the American capital makes possible an effective participation by the United States when a conference in London—after the American election of November, 1920—would have had small chance of success.

It should be remembered that in the meantime the Anglo-Japanese alliance still technically continues, but its duration-at-will cannot but be affected by what happens at Washington this November. If the British premiers could not agree on terms of renewal at London, can the Empire's representatives

at Washington agree to countenance a situation which will allow the Alliance to continue unchanged? Again, is Japan any more likely to accept at Washington than she was at Versailles an international settlement of questions of the Pacific to the injury of her prestige? Is the presence of Chinese delegates at Washington on American initiative likely to make for a whole-hearted participation by Japan in any question involving her "special interests" or her "paramount interests" in China?

To the close student of Pacific politics three months ago there was little food for optimism. Our overnight imperial venture of 1898 had led us for better or worse into the whirling vortex of Far-Eastern international polity. Since the "open-door" notes of John Hay we have too consistently taken a stand for the territorial integrity and political independence of China now to be able honorably to retreat from a position which has become a bar to the ambition of the pullulating millions of overcrowded Japan. The firm tone which both Japan and the United States have taken on the Yap matter makes it difficult for either to recede without a stunning blow to prestige. If Yap is internationalized to some extent, as it probably will be, American cable traffic will be freer in times of peace and war, for a belligerent must think twice (after the example of Belgium) before laying hands on neutralized territory. But if Yap is internationalized it will become a harpoon in the side of Japan for the removal of which and for the achievement of other definite purposes in the Far East she will muster every effort.

Where three months ago there seemed to be an *impasse* in the Yap Island Controversy there is now a possible avenue of solution by way of the Washington Conference. It should be remembered, however, that Japan has accepted the American invitation with a carefully-recorded reluctance to bring up before an international areopagus questions which she re-

gards as definitely settled by the Treaty of Versailles. One familiar with the development of the Far Eastern Question during the last twenty-five years would not be willing to predict that the Japanese delegates would dare to return from Washington with less than Saionzi, Makino and Chinda brought back from Versailles.

The Washington Conference may or may not touch the Yap Island Controversy; but if it should settle the greater problems of the Pacific, Yap Island would sink back into the insignificance it has rested in through the centuries. At least the Conference may give the American people a less-clouded understanding of the vital importance of the international relations of the Pacific, and on the basis of what it accomplishes we shall be able to decide with clearer judgment whether to enlarge or to cut down our naval program.

BOOK REVIEWS

A SHELF OF FICTION

- Ditte: Girl Alive.* By Martin Anderson Nexö. Henry Holt & Co.
Pan. By Knut Hamsun. Alfred A. Knopf.
The Man Who Did the Right Thing. By Sir Harry Johnston. Macmillan Co.
The Dark River. By Sarah Gertrude Millin. Thomas Seltzer.
Revolution. By J. D. Beresford. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
An Ocean Tramp. By William McFee. Doubleday Page & Co.
Tales from a Rolltop Desk. By Christopher Morley. Doubleday Page & Co.

It is both advantageous and the opposite to a group of writers such as are listed above to have their works read rapidly together. The better books select themselves almost automatically while the less good suffer, through immediate comparison, with a positiveness they might otherwise escape. It is no serious criticism of the other volumes here considered to say that Nexö's *Ditte* and Hamsun's *Pan* came inevitably to the top. The measurement is unfair; the others have in no sense invited it.

For that matter, perhaps *Ditte: Girl Alive* itself suffers slightly in comparison with that elder brother *Pelle: The Conqueror*. These rythms are the same, this reality clearly another chapter of *Pelle*. All the forces that made the boy *Pelle* have entered likewise into the shaping of *Ditte*. *Ditte*, too, has the conquering spirit. *Ditte*, too, is going to grow up and challenge the world. But these are after all only similarities. That *Ditte* has a personality of her own is attested by the conviction of the reader that she has gone marching on, and that it only waits for Mr. Nexö to record her. Then, too, the author has added to his gallery of portraits, in which Father Lasse and "The Great Power" already have so secure a place, such authentic characterizations as Granny Maren and "The Rag and Bone Man" and "The Ogre"; and to the unforgettable Ark the equally unforgettable Crow's Nest. And finally, again has Nexö conveyed to his reader his triumphal assurance that life however hard and sordid is a thing somehow infinitely precious, that there is a sweetness and healthiness of soul which cannot be made hard or sordid by mere circumstance.

The conviction that Nexö is the conviction of life itself; the conviction of Hamsun's *Pan* is the conviction of poetry. The naivete of the latter characterization is not artless, but it is sure. Here is a Pan that has not preceded civilization but has escaped from it. Hamsun's achievement is that of imagination which has succeeded in recapturing the elemental that culture, though it has only overlaid it with sophistication, has nevertheless so tarnished as to render reclaimable in its purity only by the pure in spirit. The usual appeal from the sexuality in man is to the idealism in him. But Hamsun's Pan has sought his escape in another direction. Lieutenant Glahn has fled to the forest, and there he has made of himself along with the beasts and trees by which he is surrounded, another channel for the untamed impulses of nature. The result is necessarily tragic. For human kind are everywhere. There are women in the forest. Nor is Glahn himself perfect in his escape. He is still a human complex. He is truly Pan, a rough-weathered northern Pan, when he seizes Edwarda's shoe and hurls it afar into the water; but it is the self-exiled Lieutenant Glahn who suffers from the social confusions that result. He walks to his death at the end, however, with the full defiance of a god, singing as he walks, "as if thinking to himself: Now it is coming, and that is why I am singing this wedding hymn."

In contrast to such as these, the characters in Sir Harry Johnston's novel are very much of the world, and never seek to escape its essentials even in German West Africa. *The Man Who Did the Right Thing* lacks the coherence of *Ditte* and of *Pan*, but its atmosphere of the great world is no less interesting. It has a solid quality more dependent upon material than upon form. John and Lucy Baines, and Captain Brentham, and Mrs. Spencer-Bazzard are convincing British types, persons whom the author has met in the flesh and written down with glee. "Isn't it rare," he seems to say, "that people are like this? No wonder I have decided to turn novelist at last." Places, too. Africa is made vivid with epic detail presented with an epic immediacy. Flora and fauna are encyclopedic in their abundance, and realized in the story with the truth of experience. Sir Harry Johnston seems to be a person who has lived heartily, who has no conventional reverences, and who has a satirical eye and a tongue that he inclines to wear in his cheek. His novel is not a moving drama, but it has life and spirit, and the power of making many types of readers at home in its pages, whether or not they are, like this book, indubitably British.

Sarah Gertrude Millin's first novel, *The Dark River*, is likewise a

story of Africa. Perhaps South Africa is less interesting because less exotic than the warmer regions to the north, or life in this comparatively civilized region somewhat less adventurous; at any rate, the background of this story is not of fundamental importance to it. Mrs. Millin lacks, or has yet to develop, the imaginative power that realizes environment as a prime essential in the formation of character. Her plot creaks and her characters are unresponsive. Their development is arbitrary. The writer has a dramatic theme but is not able to release it from the matrix. But though her chief character is unconvincing and the movement of her tale spasmodic, Mrs. Millin has handled her secondary theme affectingly: the pathos, bordering into tragedy, of the lives of women fated to functionless lives, with the bare chance of escape through mating with the right men if they appear. The treatment of the woman's side of the love affairs of Alma and Hester and Ruth Grant suggests a power of sympathetic analysis that Mrs. Millin has probably yet to show to full advantage.

J. D. Beresford's *Revolution* sets itself aside among the novels of this list as obviously a book with a purpose. The foreward admits a prophetic intent, though one in spirit rather than in detail. The conflict between capital and labor is preliminary to a decline in civilization as it has developed in Western Europe, which must look to America for a new world order. The ideas presented in the book are not new, though perhaps they are fundamental; and few will quarrel with the insistence that the sole hope for modern society lies in the escape from "hatred, cruelty, and bloodshed." Mr. Beresford has not, however, given his ideas a human investiture that will make the present volume rank with the best that he has done in fiction. One feels that though the conceptions are often good the writer's imagination has nowhere taken fire. The acutely sensitive and invincibly idealistic Paul Leaming, who realizes in little that charity of spirit that must become universal, presents a personality too subtle to be rendered convincing without greater creative effort than the author has in this book anywhere exhibited. The tragic death of Lord Winston, first victim of the strife he was so willing again to release, alone suggests the dramatic grip and emotional power of which Mr. Beresford is undoubtedly master when his spirit is less tired.

Probably William McFee's *An Ocean Tramp* is not correctly classifiable as fiction, but it has quite sufficiently the necessary qualities of atmosphere and character and drama. Mr. McFee sings the "Song o' Steam" because he loves it, and therefore sings it well. The book re-

solves the paradox of Mr. McFee's own duality, making real because it makes apparent the unity of a life that is lived at once by brain and hand. Other men of the sea have retreated into literature, but Mr. McFee has not yet cast aside the mother of his art. This is not so much the sea of the salt winds and the empty spaces as of the great spirit that steam has mastered. It is the first faint lifting of the plates as the ship gets into the weather that stirs the engineer's and the artist's soul. It is the lives of the men who groom the throbbing mechanism of the ship that teach him the truths of human nature which he brings as a test to literature. The reactions to men in books of this man of the sea have a freshness that is partly the fortune of environment but largely the outcome of a love of life and of expression. This writing is extraordinarily crisp and clean and vigorous.

In his *Tales from a Rolltop Desk* the exuberant Mr. Morley attempts no high seriousness and achieves none. The tales are cleverly told, with the suggestion the writer could put more into them if he would, but that for the occasion he does not choose to do so; and that if the reader doesn't like it he should know better than to read them. Mr. Morley seems to have mastered the art of being trivial in fiction without being cheap, of being smart without being quite shameless. He writes a style that survives even some heavy punning with a resiliency that is surprising. But one reads with the consciousness that humor can cut much deeper, and with the wish that Mr. Morley might sometime sound himself for the realer stuff that must underlie this pleasantry.

—J. B. H.

NEW BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST

Japan and America. By Yone Noguchi. Keio University Press, Tokyo.

What Shall I Think of Japan? By George Gleason. Macmillan Co.

The Case of Korea. By Henry Chung. Fleming H. Revell Co.

Asia's American Problem. By Geroid Tanquary Robinson. B. W. Huebsch.

China, Japan, and Korea. By J. O. P. Bland. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Japan and America is a series of rather thin papers on various phases of the above timely and comprehensive subject. Mr. Noguchi is more interesting in poetry than in prose and for his own personality than for anything he has to say, either in prose or verse. The present volume is written in very imperfect English, made worse by poor proof-

reading. The author's opinions are not always consistent. For instance, on one page he speaks of American civilization as essentially feminine and yet a few pages later on talks of "your strong, muscular country." His view of American literature is limited, and, while Chicago is the centre of culture, the *Poetry, a Magazine of Verse* is the chief oracle of "many prophets and prophetesses." There is a natural enthusiasm, however, for Whitman and Joaquin Miller, and in time literature will establish itself on the Pacific coast, with Fujisan and Mt. Shasta confronting one another in mutual admiration. As a serious contribution to the problems discussed this little book has little to offer, but the picture it gives of Japanese reaction to our American civilization is quite interesting.

What Shall I Think of Japan? by a Y. M. C. A. secretary of nineteen years' residence in Japan, is one of the best and fairest discussions of the Japanese problem which has appeared for a long time. It is refreshing to read a book which is not emotionally pro-Japanese or pro-Chinese, but aims simply to present the facts. Mr. Gleason makes no secret of his opinion as to the blunders made by Japanese statesmen and administrators in recent years, but he strips the stories scattered abroad by propagandists of their exaggerations, explains much in the light of easily forgotten circumstances, and is very hopeful of Japan's willingness to follow the West in paths of peace, even as she followed that lead in the direction of militarism. The book is packed full of useful facts and figures such as ought to be kept in mind by every one who would judge correctly of the present situation in the Orient.

Mr. Chung, under the title of Korean Commissioner to America and Europe, represents the Independence Party of Chosen and its President, Dr. Syngman Rhee. He is, as previous books on the Korean question have shown, an interesting and skilful writer, though he cannot avoid the charge of one-sidedness. He has, moreover, at hand abundant material wherewith to illustrate the many mistakes and brutalities perpetrated in his country by Japanese officials. It is made too terribly clear that the training of the subordinate Japanese soldier and official has not been along the lines of kindness or conciliation towards a subject people. However much one admires the wonderful material progress which has been achieved through Japanese administration, it is difficult to regard this as compensation for the riding rough-shod over all the susceptibilities of an outraged patriotism. Yet, strange to say, the Koreans are increasing by nearly half a million annually, while the Japanese population grows but slowly. When we

consider the extent to which Japan has rescued Korea from the most inept government in Asia and from all kinds of European intrigue, it is to be hoped that Koreans and Japanese will come to such an understanding as shall be to mutual advantage. There are already signs that Japanese bureaucracy is learning to be humane as well as mechanically efficient.

Mr. Robinson's pamphlet consists of matter which has already, in part, appeared in *The Pacific Review* and in *The Freeman*. It is entitled "a diffident discussion," but the diffidence is not over-conspicuous. The whole purport is to suggest that the present American policy in regard to China in general, and the Consortium plan in particular, is rather more pro-American than pro-Chinese. Whether this be so or not, it is plain that, in default of any practicable plan of re-construction offered by the Chinese, the idea of assisting China by a co-operative attempt to revive her credit in the world's money markets is about as disinterested as any scheme we are likely to have presented. That the lenders should be not altogether indifferent to the interests on their money is not surprising, and that they should insist on the disbandment of the Tuchun troops as a condition prior to the loan is both wise and reassuring. If China's rehabilitation financially is to be a result of the Consortium fund discreetly expended, there will be no disposition to quarrel with the fact that the lenders are not anticipating their own bankruptcy in the process.

China, Japan, and Korea, by a former secretary to Sir Robert Hart and himself one of the sanest and best informed of sinologues, is one of the most important of recent publications on a subject of pressing interest. In addition to the legitimate pride of the prophet who sees all his predictions of a decade ago fulfilled to the letter, Mr. Bland is able to express for us much that is constructively of great value. He sees as the root evil of a faction-divided China the financial disorganization which has resulted in a state of national bankruptcy. There is, he believes, nevertheless, abundant reason to have faith in the resuscitation of the nation provided that the provinces will get rid of their bandit armies such as are now terrorizing the land, pay up again their proper proportion of revenue to the central government, and allow the whole financial reorganization of China to be undertaken under international guidance, after the manner used in the Maritime Customs, Post Office, and Salt Gabelle. Mr. Bland thinks the Republic a failure and deplores the loss of the Throne as a rallying point for loyalty, but he considers the political problem less important than the economic.

He sees no strong man immediately in sight who is adequate for the situation but believes the condition of the land, bad as it is, easily remediable provided that official honesty be established. In the international oversight which Mr. Bland desires and anticipates he expects the sympathetic co-operation of Japan whose special interest in the whole problem he recognizes understandingly. —H. H. G.

SCYLLA AND CHARYBDOS

Venizelos. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. Houghton Mifflin Co.

It often happens that the mariner who sails near Scylla and Charybdis is wrecked upon one or the other of those dread alternatives; it sometimes happens that he steers between them and reaches his harbor in safety; but it is seldom the case that, having escaped the perils to right and left, he yet fails to reach the port, and still less frequently does it happen that his actual landing is a better and more blessed place than the haven where he would be. Such, however, is the true account of the venture of Herbert Adams Gibbons in *Venizelos*.

The task which the author has set himself is one of the most difficult in all writing, the biography of a living politician whose course is not yet run. As he points out in his preface, the complete truth about the events comprised in his narrative is not now within the possible knowledge of any, and the evaluation of the life and work of a statesman cannot be made to approach accuracy until the life is ended and the work done and until time has afforded a perspective view of both. Mr. Gibbons has made a highly intelligent use of such materials as were at his disposal, and the skill with which he has navigated doubtful waters reflects large credit upon his political insight. The critic must be captious indeed who finds fault in this respect.

What the author has not been able to overcome is the extreme complexity of his own viewpoint. His critical training prevents him from writing an unalloyed panegyric, although he frankly avows himself a partisan, not merely of *Venizelos*, but of the whole Hellenistic movement. His personal enthusiasm for the man and his work constantly interferes with and sometimes even thwarts the honesty of his purpose, in spite of the fact that his desire to present all sides of a case with accuracy and fairness is unquestionably sincere. And his intimate acquaintance with the demands of a journalistically educated public forbids the citation of the documentary evidence that would furnish a clear demarcation between the admirer and the historian. The result is to make the book largely apologetic in character, and in the latter

half the merging of the historian in the advocate becomes complete.

By a kind of excess of biographical virtue, Mr. Gibbons has failed to make his book a biography. Commendable as are the determined subordination of the man to the work, and the resistance of the temptation to the anecdotal vice so common in biographers, in this volume the policy has been carried so far, that although one gets the picture of a colossal figure accomplishing a superb work against heroic difficulties, one does not penetrate to the man. The hero of the story remains the central figure in a Pathe news feature, extraordinarily distinguished, poignantly interesting, but without color, without breath—a moving picture in a two-dimensional world.

This failure to achieve the avowed objective of the book is not, however, to be lamented, for it would appear that something much finer and much better has resulted. It is conceivable that many could write as good a biography of Eleutherios Venizelos as Mr. Gibbons; it is safe to predict that some will write even better ones; but few indeed could have written, in a style at once so lucid and so charming, a complete exposition of Near Eastern diplomacy, which is surely more vital than the life of even a chief figure in that field. To the scientific student of Near Eastern politics the book may reveal little not already known; the historian can find obvious fault with the infrequent references to particular evidence; but to the general reader, for whom it is to be supposed the work was intended, it cannot fail to be an invaluable introduction to the career of a great man and a noble people, and an inspiration to a sympathetic study of their heroic problem.

In these days when the art is so nearly lost, credit should be given for the exhaustive index with which the volume concludes. The five maps achieve what few do, the illumination of the text without the use of a reading glass and a gazeteer. Above all the delightful readable character of the book due to the truly beautiful style of the writer, especially in the earlier chapters, deserves commendation as a rarity among books of this kind.

—J. L. E.

THE AMERICAN THEME ADVANCES

Legends. By Amy Lowell. Houghton Mifflin Co.

Breakers and Granite. By John Gould Fletcher. Macmillan Co.

Medallions in Clay. By Richard Aldington. Alfred A. Knopf.

Pawns. By John Drinkwater. Houghton Mifflin Co.

A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems; More Translations From the Chinese. By Arthur Waley. Alfred A. Knopf.

It has become a commonplace to say of Amy Lowell that one never knows what to expect of her next. It should by this time be equally a commonplace to say of her that one may confidently expect each of her successive surprises to be more delightful than its predecessor. How she would manage to better the performance in her second volume before the latest, *Can Grande's Castle*, in which she demonstrated even to the satisfaction of the doubters the entire suitability of her much criticised invention, "polyphonic prose," for the purposes of sustained epic narrative, must have shaken the faith of her most confirmed admirers. Yet she did it in the delicacy, unlooked for at the moment, of her drawings in *Pictures of the Floating World*. And now with *Legends* she has once more fulfilled the customary expectations of her, and has again contributed, notably as well as uniquely, to the pleasures of contemporary verse, in a manner, quite as agreeable as novel, lying about mid-way between that of the full length story in *Can Grande's Castle* and the dainty decorativeness of *Pictures of the Floating World*. Those who saw in her "Overgrown Pasture" group in the latter work and in the account of Admiral Perry's forcing open of the trade gates of Japan in the former the promise that Miss Lowell would presently begin to devote herself, almost exclusively, to the development of the immense, though strangely neglected, possibilities of distinctively American subjects for poetry may feel, indeed, some slight cause for disappointment in *Legends*, which, while it encircles the globe and traverses the centuries from Elizabeth's down in its search for themes, includes but four that may be properly localized in the United States, and one of these perhaps doubtfully. For the hypothetical few whom this collection of thoroughly individualized folk-tales temporarily deprives of the realization of desire, however, there awaits besides the satisfaction they must share with others over a remarkably versatile and dramatic re-rendering of myths of many lands that also of discovering a repetition of the author's previously recorded pledge of interest in the intriguing pageant of American tradition and history, a pledge which in the opinion of one at least of the observers of her progress Miss Lowell seems one day bound to redeem. Unquestionably for approaching such a task as that day involves none other of our native poets possesses more artistic passion and imaginative vigor, greater skill in technique, or wider acquaintance with the cultural heritage, aboriginal and borrowed, both of this country and of those most intimately affecting its destiny.

A true legend, as Miss Lowell affirms with characteristic spon-

taneity and positiveness, is one that can be made over in any image and yet always remain the same. Hence she has not hesitated to stamp as her own, materials gathered in no matter what quarter. That any process of retelling could lessen the abiding charm of her selections she had, to be sure, little need to fear; and as little, too, regarding her ability to enhance their perennial appeal. For she has touched nothing that she has not adorned. Witness her handling of the story of Tennyson's "Rizpah," undertaken without knowledge of the English poet's version. Moreover she has entered into and preserved to an extent that is only short of uncanny the spirit of the peoples about and by whom, and of the scenes amidst which, the originals of her tales were formerly told. Especially is this noticeable in respect to her creation afresh of local atmosphere in color and sound. And in the appropriate fitting of her rhythms to the varying moods to be expressed, from the devotions of the light worshippers in a Peruvian moon temple to the haunting fears inspired by a genuine Yankee ghost in a thunder storm, she attains a correspondingly complete success, whether she elects to use her favorite polyphonic prose, or the unitary foot and spaced line of free verse, or the conventional ballad and other rhyming metres of regular verse. With *Legends*, certainly Miss Lowell has definitely achieved that difficult goal for which she set out with her first Imagist manifesto, and from the direction of which she has not appreciably deviated since—maximum efficiency of speech. There remains for the full gratification of her followers only the transference of the mastery now reached to an extended treatment of the beckoning theme of American expansion.

Something in the nature of the poetic experiment eagerly awaited from Miss Lowell has already been essayed by one of her most ardent devotees, and one of her colleagues in the school of Imagism, John Gould Fletcher, in his *Breakers and Granite*. Despite the generous praise accorded its perfection of form by Miss Lowell, however, his attempt results in scarcely more than failure. And indeed in the work of a poet who insists that what a poem means, or whether it have any meaning at all, has nothing to do with its beauty, it could hardly have been otherwise. Mr. Fletcher has never yet given heed to that simple truism that perfection of form alone produces only an imperfect poem. It is therefore no cause for wonder that in catching and conveying the distinctive quality of our various regional motifs he has been surprised by others more careful of their verse content, conspicuously by Robinson and Frost for New England, and by Sandburg and Mas-

ters for the cities and prairies of the Great Valley. If Mr. Fletcher holds his own in interpreting the remote Southwest, may it not be due to the lack of serious competition he has so far found there from his fellows among the moderns? One must admit, though, that he succeeds admirably in his prophetic vision of the Mississippi and the dwellers along its banks, for then he says something:

"We builded long ago

White houses with tall columns, splashed in shadows.

* * * * *

Now we build factories

For the pleasures that too soon

Will turn to bitterness upon our lips."

So, too, ignoring his basic fault of saying next to nothing, with the *marche militaire* to the throb of which he drums out the old confederacy. And his Indian songs invariably ring true to the spirit of the vanishing redskins.

The rather limited advance in his art made by Mr. Fletcher since the tumult and the shouting that marked their advent died away gauges by no means the progress of all the Imagists. Of Miss Lowell for one instance. And of Richard Aldington for another. *Medallions in Clay* by the latter offers sufficient proof of the fact. For those who would know what some of the poetic heights were which Imagism first aspired to climb, and why, no volume provides the instruction more acceptably than this slight sheaf of translations from two poets of the Greek Anthology, two of the Latin Renaissance, and some Alexandrian imitators of Anacreon. And for pure poetry's sake as well this recarving of antique jewels in the resistant idiom of English prose, by one who in contrast with the fashioners of his models thinks of himself as a *barbarian*, will be esteemed as precious. Not the least interesting comment that might be made about this work is that a considerable part of it was entered upon and put through as one of the war-time diversions of a soldier on active service.

Between things American and Mr. Aldington's "barbaric" venture there is, of course, only such slender connection as lies in the possible employment of its crystal-clear and *multum in parvo* expressiveness in the treatment of some New World subject. Happily there is abundant promise that so unlikely a prospect may before long become an actuality. Between the everyday preoccupations of America and *Pawns*, John Drinkwater's volume of poem-plays, there is apparent even less relationship. Nevertheless a bond of union exists, if not in

the themes of his book, then in Mr. Drinkwater himself. For is not this youthful Englishman the first to discern the literary opportunities in the cult of our foremost national hero, obtaining therefrom the double triumph of popular success and authentic beauty in his drama *Abraham Lincoln*? Though he has given us nothing of quite the same sort in his latest offerings, the universality of their implications should not be without interest for Americans. If this country feels no concern, however, in the tragedy of the person who persists in belief when belief is no longer justified, of the pacifist who must fight to maintain his peace, of the youth condemned to the bitter business of trench-raiding, of the monarch who knows no will but his people's, then so much the worse for this country. Mr. Drinkwater's plays will suffer no diminution in value in consequence. Unfortunately against the chances of the reception they deserve in America must be reckoned not only their lack of local appeal but also that of the publicity to be gained only through the theatre. For *Pawns* is more truly the product of the poet than the playwright, more certain to be tellingly read than acted. But that is a handicap Mr. Drinkwater would not willingly seek removed. He has won us once with a drama. He can ask no greater privilege than to win us again with a poem.

To the mill of the American verse maker all comes as grist. Already we have seen evidences of Greek and Latin ingredients in the grinding. Undoubtedly the effects of these recent classical additions to the raw materials of our poetic craftsmen will be detected more and more frequently as time goes by. Oriental influences have long been noticeable. Up to date, like these of the classics, they have affected usually the rhythms, rarely the thought, of modern poetry. But if Arthur Waley's two volumes, *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* and *More Translations from the Chinese*, are any criterion of what the Far East affords in the way of subject inspiration for our poets of today, and of course they are, then there should be no dearth of matter there suited to even the capricious tastes of the most socially conscious among them, and American poets are notoriously far-gone in social consciousness. Here, for example, is what a Chinese governmental official was moved to say after observing the routine agricultural laborers of his village some eleven hundred years ago:

"And I to-day * * * by virtue of what right
Have I never once tended field or tree?
My government-pay is three hundred tons;
At the year's end I have still grain in hand.

Thinking of this, secretly I grew ashamed;
And all day the thought lingered in my head."
This looks radical if not red! Perhaps our poets had better keep their
eyes *fixed* on the Near East. —V.L.O.C.

PSYCHOANALYSIS FOR THE MILLION

Psychoanalysis, Sleep, and Dreams. By André Tridon. Alfred A. Knopf.

At once the best and the worst that can be said of this popularization of the unconscious by Mr. Tridon is that it reduces psychoanalysis to the level of the meanest understanding. The achievement of such clearness and simplicity of style is no slight accomplishment and it has won for the author the commendation of one of America's sternest critics. That this clarity of style is obtained in large part by devoting an entire paragraph to each sentence is at first a bit disconcerting to a reader accustomed to current practices in paragraph structure. But doubtless those for whom the book was written will not cavil.

A more serious problem is the question of the extent to which an author is justified in sacrificing accuracy of fact in order to make general principles plain to the uncritical layman. Botany can be taught to children by relating the adventures and conversations of the flowers without danger of the allegory being mistaken for a literal description of the behavior of plants. Whether psychological knowledge can best be imparted to adults by personifying the nerves and endowing them with many "human" attributes is quite another question. To speak of nerves interpreting activities, bidding us prepare for an emergency, and the like, is on a plane with the physiology that gives consciousness and a knowledge of bacteriology to the white blood corpuscle. The neurologist has other grounds for grievance. The sympathetic or autonomic nervous system is a worthy and valuable part of man's equipment, but, whatever its importance in past ages, it is now to be regarded as distinctly an adjunct to the cerebro-spinal system. The naïf reader who follows Mr. Tridon's vivid account of the balance of power between the upbuilding vagotonic and the moderating sympathetic nerves is nowhere informed that the vast majority of the integrations of man's behavior rest upon the cerebro-spinal system, that is, upon the brain and spinal cord. He is thus left with a very partial and wholly inadequate idea of the real state of affairs. Nor, to take this

time an error of commission, will an effort to popularize psychoanalysis be the worse off for omitting the story of the "enigma" of Casper Hauser. That this venerable psychological hoax, the cherry tree story of psychology, should again appear as sober history, this time to illustrate an author's contribution to the psychoanalytic theory of sleep, is positively disheartening.

The book is, in fact, another glaring bit of evidence of the failure of the psychoanalyst to base his theory on a sound knowledge of normal human structure and behavior. The psychoanalyst, however excellent his medical or psychiatric training, is frequently not conversant with modern psychology. The result is that from his clinical cases he constructs a "psychology" that fits his facts but fails to make a liaison with the science of the behavior of "normal" individuals. To the worker who passes into psychoanalysis from the field of normal psychology many of the laborious interpretations of the psychoanalyst are neither convincing nor helpful.

In other words the psychoanalytic theory is in some part the production of workers who fail to make use of the large knowledge of human behavior that psychology can put at their command. When psychology has shown itself unable to interpret the exaggerated reactions that are brought to the notice of the psychoanalyst the need for the formulation of new hypotheses will be apparent. Until that time comes the outsider interested in the theory of psychoanalysis had best approach it through general psychology. If, however, he insists on a short cut at the cost of receiving a wholly distorted and misleading point of view, the latest work of Mr. Tridon will provide the easiest way. It is indeed fortunate that the therapeutic success of psychoanalysis is not dependent upon the validity of the speculations that form its theory.

—W. R. W.

THE WAR IN BRIEF

A Brief History of the Great War. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Macmillan Co.
A Short History of the Great War. By A. F. Pollard. Harcourt, Brace & Co.

"It may be some relief to a public, distracted by the apologetic deluge which has followed on the peace, to find how little the broad and familiar outlines of the war have thereby been affected." This is the concluding sentence of Professor Pollard's foreword. Indeed the reader

will find such relief from that war of words and charges and counter-charges that has been issued continuously from the pens of the many and various ex-generals and ex-statesmen of the war period, not only in Pollard's own book but also in the slightly longer account of Professor Hayes. The latter modestly states that his "Brief History" is "for the enlightenment of the general reader and student. A 'definitive' history of the war will never be written; it is much too early, of course, even to attempt it. All that the author has here essayed to do is to sketch tentatively what seems to him its broad outlines. . . ."

Both writers admirably perform their task, but it is only natural that these two works, although they rank as the best of the war books of their size and character, cannot compare in historical merit with the previous work of their respective authors. A. H. Pollard, Professor of English History in the University of London, is the author of many well-known works in English History, and Professor Hayes, of Columbia, is the author of that now standard work, *The Political and Social History of Modern Europe*. Both give excellent and straightforward presentations of the military and diplomatic phases of the war, including a preliminary chapter on the causes of the war. It is perhaps these preliminary chapters which stand in more need of revision than any of the others. In the light of recent material from the archives of the Central Powers, namely the Kautsky Documents from Germany and the New Austrian Red Book, which go to prove that the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, was the archvillain in the attack on Serbia, the statement of Pollard, "the war from the first to last was made in Germany" would doubtless be revised by the author. Also his account of the famous Potsdam Conference of July 5th would be qualified. Such new information does not lessen Germany's guilt, as an accomplice, that is, in giving Austria a free hand with regard to Serbia, nor excuse Germany's precipitate and hasty ultimatum to Russia which unloosed the dogs of war. Hayes, writing some six months after Pollard, is somewhat more cautious and more balanced in weighing his phrases with regard to the above matters.

In their well-proportioned narratives of the events of the war, they have, as is to be expected from writers of their reputation, no axes to grind, and, in general, they avoid controversial pitfalls. Although Pollard comments caustically on the conduct of Lloyd George and the British Cabinet in keeping 300,000 troops in England during the spring of 1918, when their presence on the front might have prevented the British lines from breaking and from that near-disaster which

resulted from the last great German offensive. The following may have a familiar ring in American ears, if names and professions are changed: "But there was no one to teach the . . . cabinet this elementary truth that military invasion across an uncommanded sea is an utter impossibility and least of all could it be taught by that eminent lawyer and able railway director whom Mr. Lloyd George appointed successively to the Admiralty to represent the ripest naval wisdom of mankind."

The last chapter in each book, called in the *Brief History* "A New Era Begins," and in the *Short History* the "Foundations of Peace," deals with the Peace Conference and its work. Although written respectively a year, and a year and a half ago, they have stood the test of time better than could have been expected. Both historians point out the weaknesses and the mistakes in statesmanship of the peacemakers of Paris, yet at the same time admit the difficulties and strain under which such men always work in meeting conflicting national interests and claims. As Hayes well puts it: "The Allies proceeded on the assumption that it was the business of the Allies to refashion the map of Europe in their own interests. 'To the victors belong the spoils,' and the Allies were the victors."

However, both histories end with a note of optimism and hope that the League of Nations, there formulated, will remedy the mistakes of the Treaty and the War, Pollard goes so far as to state: "Public opinion in the United States rallied to the argument that America would be stultifying herself, if, after entering the war to win it and make the world safe for democracy, she refused to participate in the only means of making the peace tolerable and permanent." That may have been even a pious hope when it was written in October, 1919. Since then much water has run downstream. Hayes ends his book with the statement: "Co-operation was the chief lesson taught by the Great War." May not one ask if the world has not yet to learn that lesson?

Both books are accompanied by many excellent maps and diagrams, illustrating the progress of the war. Hayes has in addition a "Select Bibliography" of six pages which adds to the usefulness of his work. Naturally the "deluge" has continued since the list was compiled, especially with reference to the Peace Conference, with such notable books as Lansing's *Peace Negotiations*, Andre Tardieu's *Truth about the Treaty*, House and Seymour's *What Really Happened at Paris*, and the

almost encyclopædic work of certain English and American historical experts, edited by H. W. Temperley, *The History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, three of the projected five volumes of which have now appeared.

—W. W. E.

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER IN LITERARY HISTORY

Early Tudor Poetry. By John M. Berdan. Macmillan Co.

This volume of 564 pages gives the first adequate survey of the poetry produced in England between 1485 and 1547, that is, during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. It is the fruition of over twenty years of devoted scholarship given by Professor Berdan to this field.

The Preface, which is really in the nature of an apology, aims to justify the author's prolonged study of a field that students of literary history, as well as men of letters and cultivated readers at large, have almost uniformly agreed to be dull, if not sterile. The author's defence is that since the first requirement for the critic is a knowledge of literary history and since the great literature of the Elizabethan period has its springs in the preceding Tudor literature, an appreciation of the late sixteenth century poetry is prerequisite to understanding the Elizabethan poets and justifies the scholar who makes this approach possible. With this position most readers will be inclined to agree, and will recognize a very real debt to the author. Yet Professor Berdan does not regard his work as in the nature of a sacrifice play, and there is every indication that the task was a congenial one.

The book is divided into six chapters: I, The Background to the Literature; II, The Mediaeval Tradition; III, The Scholastic Tradition; IV, Humanism; V, The Influence of Contemporary Literatures; and VI, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Some readers will feel inclined to question this division of the material, since the chapters are not mutually exclusive; thus Chapter II is virtually confined to the *English* mediaeval tradition, and Chapter V takes one back to fresh phases of mediaeval literature.

Chapter II is primarily a discussion—and an admirable one withal—of the efforts of various writers, such as Lydgate, Hawes, Skelton and Heywood, to adapt the long allegorical poem of the fifteenth century to the needs of the sixteenth century reader. The chapter works up to the conclusion that "The author of *The Court of Love* tried to impose

it intact upon the men of his generation. And in spite of his undoubted genius, he failed. Hawes, combining it with the chivalric romance, produced a hybrid that pleased. Skelton turned it to satire, and then contemptuously abandoned it altogether. And last of all Heywood rather pathetically endeavored to support the tottering structure by personalities and contemporaneous reference. And great was the fall thereof. And yet, all these modifications are combined and assimilated by the genius of Spenser into the *Faerie Queene*. There one finds the personified abstractions of the first, the chivalry of the second, the satire of the third, and the historical allusion, the episode of Burbon for example, of the fourth. So true is this that, without an understanding of the work of the first half of the century, the typical work of the last half must have seemed unintelligible."

The chapter on The Scholastic Tradition gives a unique account of the determining influence of the mediaeval Latin lyrics upon the diction, scansion, and stanzaic forms of the early Tudor lyrics. This discussion clears up an important chapter in the development of English prosody and is the most considerable contribution of the volume.

The chapter on Humanism is fresh and interesting, though rather too generously motivated. In fact it expands into a leisurely discussion of the whole subject of humanism in England during the first half of the sixteenth century, the author seeming to lose sight of the fact that he is writing a history of early Tudor poetry, and proceeding as if engaged on a history of English culture at large, with twenty-six pages given to More and Erasmus alone. The chapter opens with a worthwhile discussion of Skelton, Barclay and Heywood as humanists, and closes with a consideration of *Tottel's Miscellany* as a humanistic anthology.

The chapter on The Influence of Contemporary Literatures is comprehensive and well handled. In the discussion of the indebtedness of the court poetry of Henry VIII to the French and Italian, Professor Berdan is on ground where his scholarship has long been demonstrated, and he shows his easy mastery of the problems involved. Especially authoritative is the discussion of Wyatt's literary obligations and of his traditional intimacy with Anne Boleyn.

The poetry of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, is interpreted as the culmination of forces that had been at work for nearly three quarters of a century, and he is recognized as the first writer who clearly transcended his medium, his work making an epoch because of the junction of the time and the man. Several pages are given to a conjectural discussion of the problems involved in Surrey's translation of the

second and fourth books of Aeneid, a discussion which recent access to the unique Britwell Court copy of Day's 1554 edition of the fourth book renders obsolete.

Some readers will doubtless feel that the book as a whole is rather discursive—and all will probably feel that it is rather severe reading, for, aside from the inherent difficulty of the subject matter, the style is not so musical and easy flowing as one could wish. Even so, this book is a noteworthy contribution to the history of English literature and clears up a large field where other scholars have been unwilling to pay the price for mastery. It places all students of the subject under distinct obligation to Professor Berdan.

F.M. P.

MR. NATHAN RAMPANT

The Theatre, The Drama, The Girls. By George Jean Nathan. Alfred A. Knopf.

So far as Mr. Nathan is concerned, there can be but two types of readers in the world: those who admire him, and those who thoroughly despise him. No one can read of his racy books and remain indifferent.

In the present volume, his latest, he collects for our edification one hundred and six dissertations relating to the theatre, the drama, and the girls. That he is possessed of sufficient information and opinion to write interestingly upon one hundred and six phases of theatrical life is indisputable. For there is no critic in America half so glib as Mr. Nathan. At times his mind appears to be a dramatic encyclopedia, slightly intoxicated to be sure, but for that reason, more fascinating than other encyclopedias.

If there is one consistent thesis in the book, it is that American drama and the American theatre have been breeding-places for hocus-pocus and sentimentality—the home of “the great and gorgeous whang-doodle.” The rural melodrama, the occult play, the war play, and many other familiar types fall victim to Mr. Nathan's cutlass and blunderbuss. Like most journalists, he is not partial in his choice of weapons. A rapier and a bomb are equally enticing to his active and vitriolic mind. He is intent upon slaughter; the means to that end are quite immaterial.

The latter portion of the book is a revealing discussion of famous women on the American stage, and of the methods used in establishing

their fame. George W. Lederer, pioneer magician of the girl-and-music show, is called on the witness stand, and under the persuasion of the author, gives hilariously amusing accounts of his own successful ingenuity. As an analysis of the American public, this portion of the book is priceless. It could well be recommended as material for a master's thesis in psychology. And for women—surely no other document could prove of half its worth as a guide to beauty and renown.

Perhaps the charge of coarseness could be brought against Mr. Nathan, but he would at once reply that he is writing for a public which has already demonstrated its love of coarseness in the very field which he has chosen for his labors. And it must be admitted that there are few critics in the world who hold such high standards of excellence in the theatre as does Mr. Nathan. Behind his bally-hoo style is an authoritative mind and a critical courage.

—G. H.

FILIPINO CULTURE

Peoples of the Philippines. By A. L. Kroeber. American Museum of Natural History. New York.

Filipino independence to the fore. How gauge what Filipinos are without a knowledge of what they have been. Provided you are not the jaunty journalist, the flitting General, or the three-day Congressional commission. Yet detailed studies are few and synthetic works even less numerous. Here is one that is readably compact and stylistically pleasing. Best, it is an authentic culture-history: a pattern for the maze of threads, thin streams of influence from distant civilizations, that shoot the warp of life native.

"Little brown brothers"?—Christian, Mohammedan, and pagan; head-hunter and rice grower; trader and legalist? Yes, each in its place. Best begin by counting noses, quite literally: Christian, Moro and pagan disappear, and in their places stand three peoples, Malaysians of the coast, Indonesians of the mountains, and the bush-children, the Negritos. Curiously like Borneo and Sumatra. What can it be but two migrant waves from a more westerly home?

Speech too is Malayan, and as though to prove its Oceanic character, each island sea is ringed by like-tongued peoples.

Home industries, like some of ours. Rice-terraces: vast valley vistas of gigantic steps that range the mountainsides. Miles of but-

tressed gardens that belie the hand and stick that made them. Can these be native?—possibly not, since terracing is known wherever rice is grown, but where their match! Sheer pina cloth from lowland looms, steel work which made its way from Borneo, writing from the Sanscrit with a sprinkling of religious terms, omens which connect with the Romans, oaths and ordeals that range from the Bay of Biscay to the China Sea.

Law without a political system! Individuals responsible to individuals; man to wife, kinsmen for support, and aliens for transgressions. Property an adjunct to personality: no field, no tool, no carabao, but has its just price, not for its own sake—they are indifferent tradesmen—but to mark the fine shades of personal relations. Rank, power, and prestige rest on wealth: fines for slander, slurs, and false-witness all nicely adjusted. One cannot read in "Ifugao Law" without astonishment at the legalistic precision without benefit of sheriff, judge, or jury.

Pried apart, the culture strata are obvious: three peoples and a half dozen focii of cultural infection. But the merit of the little book is its refusal to handle the bricks of history mechanically: Filipino culture is the structure the Filipinos have made from them.

—L. S.

BRIEFER MENTION

The Old Humanities and the New Science. By Sir William Osler. Houghton Mifflin Co. This work, Sir William Osler's inaugural address as President of the British Classical Association, is much more interesting from an autobiographical than from an educational point of view. The genial and mellow temper of the ripe scholar and humanist pervades a message wrought out more aggressively thirty years ago by Thomas Henry Huxley.

Our Backward Peoples and Our Relations With Them. By Sir Harry Johnston. Oxford University Press. This is one of a series of little paper-bound books appearing under the general heading "The World of Today." It is a thoroughly informed if brief discussion of a subject that has much to do with the world's peace. The material is presented under three heads: (1) Who Are the Backward Peoples? (2) Why Are They Backward? (3) Our Relations with Them. The parting judgment of the little volume is this: "... the

continuance of an insulting policy against them [the backward races] will join them some day in a vast league against Europe and America, which will set back the millenium and perhaps even ruin humanity in general." Three maps and a bibliography are included.

The Anglo-American Future. By A. G. Gardiner. Thomas Seltzer. A sympathetic and penetrative analysis of the American and British minds at their points of contact by an Englishman who has visited America to some purpose. It seeks to forestall "that final catastrophe to civilization," an Anglo-American war, by pleading for a realistic foundation for Anglo-American peace. This involves not only the removal of such causes for misunderstanding as secret diplomacy and the Irish question, but also "an ironclad agreement that rules out the possibility of a naval competition ever arising between England and America." This agreement would be on the basis of nothing less than the pooling of the naval resources of the two nations, and their dedication "not to any selfish national interest, but to the enduring peace of the world."

The Morals of Economic Internationalism. By J. A. Hobson. Houghton Mifflin Co. A brief analysis in a single essay of the assumptions that lie at the basis of international morality and lack of morality, and an argument for the truth of Edmund Burke's great plea, "Magnanimity is not seldom the truest wisdom." Nations must have access to the means of life, and if a narrow nationalism or imperialism is to prevail in the competition for the world's raw materials and the world's trade, then the world must remain militaristic, and the sacrifices of the great war will have been in vain. America is urged, despite the "reckless mismanagement of European governments" and "the badness of the peace," to generous economic attitudes in the present crisis, for the sake of humanity.

Recreation. By Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K. G. Houghton Mifflin Co. Recreation, writes Viscount Grey, is only one of the things that make for happiness in life. Other essentials under our control are a moral standard, a satisfactory home life, some form of work, and some degree of leisure. The recreations that have chiefly occupied the writer's leisure hours are fishing, the love of birds, and books. Of these he writes in this essay with an obvious sincerity, and with simplicity and charm.

Emperor Jones; Different; The Straw. By Eugene O'Neill. Boni & Liveright. The first of these plays is too well known to require comment at this date. It has striking qualities as a piece of literature that goes to show that its effectiveness is by no means merely theatrical. *Different* and *The Straw* are not equally interesting, though the latter has an unusualness of atmosphere and setting that gives it a strange fascination. These people of the borderland between life and death offer the dramatist opportunity for much that is fresh and striking both in situation and human reaction. The crisis is reached with Mr. O'Neill's typical effectiveness. *Different* is the least successful of the three plays, involving as it does a transition that cannot be made convincing and a theme in its essential nature repulsive.

The Colonization of North America. By Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall. This volume has to do with the story of European expansion in North America down to 1783. It is divided into three main parts: (1) The Founding of the Colonies; (2) Expansion and International Conflict; (3) The Revolt of the English Colonies. To quote from the preface: "The keynote is expansion. The spread of civilization in America has been presented against a broad European background. Not only colonial beginnings but colonial growth has been traced. . . . The colonies of the different nations are treated, in so far as practicable, in the chronological order of their development, the desire being to give a correct view of the time sequence in the development of the different regions." A comprehensive outline, in a convenient arrangement, of the period covered.

Three One-Act Plays. By Stark Young. Stewart & Kidd. The plays which make up this volume are: "Madretta," "At the Shrine," and "Addio." The first and third are colorful and interesting studies of Creole life, with New Orleans as a background. "At the Shrine" is a piquant and tragic dialogue after the manner of Schnitzler's "Anatol." All three plays are charmingly written and are well adapted to little-theatre production.

Sweet and Twenty. By Floyd Dell. Stewart & Kidd. This little play is a most amusing satire. Two young persons, finding themselves trapped in a conventional romance, are awakened to enlightened rebellion by the arguments of an extraordinary man. His logic is

compelling, his views are astonishingly modern and attractive. Ostensibly he is only a real-estate agent with a hobby of social philosophy. But at the climactic moment, his keeper appears on the scene, and leads him quietly back to his cell in the asylum. It seems that he has gone mad reading Bernard Shaw. Before the curtain goes down, the sordid reality of conventional romance closes in about the pair of lovers, and life is ready to proceed along its accustomed path.

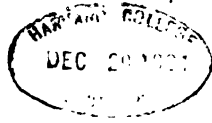
Chief Contemporary Dramatists. Second Series. Selected and edited by Thomas H. Dickinson. Houghton Mifflin Co. This volume is a noteworthy addition to the anthologies of contemporary drama. It contains eighteen complete plays, representing the most discussed dramatists of England, Ireland, America, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Russia and Scandinavia. Lord Dunsany, Sacha Guitry, Maxim Gorki, Jacinto Benavente, John Drinkwater, Gunnar Heiberg, and Arthur Schnitzler are among the playwrights whose work is included. If this volume is received with the same enthusiasm as that accorded Professor Dickinson's earlier collection, *First Series*, and there is no obvious reason why it should not be, it will soon be in the hands of nearly every student of modern drama.

America and the Race for World Dominion. By A. Demangeon. Doubleday, Page and Co. This book was formerly published in France under the title, *Le Declin De L'Europe*, is the work of A. Demangeon, professor of geography at the Sorbonne. The American edition has been translated by Arthur Bartlett Maurice. Mr. Demangeon surveys the economic results of the great war, and advances the thesis that Europe, which ruled the world until the end of the nineteenth century, has relinquished her supremacy to other lands. And the heirs or Europe are the United States and Japan. He advises France, if that country is to avoid sinking to second rank, to intensify her work. He is alarmed at the small families of the rural population. France needs a sufficiency of man power; after that, an increased use of machines on the farm and in the factory, in order to compete with the American industrial and agricultural product, and, finally, a return to the sea. "If she forgets the road of the sea, she retires from the world." Closing, he bespeaks a liberal administration of the colonial empire if it is to remain a part of the French patrimony.



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Book Reviews



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THE INCOMPARABLE MR. CABELL

By VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON

The successive volumes of James Branch Cabell have provided the tribe of critical Jeffries with a rich vein of diversion. They have recognized no closed season in their full-lunged pursuit of the strange heirs of Mr. Cabell's invention, and such Homeric absurdities of comment have been flung at him, that he is in a fair way to become our classic example of the fatuousness of contemporary estimates. As whimsical as Bernard Shaw, as provocative as Chesterton, he is more incomprehensible than either to all readers who do not choose to like what they have not always liked. Professing to be a romancer, and defending the glory of romance with inimitable witchery of phrase, he writes no romance that lovers of convention can understand. The lovely fabrics of his tales of Poictesme are all shimmer and sheen, woven of magic and veiling mysteries, instead of the correct taffeta and gros grain; and the brilliant stuff of his tales of gallantry is fashioned of wit and poetry, instead of the customary wigs and sword play. Those to whom romance suggests *When Knighthood Was in Flower*, will find only obscurities and coarseness in *Figures of Earth* and *Jurgen*; and those who delight in the stage rufflings of *Monsieur Beaucaire*, will discover only a libertine in *The Cords of Vanity*. And if the reader boggles at such tales what can he hope to make of that strange, ironical whimsy, *The Cream of the Jest*? One needs to walk warily in dealing with Mr. Cabell, or the jest of which he is such a

master will turn sardonically upon the critic. In all his thinking vague hinterlands lie behind the commonplace, cryptic meanings lurk behind the obvious; and the credulous, easy-going reader finds himself puzzled, and at last floundering quite hopelessly in a land of fogs and marsh-lights. And yet was ever another writer born to us Americans so insistent upon being understood? He has elaborated his views of life and art at length, and repeated them in successive volumes over nearly a score of years; and finally in what may have been a mood of sheer disgust at the stupidity of those who buy books, he re-elaborated his philosophy and wrote it out in good set terms within the covers of a single volume. *Beyond Life** is an essay altogether remarkable for its haunting beauty of phrase, its honest agnosticism, its brooding irony. It is enough to turn one cynic to consider that so noble a book should have called forth from a reputable gentleman, presumably of good taste and sound judgment, the comment that it "contains cheap and shallow pessimistic observations on human limitations."

That *Beyond Life*, with other of Mr. Cabell's books, contains "observations on the limitations of human nature," is quite obvious; for Mr. Cabell deals in comedy, and what is to become of comedy if it shall not observe those limitations and laugh at them? That it is even pessimistic may likewise be argued with some plausibility; but to assert that it is cheap and shallow is preposterous. An inquisitive mind, deeply concerned with ultimate values, cannot be cheap and shallow. And yet the fault of such widespread misinterpretation may lie in part at Mr. Cabell's own door-step. An inveterate jester, his sallies often carry implications far beyond the obvious; his strange whimsies spring from depths of thought and emotion beyond the understanding of the careless. His attitude towards life is an odd mixture of the modern and the medie-

* *Beyond Life*. By James Branch Cabell. Robt. M. McBride & Co.

val: there is a medieval simplicity and frankness, a naive wonder at the mystery that underlies the common, an incorrigible idealism; and this medieval attitude is drenched in modern agnosticism. He passes easily from a broad Chaucerian humor that laughs frankly at the relations of men and women, to a mystical idealization of those relations; and the problem of reconciling the humor and the ideal becomes a serious business with him. He hates the cant and dishonesty of our bourgeois existence, and he refuses to take seriously the host of petty concerns that most of us are very serious about. If he were less the artist he would join the disaffected and turn to rend this foolish world; but the spirit of comedy saves him and he contents himself with a jest. But the Cabellian jest uncovers depths of meditation that reveal the philosopher and the poet. In his own large meaning of the word Mr. Cabell is an economist. He is greatly dissatisfied with the "futile body-wasting," which under the "dynamic illusion known as common sense" passes for life, and is concerned to discover what abiding increment a man may get from his body during its brief existence as an entity. His mind is haunted with a sense of realities that lie beneath the surface appearances, and that insist on trickling from his pen in strange comments. It is a careless reader who is deceived or put off the scent by his whimsical vocabulary, who insists on conventional meanings for words which Mr. Cabell chooses to use otherwise than conventional persons use them. Romance and realism—words with which he plays constantly and upon which he hangs his philosophy—do not signify the spurious romance of childish minds, or the shoddy realism of practical minds. If one must insist upon translating his vocabulary into ordinary terms, let us understand that to Mr. Cabell romance and realism mean idealism and conventionalism; and to the profound distinction between these two attitudes towards life, he dedicates his work.

I have called Mr. Cabell a poet, and the justification lies in his persistent idealization of life in terms of beauty. At his birth he was endowed by an unkind fate with imagination. Now imagination may be a very pretty and amiable gift, highly useful for gilding one's egoism, putting honey in thistles, proving itself practical by arraying life in gay robes in order that it may seem an altogether lovely and desirable mistress; or it may prove a decidedly parlous faculty to play with. It can summon bogies, and terrors that are vaster and more real than bogies. A brooding imagination can work havoc with one's complacency. When Carlyle was in a mood to enjoy his nerves he would let his imagination range beyond the comfortable confines of convention, to consider the universe and the position of man therein—the black flow of time and the terrifying immensity of background against which man is set; and he would come back to dinner with Jane Welsh Carlyle with a sick stomach and an ill temper. It was not very gallant, but it was very natural to a man unnerved by what he had contemplated. Considered with open eyes reality is too overpowering for weak man, and because he could not relieve the tension with a jest, Carlyle's imagination inflicted chronic dyspepsia upon him. To conventional persons the dyspepsia and Jane Welsh Carlyle's sharp replies to her husband's ill humor, seem the important reality, and the overpowering visions of time and space that were at the root of the family discord, seem no other than romance. In this curious world of convention all things are topsy turvy, and it needs a tremendous effort of will to set them only a little right.

To this effort Mr. Cabell's life work has been dedicated with unruffled urbanity. Like Carlyle he chooses to roam far in his philosophic quests, and like Thoreau he comes home at nightfall with little more than a handful of stardust in his wallet. He loves to sally forth on the greatest of adventures—

the pursuit of reality where it lies broadcast, hidden from practical eyes that refuse to see. He is impelled by the old wonder that has haunted men from the beginning of their long upward climb; the wonder and the fear of life. Now to any one but a fool or a poet, only too plainly life is petty and gross and inconsequential, from the moment when with superfluous blood and pain we are brought into the world, to the time when we return by an unlovely process to chemical elements. It is compounded of vanity, as the old poet long ago observed. The practical, about which we make so much pother and over which we chatter so foolishly, is only an illusion which men hug because it keeps them in self conceit. Mr. Cabell refuses to accept any such illusions at their face value. He will not be humbugged by foolish persons who pretend to talk wisely. What is man, he insists on asking: A parasite on the thin rind of a planet that swings silently through interstellar space—"an ape who chatters to himself of kinship with the arch-angels while filthily he digs for groundnuts." If this is the reality to which the philosopher must come finally—and like Hamlet Mr. Cabell does not shirk the contemplation of graveyard facts—then must the thoughtful man accept logically a frank pessimism, and on this foundation build such a hut as may best shelter him for the few days of his unintelligible life. Over this sorry conclusion Mr. Cabell broods much, and because he is a human being with a will to enjoy life and think well of himself, he uses every faculty to scramble out of the pit and find a pleasanter refuge for the brief time of his existence. The idealist in him engages the pessimist, and like so many other moderns he goes out in quest of that which may keep him sane. It is true that man is an ape reft of his tail and grown rusty at climbing, but is that the whole story? It is evident that men in all times have refused to believe that they are not something other than apes—their very dreams seem to belie a conclusion so mean and ignoble. Is there not

some deeper *elan vital*, some hidden impulse that drives man forward and upward even while his mind is on groundnuts? "—Yet more clearly do I perceive," argues the idealist, "that this same man is a maimed god. . . He is under penalty condemned to compute eternity with false weights and to estimate infinity with a yardstick; and he very often does it. . . There lies the choice which every man must make—or rationally to accept his own limitations? or stupendously to play the fool and swear that he is at will omnipotent."

This would seem to be a hard choice, but Mr. Cabell does not hesitate. He patches up his agnosticism with the will to believe, on the pragmatic grounds that it seems to work. For man "rationally to accept his own limitations," is to defeat everything worth while in life; it is to yield the battle to a black pessimism. Whereas "stupendously to play the fool and swear that he is at will omnipotent," may end in creating the will to omnipotence, and the fool in some preposterous fashion may prove that he is indeed divine. Let man but accept his logical limitations and he returns to the ape reft of more than his tail, fallen to gibbering in the mud, refusing to take hold of that rope of sand by which miraculously he has drawn himself forward hitherto. For accepting his limitations means contenting himself with material fact, and "the trouble with facts seems to be, that if one treats them out of relation to the rest of life, they become lies." In the "stupefying mist of common-sense" men walk blindly. The practical, the conventional are alien to the deeper reality which is shadowed forth by emotions and dreams; which refuses to disclose itself nakedly, but hides behind symbols, haunting the mind even while one is pottering among inconsequentials. This deeper reality itself may be but a dream, but nevertheless it possesses the power of creating a will to believe, upon which hangs man's destiny. Hence the tales which we tell ourselves are significant because through some occult process

they foreshadow the thing that may be; they prod the foolish will to omnipotence to believe that we shall outgrow the ape. For grown rusty at climbing, the ape-man "however dimly, feels himself to be a symbol, and the frail representative of Omnipotence in a place that is not home; and so strives blunderingly, from mystery to mystery, with pathetic make-shifts, not understanding anything, greedy in all desires, and honeycombed with poltroonery, and yet ready to give all, and to die fighting, for the sake of that undemonstrable idea."

It is because he is terrified at the meanness of what practical men call reality, that Mr. Cabell turns away from it to find the true life in dreams. Not only are they pleasanter, they are more useful; they are all that man has to aid him in the appalling task of getting himself out of the slime, that he may walk in green fields. We need to turn Prospero's words around—our dreams are such stuff as we are made on. They alone are real and salutary, for amid all their ramblings they seem dimly to suggest some end; amidst their rank egoisms they seem to foreshadow a purpose: and may not that end and purpose be the eventual creation of a life for man that shall be worthy of his dreams? It is illogical to assume that man can pull himself up by his own bootstraps, but how else shall he pull himself up? Is not man the inveterate romancer somehow blindly creating a noble romance of man? "To what does the whole business tend?" he asks at the conclusion of *Beyond Life*, "—why, how in heaven's name should I know? We can but be content to note that all goes forward, toward something. . . It may be that we are nocturnal creatures perturbed by rumors of a dawn which comes inevitably, as prologue to a day wherein we and our children have no part whatever. It may be that when our arboreal propositus descended from his palm-tree and began to walk upright about the earth, his progeny were forthwith committed to a journey in which today is only a way-station. Yet I prefer

to take it that we are components of an unfinished world, and that we are but as seething atoms which ferment toward its making, if merely because man as he now exists can hardly be the finished product of any Creator whom one could very heartily revere. We are being made into something quite unpredictable, I imagine: and through the purging and the smelting, we are sustained by an instinctive knowledge that we are being made into something better. For this we know, quite incommunicably, and yet as surely as we know that we will have it thus. And it is this will that stirs in us to have the creatures of earth and the affairs of earth, not as they are, but 'as they ought to be,' which we call romance. But when we note how visibly it sways all life we perceive that we are talking about God."

From this persistent Will to Romance—the incorrigible propensity to follow the dynamic illusion of dreams that is so deep an instinct of human nature—Mr. Cabell deduces a conception of art that to careless readers seems whimsically perverse; and from it likewise emerges the lambent irony that plays like diffused lightning about the horizons of his thought. The function of art in society, he insists, is to comfort and inspire man with its divine beauty. Without the artist this is but a grim and forbidding place where men live; and unless every man is somewhat the artist, and seeks his compensations in the lure of romance, it must remain grim and forbidding. It is therefore the privilege and the duty of the artist "to prevaricate tenderly about the universe"; to create for life a meaning that is not apparent, by clothing it in beauty and adducing for it a noble significance. It is his mission to lure men away from the contemplation of facts which terrify or debase, from all ignoble and depressing realism, to pursue the ideal and entice the imagination to enter and dwell in a world as it ought to be. The artist, therefore, is a Moses in the wilderness, pointing men to the promised land, and even en-

abling them to go forward and taste its fruits while they still dwell in the wilderness.

Now of all the dreams which lure men, the one universal and potent dream, Mr. Cabell asserts with Freudian understanding, is the woman dream. Its roots are deep in the ape-animal; it drives men inexorably, for upon it depends the very existence of the race. And therefore, a shrewd mother-nature has somehow transmuted its base materials into the very stuff of romance, commingling with it all high and generous impulses, making of it the loveliest dream that visits man's weak head. In consequence of which ironic transmutation this lovely dream "hoodwinks humanity through the dynamic illusion known as love, in order that humanity may endure, and the groans of a lover be perpetuated in the wails of an infant." Considered in one light this is the very "cream of the jest" that nature perpetrates upon man; but considered in another light, does it not turn out to be the supreme jest which man has perpetrated upon nature? For once he has been taught the alphabet of romance, through the crude necessity of race preservation, he has gone far in his studies, and turned romancer on a great scale. From this raw material of biological sex-love he has woven the fabrics of his religion, of his art, of his idealism; he has dipped it in gleaming dyes, twisted it to quaint patterns, fashioned from it lovely robes to cover what is ugly. It is the well-spring and source of all romance.

Through this open door of woman-worship Mr. Cabell chooses to enter his world of deeper realities. "There is in every human being that which demands communion with something more fine and potent than itself," and this something more fine and potent he seeks in the woman of his dreams. It was so when the world was young, and it will be so as long as there is youth left in the world. In early times this object of adoration was the witch-woman, the Circes and Calypsos of ancient tales; later it became the lady-mistress of

chivalric ideals; today it is the dream maiden whom the young man woos but never finds in marriage, and not finding her is impelled to turn to the ever young and ever lovely Helens and Ettarres of old romance. A good half of Mr. Cabell's work is given over to this curious celebration of woman-worship. It is elaborated in *Domnei*, in *Jurgen*, in *Figures of Earth*. In the strange tales of the land of Poictesme the drama flows from the balking and thwarting of this woman quest by the Dame Niafers and Dame Lisas of the commonplace world, to man's undoing. Nevertheless "the long, high, fruitless questing does not ever end, but, rather, is temporarily remitted for the society of Dame Niafer and of Dame Lisa. For . . . one perceives that, even in remote Poictesme, those aging nympholepts, Dom Manuel and Jurgen—they also—were heartened to endure the privileges of happily married persons by a sure faith, discreetly left unvoiced, that these hardwon, fond, wearisome and implacable wives were, after all, just temporary makeshifts. By and by would Freydis and Helen return, at their own season." —For the dream persists in the very face of present fact, and in this lies man's hope. "In youth all men that live have been converts if but in transitory allegiance, to that religion of the world's youth—to the creed of *domnei*, or woman-worship." Now it is "the very essence of *domnei*, that the woman one loves is providentially set between the lover's apprehension and God, as the mobile and vital image and corporeal reminder of Heaven, as a quick symbol of beauty and holiness, of purity and perfection. In her the lover views all qualities which can be comprehended by merely human faculties." "If but in honor, his heart stays bound to his first and only real love, that woman of whom he never tires. Her coming is not yet. He can but wait, sustained by his sure faith . . . that some day her glory will be apparent, and he will enter gladly into her secret kingdom, and will find her kisses all that in youth he foreknew to be not

impossible . . . And meanwhile this prescience, somehow, informs all art . . . and makes it to him a vital thing . . . And there seems to be no beauty in the world save those stray hints of her, whose ultimate revealment is not yet . . . And it is very often through desire to express his faith in this withheld perfection, of which he has been conscious in broken glimpses from afar, that he turns artist . . . For every art is a confession of faith in that which is not yet."

But however adroitly man has turned the jest against nature, and erected a noble palace from base materials, the jest remains, mixed with the mortar, and the structure cannot endure for long. It is insubstantial, and at any moment the cloud-capped towers may disintegrate and the dream palace disappear, leaving not a rack behind. There remains only the jest. This unhappy ending Mr. Cabell foresees, and hence emerges the profound irony that underlies all his writing. To such disillusionment must all things come. Life is no more than a comedy, played by puppets; bitter, with more tears than laughter in it; yet because tears are futile and unnerving, what remains for the gallant gentleman but to confront life with a jest. Mr. Cabell does not wholly forego his chivalric ideal even while he is contemplating the vanity of all endings in the light of their beginnings. As Horvendile the clerk, he clings to it, even though he is doomed to walk the streets of Lichfield, Virginia, in the form of Felix Kennaston, who passes—to his own incredulous amusement—as a personage of some importance, with two automobiles and money in four banks. He possesses the magic sigil of Scoteia, by the potency of which he can send forth his soul to meet Ettarre, and recover the raptures that Felix Kennaston no longer knows. But the sigil of Scoteia turns out to be the half-top of a pommade glass from his wife's dressing table; the potency is gone; and he remains at last no more than a respectable citizen with his automobiles and money in four banks. *The Cream of the Jest* reduces the chivalric ideal to pure irony.

By a transition more natural, perhaps, to a Virginian than to another American, Mr. Cabell turns from the contemplation of chivalry to the study of gallantry; and shifts the theme of his romances from the ecstatic adoration of the Woman, whom to possess is to lose, to the gay pursuit and enjoyment of women. In *The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck* he chooses to set a decidedly shabby and roue gallantry over against a somewhat futile and antiquated southern chivalry. He loves both the gallant and the gentleman, and he spares neither; they are equally the descendants of that cavalier ideal which flourished so rankly in the soil of the old planter society; nevertheless the quaint and loveable Rudolph Musgrave with his gentle heroics, comes off distinctly better than his brilliant half-brother, the novelist John Charteris. One might, indeed, wonder at Mr. Cabell's treatment of the artist Charteris, were it not so distinctly Shavian. It is odd how similar is his conception of the artist to the definition of Shaw—one who wriggles into the confidence of women to learn their secrets only to betray them. Nevertheless Jack Charteris, the brilliant thinker and talker of *Beyond Life*, mouthpiece of the Cabellian philosophy, deserves better treatment than he gets in the story of this sorry escapade; he comes quite too near the likeness of the mountebank Sheridan. In *The Cords of Vanity* gallantry reveals itself more attractively; it is gilded with youth and wit and poetry. It is Congreve at his best, scintillating, brilliant, with a delightful affectation of pose and gesture; and it is Marlowe also, with its galloping wit steeped in pure poetry. There is the true Elizabethan rapture of fine words and lovely images and quaint conceits. "Meantime," says young Robert Townsend, "being in love, I refined upon the notions of love with the ingenuity of an Elizabethan." There you have the spirit of the book. It is more than a pretty piece of paganism; it is the brightest tale of gallantry in our literature, masterly in the restrained irony of its inimitable conclusion.

It is obvious, however, that the mood which finally will receive dramatization from Mr. Cabell, cannot be summed up in the ideal of gallantry. What that mood is one finds revealed at length by John Charteris in *Beyond Life*. It is the quintessence of irony distilled from long observation of human life, but it is not Congreve, much less is it Sheridan. Those shameless and selfish rouses began as artists but they ended as mountebanks; life taught them cynicism and not tenderness; it sharpened their wit and dulled their sympathy. The higher irony lay quite beyond their natures. But with Mr. Cabell tenderness, sympathy, an ardent concern for the inevitable failure that lies in wait upon aspiration, are so strong and urgent that under the governance of a mind less intellectual, they must inevitably run into sentimentality. But there is in Mr. Cabell something of the intellectual austerity of Matthew Arnold, and it conducts him to the same ends. Consider such a passage as this: "Through a merciful dispensation, we are one and all of us created very vain and very dullVanity it is that pricks us indefatigably to play the ape to every dream romance induces; yet vanity is but the stirrup-cup: and urgent need arises that human dullness retain us (as it does) securely blinded, lest we observe the wayside horrors of our journey and go mad. One moment of clear vision as to man's plight in the universe would be quite sufficient to set the most philosophic gibbering. Meanwhile with bandaged eyes we advance: and human sanity is guarded by the brave and pitiable and tireless dullness of mankind Yet how varied are the amiable activities of human dullness, which tend alike to protect and to enliven human progress! Dullness it is, of course, that brews and quaffs Dutch courage;that fosters salutary optimism as to the destiny of mankind, in flat defiance of everything mankind can do, and does unblushingly And finally dullness it is that lifts up heart and voice alike, to view a parasite infesting the epidermis of a

midge among the planets, and cries, *Behold, this is the child of God, All-mighty and All-worshipful, made in the likeness of his Father!* These and how many other wholesome miracles are daily brought about by our dullness, by our brave and pitiable and tireless dullness, by our really majestic dullness, in firm alliance with the demiurgic spirit of romance For that to which romance conducts, in all the affairs of life is plain enough—distinction and clarity, and beauty and symmetry, and tenderness and truth and urbanity.”

Here then is the note that still awaits adequate dramatization in a comedy greater than he has yet written—a cosmic irony suffused with tenderness and truth and urbanity. Above all, urbanity. Mr. Cabell has played too long with the ideal of gallantry; he has devoted too much precious time to creating Millamants to fall in love with; he has listened too credulously to the voice of Congreve. “I have read,” says Charteris, out of Congreve, “that the secret of gallantry is to accept the pleasures of life leisurely, and its inconveniences with a shrug; as well as that, among other requisites, the gallant person will always consider the world with a smile of toleration, and his own doings with a smile of honest amusement, and Heaven with a smile which is not distrustful—being thoroughly persuaded that God is kindlier than the genteel would regard as rational.” Surely the cosmic irony that loves men’s dullness because it alone can preserve them from madness, and retorts upon the cosmic terrors with a jest, is higher than gallantry and more enduring. It arrives at tolerance for all human shortcomings; it embraces high and low in its sympathies; it achieves urbanity as a final goal. It is the stuff of which great literature is made. And Mr. Cabell is creating great literature. A self-reliant intellectual, rich in the spoils of all literatures, one of the great masters of English prose, the supreme comic spirit thus far granted us, he stands apart from the throng of lesser American novelists, as Mark Twain stood apart, individual and incomparable.

FOUR POEMS

By EDA LOU WALTON

Autumnal Nocturne

Dry winds spring from the forest
Of green trees tinted gold,
Through the valley of new love
Drifts the color of old;
Here in the moonlight of autumn
Where words their memories fold
Like wings to the breast of silence,
Let our story be told :

Over the pool of reflection
Where pale trees bend to the moon,
Birds dart quickly at morning,
Clouds pass slowly at noon;
Into the ripeness of evening
Quietly comes the night
When in the deepening waters
Only stars shine white.

Friendship

Our friendship is a very fragile flower
Lifted upon a very slender stem,
Wafted on daylight's breast an hour,
It droops to twilight's hem.

Press it not warmly to your yearning throat,
Lift it not quickly to your eager lips,
But past you let its fragrance float
Like mist through fern-leaf tips.

An Older Love

An older love has come to me,
And I who have been deeper
Than the sea
Am free;
Strangely diffused and very white
I drift like fog across the night.

I Would Lay My Life Like a Red Scarf

I would lay my life like a red scarf
On a casket black and long,
I would lay my life like a red note
At the end of a fruitless song,
I would lay my life like a red rose
Between the lips of death
And kissing lips and color
Breathe roses as his breath.

KORZYBSKI'S CONCEPTION OF MAN AND SOME OF ITS IMPLICATIONS

By CASSIUS J. KEYSER

Of all the realities with which we humans have to deal the supreme reality is Man. What is Man? The latest significant attempt to answer the great question is that of the Polish nobleman, Count Alfred Korzybski, engineer and soldier. According to him there is in our world a peculiar kind of energy which he calls time-binding energy because the effect of its activity is to unite past and future in one living eternal Now. Of that unique form of energy man is the living instrument or agency. When we learn to understand the nature of that energy and its function, then and only then we shall rightly conceive the distinctive nature—the idiosyncrasy—of our human kind: man is a time-binder, the time-binding class of life. Such are the words of the new definition.*

The endeavor to define man in terms of that mysterious and baffling thing called Time is significant; it is especially noteworthy just now when so many thinkers—psychologists, philosophers, physicists, mathematicians and astronomers—are occupied as never before in studying the nature of Time, each in his own way.

The best way to approach the new conception of man is to follow the path that seems to have led Korzybski to formulate it. Let us consider the great life classes of the world; a rude sketch will suffice, for their cardinal distinctions and relations are patent and familiar; let us endeavor to consider them afresh, candidly and open-mindedly, as if they were *unfamiliar*, for that is half the secret of philosophy and of science, too. We may begin with the class of plants. Plants, we say, are living things. How are they characterized as a

* *Manhood of Humanity*. By Alfred Korzybski. E. P. Dutton & Co.

class, positively and negatively? They are positively characterized by their relation to the world's basic energies—they take in, chemically transform, organize and appropriate the energies of sun, soil and air; but they have a negative mark—they have not the *autonomous* power of mobility—they can not of their own accord move about in space; together they constitute the lowest order or class or type or “dimension” of life—let us say, for convenience, the life dimension I; because of their positive characteristic, because they are, as indicated, binders of the basic energies of the world, the plants are, in Korzybski's nomenclature, basic-energy-binders, or the chemistry-binding class of life.

What of the animals? What, I mean, is to be said of the life class we are wont to designate as the “lower” animals? The answer need not be long—we may “cut through the latin names,” as the surgeon said, “and get to the gut.” Like the plants, the animals, too, bind the basic energies of the sun, soil and air, though in large measure they take the energies as already changed by the plants, thus starting, so to speak, where the plants leave off; unlike the plants, animals possess the autonomous power to move about in space—to crawl or run or swim or fly; this striking faculty, relating them in a peculiar way to space, is a positive characteristic; but they have also a negative mark, relating them in a peculiar way to time; this mark is a limitation: wealth—material and spiritual wealth, rightly understood as the living growing offspring of time and creative toil—animals have not the power to produce; the fruit of their industry is not inherited as living capital to be held in trust for enlargement and for transmission to future generations; each generation begins where the preceding one began; their past is dead—it owns no history; their future is not living—they cannot foretell or prophesy; they do not progress—a beaver dam is a beaver dam; they have not the energy that civilizes; they have no

capacity for the binding of Time. Because they are naturally subject to this limitation and especially because they have as a native gift the autonomous or self-directing power to move about in space, to go from place to place and so to harvest the natural fruits of many localities, the animals are to be conceived as space-binders; they constitute the space-binding class of life. It is evident that this life, compared with that of plants, is of higher type or higher dimensionality—say a life of dimensionality II.

And now we come to the crux of the matter. What are we to say of Man? The decisive facts are obvious and familiar. Let us try to think of them as if they were strange. Long, long ago—a quarter or a half million years ago, according to those most competent to guess—there appeared upon our planet—no matter how—the first specimens of our human kind. It requires some meditation to realize their condition vividly. They did not know what they were; they knew nothing of the world, nothing of its size or shape or place in the universe, nothing of its resources, their locations, or properties; nothing of natural law; they were without guiding maxims, precepts or precedents; they had no science, no philosophy, no art, no wealth, no instruments; no history—not even tradition—not even language; their ignorance was almost absolute; and yet, compared with the animals, which they hunted and which hunted them, they were marvels of genius; for there was in them a strange new gift—a strange new energy—that mysterious power in virtue of which they did that most wonderful of all things—*initiated* the creative movement which their remote descendants call Civilization. That power; now so familiar and yet so strange, is the power that invents; the power that imagines, conceives, and reasons; it is the power that makes philosophy, science, art, and all the other forms of material and spiritual wealth; it is the power that detects the uniformities of nature, creates history and

foretells the future; it is the power that discerns excellence, acquires wisdom, and, in the midst of a hostile world, more and more determines its own destiny; it is, in a word, the peculiar power that makes *progress* possible and actual. That power, as I have said, the animals have not or, if they have it, they have it in a degree so small that we may here neglect it as mathematicians neglect infinitesimals of higher order.

Do not fail to observe very attentively how that distinctive power of Man relates our human life and human toil to that mysterious thing called Time. In virtue of the power each human generation, unlike a generation of animals, is enabled to begin its activity, not where its predecessor began, but where it ended; it is enabled to inherit as living capital the fruit of the toil of the by-gone generations, to augment the inheritance and to transmit it as a gift to future man; thus, for humans, the past survives in the living achievements of the dead, the dead still live in the life of the living, destined with the living to greet and bless the yet unborn. Past, Present and Future are not three; in man they are one living reality—the eternal Now. And so we are at length prepared to grasp Korzybski's great concept of man. Because the capacity for binding time, under a law of ever-increasing betterment, is peculiar to man, or is at all events his in an incomparable degree, our human kind is to be conceived and scientifically defined to be the time-binding class of life. Here we behold the presence of a new type, of a higher dimension, of life—life-in-Time. Animals are binders of space; man is a time-binder.

I have called the concept "great." Part of its greatness is its nobility, which is so obvious that none can fail to see it; and part of its nobility is its truth. Is its truth also obvious? To the young and open-minded it is. I have observed that those whose "brain cells have not lost their spring" see it quickly. Those, however, whose opinions have been hard-

ened and stabilized by years require more time for the necessary readjustment; my own experience with the new concept is a case in point; it may be worth while to confess it: when I first encountered the idea, which was then in a pretty crude form, it seemed to me foolish; after some reflection, though it ceased to seem foolish, it yet appeared to be false; at a still later stage, it seemed possibly true but unimportant; at present, after a year of meditation, I am convinced not only that it is true but—what is much more—that its importance is great beyond measure. And I venture to predict that many persons whose youth is a memory will have experience closely resembling my own. The implications of the concept are many and mighty. We may glance at some of them.

One of them is shocking—shocking, that is, prior to reflection upon it. It is that a certain idea or belief, which is ages old and has today world-wide and universal acceptance, is false. I refer to the biological or zoological conception according to which man is an animal—a kind or species of animal—the *bete humaine*. The conception is deeply imbedded in all the great languages of the world; it is a cardinal thesis of modern biological philosophy; it is a belief in which we have all been bred from youth by every agency of education, so that, consciously or unconsciously, we habitually take it for granted. When told that it is false—fundamentally and radically false—when told that we humans do not belong to the category of animals—we are shocked. Why? Do we feel that the proper dignity of man is thus denied? Does denial of the doctrine that human beings are animals offend our moral sentiments? Are we shocked because our space-binding ethics of animal lust is attacked in its very foundation? Is the shock due to an assault upon a well-reasoned conviction of science? No; it is due to none of these things; it is due solely to the fact that an ages-old, universal, uncriticised belief of that great dullard—common sense—has been rudely

challenged and denied. Common sense perceives—for the fact is evident, unfortunately obtrusively evident—that human beings do possess many animal marks and animal propensities—humans are begotten, for example, and born, they feed, grow, have legs and hair, fight, play, die, all just like animals; on the other hand, time-binding energy, the distinctive mark of man, is not thus evident—it is not a visible organ but an invisible function, an intangible capacity or power; and so common sense—guided according to its wont by what is evident to the physical senses—concludes that human beings are animals—thus stupidly assuming for major premise that whatever has any animal marks or animal propensities is indeed an animal. But in this case, as in so many others, the great dullard is wrong.

And the error is of a kind that is fundamental; it is the kind which consists in what mathematicians call confusion of types and what Korzybski calls mixing of dimensions. In mathematics the abstract theory of types, or dimensions, is basic; and for such as may desire full understanding of the theory as such there is no way save that of studying seriously modern developments in the philosophy of mathematics. Fortunately so arduous an undertaking is not necessary in order to see the bearing of the theory upon the great matter here in hand. Do but reflect a moment. We may speak of the class of water-drops or the class of oceans or the class of light-rays or the class of stars, but we can not logically speak of a class of water-drops *and* oceans nor of a class of light-rays *and* stars, for no such class is logically conceivable; to speak as if there could be such a class is to commit the logically fatal blunder of confusing types or mixing dimensions; it is but nonsensical chattering as if there were no such thing as Logic nor eternal laws of Thought. To say that humans are animals because they have certain animal marks and animal propensities is as logically “rotten” as to

say that a geometric solid is a species of surface because the solid has surfaces and certain surface properties or to say that fractions are whole numbers because they happen to have some of the properties of whole numbers or to say that animals are plants because they have some of the marks or properties of plants. The importance of the law of types cannot be overstressed. It is fundamental. Time-binding energy, time-binding activity—the distinctive mark of our human kind—may indeed involve and often does involve space-binding energy and space-binding activity but it involves it as a higher involves a lower; and to say that man, the time-binder, is a species of animal, that he is a time-binding species of space-binder, is the same sort of treason against the great law of dimensionality, the eternal law of types, as to say that wine is a species of water because it involves water or that water is a species of oxygen because it involves oxygen or that a violin is a species of wood because it involves wood or that a Beethoven symphony is just a species of sound because it involves sound.

Were the question one of biological data, any mere student of mathematics would, like other ordinary folk, willingly defer to the opinion of biologists. It is not, however, a question of biological data; it is a question of the logical significance of such data; regarding a question of logic, where the data are not in dispute, even biologists will perhaps admit, like other folk, that mere mathematicians have a right to be heard.

Let us glance at another implication of the new concept. Like the foregoing one it is very important. I will state it after a preliminary word of explanation. We have seen that the conception according to which human beings are animals is both illogical and false. This zoological conception has, however, one merit—one and only one: it represents man as natural, as part and parcel of Nature. What does that mean?

What do we mean by Nature? The question admits, I believe, of a brief answer that is fairly satisfactory. We have a wide variety of experiences some of which are very definite and well ascertained—there are, we say, facts so well known that we habitually base our practical life upon them and would else come to grief, like unprotected imbeciles or fools. Such facts are of two kinds; some of them are facts of sense-perception or of this and memory; and some of them are facts of thought. The former kind is easy to exemplify—we have only to refer to the moving pageant of the sensible world—there are colors, wind and wave and sound, alternations of day and night, pleasure and pain, sleep and waking. The latter kind—indubitable facts of thought—are not so easy to exemplify but they certainly exist. One of them is this: If something *S* have the property *P* and whatever has *P* has the property *P'*, then *S* has *P'*. Such facts of thought and of sense are compatible among themselves; if they were not, life might still be possible in some form, but not rational life. And now we may state, I think, what we mean by nature: Nature is the system of all things that are compatible with the best-ascertained facts of sense and of thought.

I have said that the zoological conception of man as a species of animal, though it is both illogical and false, has one merit—that of representing man as a natural being. Now, from time immemorial the zoological conception has had and still has a powerful rival. I mean the mythological conception of man; according to this conception, man is neither wholly natural nor wholly “supernatural”—whatever the latter term may mean—but is a mysterious compound of the two. It is the conception which Plato (in the *Timæus*, for example) treats with such gentle irony. “We must accept,” says he, “the traditions of the men of old time who affirm themselves to be offspring of the gods—that is what they say—and they must surely have known their own ancestors. How can we doubt the word of the children of the gods? Although they

give no probable or certain proofs, still, as they are speaking of what took place in their own family, we must conform to custom and believe them."

But the new concept of man does not thus "conform to custom." This concept implies not only that the zoological conception is false but that its ancient and modern rival is also false. According to the new concept, man is neither an animal nor a "supernatural" something united with animality. Time-binding energy, the energy that civilizes, is a natural energy—as natural as electricity, for example, or gravitation; and man, the instrument of that energy, its living agent, is a natural being; it is as natural for man to bind time as for plants to live in the manner of plants, as for birds to fly or for fishes to swim.

And, now, what are the implicates of those mighty implications? It requires no extraordinary acumen to see that they are manifold and grave: human history and the philosophy thereof, the present plight of the world, the destiny of civilization, all are involved. Adequate treatment would require a large volume. Here there is room only for suggestions and hints. Let us look at the matter in a large way. Because time-binding capacity is the defining mark of our human kind, it follows that to study and understand man is to study and understand the nature of his time-binding energies; to discover the laws of these energies is to discover the laws of human nature: and it is a scientific task of supreme importance, for it is evident that upon the natural laws of time-binding must be based the future science and art of human life and human welfare.

One of the laws we know now—not indeed precisely but fairly well—we know its general type—and it merits our best attention. It is the natural law of progress in time-binding—in civilization-building—in the production of material and spiritual wealth. The law is wonderful. Let us glance at it.

Each generation of (say) beavers or bees begins where the preceding generation *began*; that is a law for animals—there is no progress, no time-binding—a beaver dam is a beaver dam—a honey comb, a honey comb. But not so with man—the inventor, discoverer, and creator. Invention breeds invention, science begets science, the children of knowledge not only produce their kind in larger and larger families but produce new kinds of higher and higher type, continually, more and more rapidly; each generation begins, not where its predecessor began, but where it ended; the past lives in the present, the present for the future; the process is that of time-binding, the civilizing process, the peculiar process of human *progress*. What is the Law of it—the natural law? What its general character is, is obvious: it is that of a rapidly increasing geometric progression—if P denote the advancement made in a given generation, conveniently called the first, and if R be the ratio of improvement, then the progress made in the second generation is PR , that in the third is PR^2 , and that made in the single T^{th} generation will be PR^{T-1} . Observe that R is a large number—exactly how large we do not know—and that the time T enters as an exponent—and so the expression PR^{T-1} is called an exponential function of Time. This is an amazing function, as any student of the calculus knows; as T increases, the function not only increases but it does so at a rate which itself increases according to a similar law, and the rate of increase of the rate of increase again increases in like manner, and so on endlessly, thus sweeping on towards infinity in a way that baffles all imagination and all descriptive speech. Yet that is the law—the natural law—for the advancement of Civilization—the ever-growing offspring of Time and human Toil.

Here a question arises which every one of us should ponder. We know that the time-binding energies of humanity have been in operation long—probably for 300,000 to 500,000

years. The question is: Has civilization progressed throughout the vast period in accord with the mentioned law? And, if not, why not? Had the law been always followed, our planet would doubtless be now clothed with a civilization so advanced that we can not even conjecture it in dreams. For the great law, far from being always followed, has been never followed. What has been the trouble? Has it been the hostility of natural environment? Something, much indeed, must be ascribed to the retarding effect of great geologic and climatic changes, to long periods of excessive heat and cold and flood and drought. But these have not been the main trouble. The main trouble has been, and still is, a species of ignorance. I do not mean ignorance of physical law. I mean a more fundamental ignorance, of which the former is largely an effect. I mean our human ignorance of human nature—our misconceptions of man.

For, apart from external environment, what are the great factors that determine, and have determined, the history of our human kind? Fundamentally the factors are two: human nature, and human conceptions of human nature. They are, in other words: what man *is* and what man *thinks* he is. One of the factors is constant, the other one is variable, and so their product is variable. The importance of the former factor is obvious; that of the latter is also obvious, once it is pointed out, but in the philosophy of history it has never been duly signalized nor rightly appraised. What man is, we have at length conceived, thanks to the genius of the Polish engineer—man is the progressive civilizer—the creator of material and spiritual wealth—the living agent of the time-binding energies of the world. By these energies all that is precious in our present civilization has been produced. But from remotest antiquity their work has been hampered, and it is hampered today, by what man has thought and still thinks himself to be—a species of animal or a mixture of natural and

supernatural, or both at once, for mere incompatibility of two ideas does not prevent them from finding firm lodgment in a same brain. The glorious things of which the misconceptions have deprived mankind we can not now know and may never know; but the subtle ramifications of their positive evil are unmistakable in the dismal things of history and the present plight of the world. Whoever traces them will be appalled. I can not trace them here; but the reader can do it, if he will, and can do it easily if he will follow the right clue.

And the clue—where it is to be found? It is to be found in the body of those social sentiments, views and practices which we are wont to call *Morals*, or *Ethics*. Of the two great factors—what man is and what man thinks he is—ethics is not indeed the total product, far from it, but it is in ethics and through it that the joint product and especially the second factor manifest themselves primarily and fundamentally. One need not be a sage to see clearly that, if our human kind be not a wholly natural class of life, then there never has been and never can be a system of human ethics having the understandability, the authority and the sanction of natural law; and this means that, under the hypothesis, there never has been and never can be an ethical system “compatible with the best-ascertained facts of sense and of thought.” Moreover, so long as we cling to the error of regarding man as a mysterious mixture of natural and supernatural, the result will be much the same—our ethics will continue to carry the darkness and confusion due to the presence in it of mythological elements. On the other hand, so long as we continue to think man to be a species of animal, the social life of the world in all its aspects will continue to reflect the misconception, and ethics will remain—what it always has been in large measure—a zoological ethics, the ethics of tooth and claw, the space-binding ethics of combat, violence and war. Now, ethics is not a thing apart; it is not self-contained; it is

not an interest merely coordinate with other interests. Ethics is a kind of social ether which, whether it be true or false, good or bad, sound or unsound, pervades our life in all its dimensions; and so, our ethics being poisoned by false conceptions of the distinctive nature of our human kind, the virus has spread into every part of the body politic, affecting all its interests, institutions and enterprises—individual life, community life, education, economics, industrial methods, politics, and government. It is just this appalling vision that should make us eager to contemplate the other side of the shield. For, if false conceptions of human nature can work havoc so terrible and wide-spread, what good may we not expect from a true conception of man?

Therein lies the potency and promise of Korzybski's great concept. Though its significance is indeed inexhaustible, the concept itself can, as I have said, be easily grasped. As the understanding of it spreads, as I have no doubt it will spread, throughout the world, many changes will come and there will be many transfigurations. The time-binding energies of our human kind will be gradually released from their old bondage. Education, in home and school and church, will regard it a supreme obligation to teach the young what they, as representatives of man, really are, so that the true conception shall be bred as a habit in men and women everywhere. The space-binding standards of the past and the present will be abandoned as unworthy of man, and our ethics will become human ethics based on the laws—the natural laws—of time-binding. Freedom will be freedom to live in accordance with those laws, and righteousness will be recognized as the quality of a life that does not contravene them. Religion will find the seat of its authority in the double relationship in virtue of which we humans are posterity and ancestry at once, in the former capacity inheriting the living achievements of the dead, in the latter holding them in trust for enlargement and

for transmission to coming generations, thus binding Past and Future together in one eternal Now. Fashioned by such ethics and religion, enlightened by science, the state—which may ultimately embrace the world—will emancipate itself from the control of ignorant politicians and commit itself to the guidance of honest men who know. And at length Civilization—the living issue of the time-binding energies of man—will advance, not haltingly as hitherto, but in accord with the natural law thereof, in a warless world, swiftly and endlessly.

THE TYRANNY OF THE FRONTIER

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

One aspect of the Tariff question has not received the attention it deserves. This I may call the Tyranny of the Frontier, the oppression of the individual man through the narrowness of the national boundaries by which he is hemmed in. For oppression in the last analysis is individual rather than political. The evils of tyranny, the waste of property, the limitation of development and of activity, the lowering of human values, are remedied by freedom and justice, not necessarily by political independence. Independence and liberty are often not on speaking terms with each other, as the self-determination provided for in various parts of Europe has already shown.

Count Witte once laid a map of Europe alongside of one of the United States. "Can one imagine," said he, "that America would be prosperous as she is if she had been crossed in every direction by national frontiers?" A frontier in time of peace is a breeder of suspicion which easily turns into fear and hate. In war-time it is a scene of deportation and murder, operations most cruelly carried out by Turks perhaps, most wantonly by Germans, but of which no nation in war-time has been innocent.

The United States represents the greatest free trade area in the world: its federated states can impose no tax or tariff on imports from other states, and its cities no octroi at their gates. Hence her internal commerce is open and friendly; no state uprises against another, for broadly speaking all recognize only common interests.

The tariff in all its forms is a tax on commerce, a burden great or small on friendly relations, an interference with the natural laws of division of labor. Tariffs in actual op-

eration are mainly of three classes: "The tariff for revenue only," often advocated in America but never realized, the sole purpose of which is to raise money without advantage to individuals and without prejudice to other nations. It is simply a levy on commerce, and it has this practical advantage, that no one knows how much he pays or whence; public funds are derived. This morally is a serious drawback, for the success of every honest government rests on the information of the people.

The "protective tariff" is a device for increasing home profits by tax on commerce so adjusted as to raise prices of articles produced by certain privileged classes. The operations thus aided are known in America as "infant industries," though some of them may rise to dominate the affairs of a whole nation. The theory is that a subsidy is needed to keep new industries going until they become thoroughly established, by which time, in fact, they may be so entrenched that the people can never dislodge them afterwards.

The "cut-throat tariff" has aims beyond mere diversity of industries; its purpose is not to help home activities but rather to inflict injury on some neighboring or rival state. Such tariffs are not unknown in eastern and southeastern Europe. They are a prolific cause of the tragedy of the Balkan peoples. The Balkan peninsula has had numerous "Dead Seas of Commerce," districts from which exports can be made on ruinous terms only. The valley of Strumitza with its export of "Turkish tobacco," through Greece to Salonika may serve as a single example. The commercial details of Serbia and Bulgaria would disclose many others.

The Great War has stiffened up the frontiers of Europe besides greatly extending their range. It has given a new impetus to nationalism, a spirit which has its virtues, but which on its aggressive side is wholly evil. The curse of the Balkan peninsula lies in its many frontiers, and in the abuses

which crowd along them. The burden of oppression falls not on abstract Serbia or Bulgaria, but on the individual men and women who suffer from senseless tyranny. For this condition no remedy lies in change of boundaries, introducing new injustice, but in their practical obliteration through some form of federation such as in the eighteenth century bound together the infant colonies to form the United States.

Such a union once established need not suffer from tribal or religious jealousies. Equality before the law, with interchangeable citizenship and freedom of trade would bring to the Balkans a degree of individual prosperity it has never known and which it can never know until federation is achieved.

The same statements apply to the uneasy fragments of the old empire of Austria-Hungary. It has been many times said that "if an Austria did not exist, it must be created." And the welfare of this great region demands that it be re-created, not as a centralized tyrannical autocracy or oligarchy, but as a federated republic with equality before the law, interchangeable citizenship and open commerce.

It is generally believed that freedom of trade between France and Germany would sweep away old hostilities which would melt under its influence the icebergs in the Gulf Stream. To what extent this is true, no one can say yet, for the experiment has never been tried. Certain it is that the cut-throat tariff is one of the most abominable phases of rival armament, and that all other tariffs are in some degree like it in nature and effect. Those who look forward to an effective "League of Nations" or to the earlier conception of "The United States of Europe" must recognize that one of the first and greatest steps in that direction must be in the demobilization of frontiers, the removal of all checks on intercourse between man and man. "Self-determination" not demanded in

the interests of freedom is a step backward, for liberty may be established within the limits of a great nation far more securely than in a limited one beset with jealous rivals. "Self-determination" is not even a necessity of self-government. The experience of the United States of America shows clearly that local autonomy does not imply or demand separation.

ON MY IRISH TERRIER'S SHADOW

By GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE

Lifting little tawny feet,
Jerry patters down the street,
Hunting jolly bones to eat.

Jerry's shadow trots beside,
Comically magnified,
Keeping step with awkward stride.

Something innocent, forlorn,
By that simple shade is borne,—
Yet of Fate a puny scorn.

* * * * *

This wandering Shadow of the Sun
Laughs and laments till all is done
And mightier systems are begun.

THE KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT

By RICHARD MONTAGUE

The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations is an attempt to apply familiar political and legal reasonings to the industrial situation. Its major premise is that it is the duty of the collective authority to resolve disputes which, either by giving rise to violence in carrying them on, or by requiring the application of force to dispose of them, endanger the public peace. Its minor premise is that disputes between employer and employed have passed or are rapidly passing the stage when the parties can settle them without disturbance of the public peace, and, in the case of the basic industries, without grave menace to the public health and safety besides.

The law had its origin in the great Kansas coal strike in the early winter of 1919. The miners in that state were well organized and the operators equally determined. The state obtains most of its fuel for both industrial and domestic purposes from the local mines, and what with the intense cold weather just then prevailing, the strike threatened to bring not only a general interruption of industry, but great suffering and even loss of life. It was broken by energetic and extra-legal action on the part of the Governor, Henry J. Allen, in taking possession of the mines in the name of the state, and operating them by volunteer labor. Early in January, 1920, the Governor called a special session of the legislature and submitted to them the bill creating the Industrial Court, which was adopted with substantial unanimity, after free and full discussion in which representatives of the operators, the miners and the public all participated.

The law creates a tribunal called the Court of Industrial Relations, but really better described as an administrative body with certain judicial or quasi-judicial powers, of the type with which railroad and public service commissions have

made us familiar. It is composed of three judges, appointed by the Governor for a term of three years, with provision for technical and clerical assistants. It is first given the powers and functions of the existing Public Utilities Commission of the State of Kansas. Proceeding then directly to its main purpose, the Act declares that certain industries and employments named later are "affected with a public interest" and therefore subject to supervision by the State as provided in the Act, for the purpose of preserving the public peace, protecting the public health, preventing industrial strife, disorder and waste, and securing regular and orderly conduct of the businesses directly affecting the living conditions of the people of the state and in promotion of the general welfare. These businesses are:

1. Manufacture or preparation of food products whereby, in any stage of the process, substances are converted from their natural state to a condition to be used as food for human beings.
2. Manufacture of clothing—with the same limitation.
3. Mining or production of fuel.
4. Transportation of the above.
5. Public utilities.

The language defining the first two classes is supposed to exclude the original producer of the raw material, the farmer, from the operation of the Act.

The Act declares that it is necessary for the public peace, health and safety, that the industries above named shall be operated with reasonable continuity and efficiency, and forbids interference with them for the purpose of evading the Act. Power is given to the Court, in case of controversy arising in the industries named which the court believes may endanger the continuity or efficiency of service, or produce industrial disorder, etc., and thereby endanger public peace or threaten public health, to investigate the conduct of such in-

dustries, either on its own motion, on complaint of the parties, of any ten citizen taxpayers of a community where the industry is located, or of the Attorney General. After the investigation, the Court may order such changes as are necessary in the matter of working and living conditions, hours of labor and reasonable minimum wage, all to be such as are just and shall enable the industry to continue with reasonable efficiency, such orders to continue in force for such time as the Court may direct, and to be subject to change by the parties with its approval. It is expressly declared necessary for the promotion of the general welfare that workers should receive fair wages and have healthful and moral surroundings, that capital should have a fair return, and the right of every person to choose his own employment and to make fair and reasonable contracts of employment is recognized.

The Court is empowered to bring proper proceedings before the Supreme Court of Kansas to compel obedience to its orders, and any party aggrieved by any order of the Industrial Court may appeal to the Supreme Court. Incorporated unions are recognized as legal entities, (somewhat superfluously it would seem); the right of all unions to bargain collectively is also recognized, but unincorporated unions are to appoint in writing an agent to represent them in such bargains.

Sections 16 and 17 furnish the practical conclusions from the principles announced at the beginning as to the public interest in the industries affected. By Section 16 it is declared unlawful for any person engaged in such industries to limit or cease operations for the purpose of limiting production or to affect prices for the purpose of avoiding the provisions of the act; but persons so engaged may apply to the court for authority to limit or cease operations. Under Section 17 the right of any individual employee to quit his employment is not limited, but it is made unlawful for any individual employee of an industry within the purview of the Act to con-

spire with other persons to quit their employment for the purpose of hindering, delaying, etc., the operation of the industries concerned, or to engage in picketing, intimidation or the like for that purpose. Punishments are provided for violations of the Act, much more severe in the case of officers of corporations or of labor unions inducing others to commit violations. The Court is empowered, in case of suspension or cessation of any of the industries concerned, contrary to the provisions of the law or the orders of the Court, threatening the public welfare, to take proceedings in any court for the taking over and operation of the industry during the emergency, a fair rate to be paid to the owners and a fair wage to the workers during the time of such operation.

The foregoing somewhat sketchy outline of the principal provisions of the law is sufficient to make it clear to any one who has looked out over the troubled waters of industrial controversy, that however plain a course may seem to have been charted by the syllogism mentioned above, there will be head winds and angry waves for this craft to meet. Governor Allen, who is reputed not to have any especially timid shrinking from controversy himself, may well have thought, as he launched his bill, of the famous remark of General Phil Kearney, ordering up a regiment of reserves during a stiff battle of the Civil War: "Come on in anywhere, boys, there's lovely fighting all along the line." There has been. The law met from the first with the embittered opposition of the labor unions, with the opposition, less violent but hardly less pronounced, of the intellectual radicals, the tacit hostility and open distrust of the capitalists, and stern denunciation from the lawyers who furnish the arguments for their opposition, as the intellectuals do to some degree for the labor unions.

The legal objections are pretty thoroughgoing. It is charged that the main features of the law "contravene the most elementary principles of individual liberty and private

property"* and it is earnestly asserted that it is mischievous in operation, and an entirely new departure from the historic and invariable principles of the common law.

Now, granting the assumption, which appears to be in accord with the expressed views of the farmers of this law—that the fundamental theory of this law is that the State has the right to intervene and determine the rights of the parties to a controversy which endangers the public peace and safety, and the health and even the lives of great numbers of its citizens, and that in such cases it may require of the parties such conduct as will avert these dangers and injuries, and conceding further, what cannot be disputed in point of fact, that a general or extensive strike in the industries named in the Act would have these consequences, and that the industries are in that sense affected with a public interest—it may be said with considerable confidence that the Act is not fundamentally unconstitutional, and it may further be said with entire confidence that its fundamental theory and main application are not at all a departure from the historic and established doctrines of the common law.

This is not the place for a detailed legal argument, but some broad features of the legal controversy may not be without interest. In the celebrated case of *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U. S. 113, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the defendant State had the right to fix the charges of warehouses for storing grain, and the decision has been steadily adhered to, through a thicket of subsequent cases on more or less similar points and in the face of a cloud of dissenting opinions. The warehouses in question in the *Munn* case were not publicly owned nor publicly operated; they had no license from the state nor required any, they used no state property nor exercised any sovereign rights. The ground of the opinion was the importance and necessity to the public of the service the warehouses performed, only that and nothing more.

* The Fundamental Unsoundness of the Kansas Industrial Court Law. John S. Dean. *Am. Bar Ass'n Journal*, July, 1921.

Under the distinction made by Mr. Justice Brewer in a dissenting opinion in a subsequent case, they were perhaps monopolies in fact, but were not monopolies in law. (Justice is very apt to happen when the courts recognize that a thing which is true in fact is true at law also.) This decision, generalized, means that the state has the power to regulate, in the most essential particulars, any industry which, by reason of actual conditions, (irrespective of its legal relations) has a dangerous or controlling influence on the public peace, welfare or safety, and that such an industry is affected with a public interest; and it is certainly not necessary to go farther than that to support the essential principles of the Kansas Industrial Court Law.

The statement that occupations such as production of food and fuel are private in their nature and not subject to regulation by the state has absolutely no basis in the historic facts of the common law. Sir Matthew Hale, the great 17th century judge whom the court quotes from in the *Munn* case, expressly includes bakers and millers among those who were subject to regulation because *affected with a public interest*, (the phrase is his) and the list might be largely increased by a little research among the early volumes of the common law. The reason offered to show that production of food and fuel are not subject to state regulation, namely, that none but a paternalistic government undertakes to provide its citizens with the necessities of life,* is equally without historic basis, past or present. It is the first duty of a civilized government to see that its citizens are provided with the necessities of life and that no one deprives them of these by force or fraud or conspiracy, which is the precise purpose of the law we are considering. All civilized governments do supply their citizens with the necessities of life, the indigent at all times, the whole population when emergency requires.

The same learned judge plays havoc with the further

* Dean *loc. cit.*

argument that it is only with negative judgments that the law deals, that it forbids but cannot command. He assures us that "every ferry ought to be under a public regulation, viz., that it give attendance at due times, keep a boat in due order," etc. All kinds of common carriers have immemorially been subject to positive requirements and are more and more so, to make connections with competitors and transfer business to them for one thing. Mandatory injunctions have been known for some hundreds of years, and applied to all sorts of business and affairs, public and private. Public operation of every conceivable kind of business, public and private, through receiverships, has long been familiar. That wise and humorous Kansan, William Allen White, has just now supplied us with a list of enterprises in which American States have directly engaged. It runs: print schoolbooks, make cement, own elevators and flour mills, conduct colleges and universities, make farm loans, buy and sell land, mine coal, operate wharves, store cotton, guarantee bank deposits, care for forests, run water-power sites, sell irrigation rights and operate them. And additions might be made to the list from the statute books of Oregon and Washington. When the state can lawfully own and operate industries it would be the merest pedantry to deny it the right to regulate and supervise them.

The validity of these conclusions respecting the law rest, it is fully admitted, on the soundness of the initial assumption that the Act intends the power to be exerciseable only when the public peace, safety and welfare require it. That assumption is vehemently attacked; the repeated and emphatic recitals of the law to that effect are said to be mere camouflage for the purpose of concealing the real character of legislation which in fact seeks to establish managerial supervision of these industries. For the present purpose it will be conceded that if the law were devised and used for the purpose of tak-

ing over private industries without justification in the necessity for preserving public peace or essential welfare, it would be invalid as well as ill-advised. It is not reasonably to be supposed that the authors of the law intended it to be applied in that way; that they intended to or did give the Court power to intervene in the case of disagreement between a pop-corn vendor and his balky horse as to where the van should stop, or even between such a merchant and a customer as to the quality of the butter used on the pop-corn. But it is certainly not open to doubt or argument that a strike such as that which gave rise to this law, or the great railroad strike which was threatened but now, is a menace to the peace, the welfare and the very lives of the mass of citizens, much graver than those on which the state from time immemorial has found it necessary to act. In such cases the power is hardly to be questioned; the limits of the application of it will be ascertained in due time and need not concern us for the present.

All these considerations go to the validity and not the wisdom of the legislation, to the power and not the propriety of its enactment. The labor or radical faction, which objects to the law even more strenuously, lays most stress on the arguments against the social justice of it. It is insisted that the industrial controversy is in essence an attempt by the laboring class to better its conditions by alterations and improvements in the existing social order, which a court by its nature is bound to preserve and perpetuate; that to forbid a group the right to exercise its group strength in the matter of industrial relations is to fasten upon it a species of servitude. It is difficult to see how this position can be maintained except upon the postulate that the industrial struggle is to be carried on, as some labor leaders have frankly declared, under the ethics of actual warfare. It is fundamental to the existence of any kind of social order or peace that no group should be allowed to exercise its group strength by violence, or by unregulated

control over the necessities of life. A very little thinking will make it clear that a state in which that kind of group action was permitted would speedily lapse into belligerent anarchy. That "species of servitude" is fastened upon us all as citizens of a state under the law. The further assumption that except by the exercise of force a group cannot win a nearer approach to justice and a larger measure of economic and social advantage, is flatly denied by facts—the case of women's rights for example. There is nothing in the requirement that controversies of this kind be submitted to a tribunal representing the common will and purpose which need prevent or make difficult the development and urging of new rights and demands of labor—e. g. the democratization of industry. If our society has no power of growth or development but by tooth and claw, civil institutions are headed for revolution and destruction anyhow and it is a waste of time to contend about a trifling matter like this. But while we refuse to accept this doom and are even now hopefully pitting human intelligence and good will against the powerful tendencies which have long been believed to make international wars inevitable, why not try also to work out some improvement in our handling of internal dissensions which are fast drawing us nearer to the brink of civil war.

A less grave objection, which, however, is entitled to respectful consideration, is that the personnel of a court appointed in the ordinary political way could not be expected to do entire justice to the new and developing conceptions of the rights of workingmen. A generation ago that might have been true; today it would be pretty hard to find anybody active enough in politics to stand a chance of appointment by a governor who is also in politics, who did not at least profess a warm sympathy with the laboring man. The number of those who have a real concern for and sympathy with the position and aspirations of the wage earner has increased to

such an extent that we may well hope for real as opposed to formal justice from a court constituted as this is and at close grips with its problems. Of still less weight is the suggestion that the Court cannot achieve anything because there is no established body of law and doctrine to which it can look for guidance, nothing but the general conceptions of what is fair and right. This objection overlooks the fact that about all the law we have was built up, case by case, in just this way. The doctrinaire demand for a hard and fast *a priori* theory by which to regulate conduct in future contingencies is alien to the genius of English speaking peoples. Moreover, unless we are prepared to swallow Marxian Socialism whole, and it is fact and not opinion that we are not, the steady growth of consideration for the status of the laborer and his right place in the social structure is a better basis for future determination of these rights than any body of doctrine now at hand.

The only valid proof of the success or failure of a political institution is the pragmatic test of the way it works. It is too soon to pronounce upon the Kansas law with any positiveness. Its decisions appear to have met with general approval, if we may judge from the very small proportion of them which have been appealed from. Everybody with experience in these matters knows, however, that nine-tenths of industrial disputes practically decide themselves when the facts are sifted out; it is the disposition of the other tenth which "proves" the rule. The Court in at least two cases has met the challenge of the laborers, to the point that the cherished right to strike would be denied the laborer while the right to shut down could not be effectually denied to the employer, with a good deal of boldness, ordering the continuance of the industry and prescribing the number of employees and their compensation. We have grounds for hope that a useful piece of machinery has been devised, and for the conviction that if it will only work well the arguments legal and social thus far urged against it will fade into the limbo of things forgotten.

BLESSED

By MELVIN P. LEVY

"He will be a Rabbi," said the men of the little Russian village where he lived.

"He is a beautiful child," said the women, and gave him kichel—tiny sweetmeats.

"*Ganefs*," shouted the frenzied *mullamed* to his class, "why can't all of you, any of you, learn like little Moishkala?"

And truly the little one inspired all of this. Straight as a tiny tree; having the promise of much height in a community of dwarfed men; handsome with all of the ascetic beauty of the young Jew; knowing his Hebrew now, a year after his *bar-mitzvah*, as few of the *shiva-buchers*, old, or young, did. . . . It is no wonder that the men hailed an embryonic *Rav*, the women a second Apollo, though they had never heard of the first; and that the teacher loved him as a son.

Perhaps a psychologist might have found something a little selfish in the full sensuous lips. His mother and his father, if they had not speedily forgotten them, might have told a hundred little tales of hearts hurt and tears drawn. But since Adam's time no man has been perfect. Since Solomon's, no temple has been built without nails. And here was a young rabbi, a beautiful child, a scholar, who was a credit to his teacher. . . .

"To America!" said Moisha Arnovitch's father.

"To America," wept his mother, "But—?" She was going to ask what of her, but she checked the selfish thought before it was registered.

"To America!" And the villagers might as well have said to Mars or to Hades.

"To America," cried the old teacher, as he saw his favorite pupil and his dream of vicarious greatness drifting away

together towards a land where Jews forgot to *daven* and ate *treffa*; where rabbis were such in name alone; where insidious pitfalls awaited the young and unwary.

"To America," breathed a fair young girl. But it was deep in her heart, so that even she scarcely knew that she had said it.

"To America!" said young Moisha. And his full lips set until they were merely a thin, crimson line. And his eyes, that had been soft and brown for twenty years, became hard, like jewels—or cold stars on a frosty night.

So the villagers warned him of the things that to their simple souls seemed dangerous. His mother wept. His father parted with two precious, ancient Hebrew books from his slender library of sacred volumes. His eyes, he explained, were getting so weak that he could no longer read them any-way. Moisha departed with money in his pocket, goodies in his knapsack, and blessings on his head. The money he spent. The *strudle* and the *kuchen* and the cakes, he ate. The blessings

Time passes quickly when one is seeing with virgin eyes new scenes and new faces; when one is hearing with unaccustomed ears the sounds of metropolitan life or the swish of waves against the side of a vessel; when one is drinking in with all of a fresh and thirsty soul, the experience of a new world. It seemed almost no time until the railway compartment had changed to a steerage hold, the steerage hold to the ordered babel of Ellis Island, the ordered babel to—America.

The torch, held high in Liberty's hand, is the promise to many cold ones of warmth—warmth and light. They herd impatiently on its other side, and pass gladly beneath it, presenting eagerly their credentials—broad backs, clean bodies, the few dollars with which a cautious government guards itself against pauperism. But having come within its radius, many find that even this fine flame allows of cold knuckles to

some, even while others drone sluggishly in its tropically enervating rays. Not many days had passed until Moisha strayed penniless along a strange street. His tinsel dreams were sadly draggled, his sure smile a memory, his stomach an aching void. Suddenly he started. He heard singing. The words were indistinct but he knew certainly in what tongue they were mouthed; and it was his own—his own. Breathlessly he tumbled up the narrow stairway to the hall from which the sounds proceeded. At the top was an open doorway and over the doorway printed words. These he did not stop to read. But the sight of the familiar Hebrew characters brought tears to his eyes and peace to his soul. Then, shortly, he stopped. Staring him directly in the face was a crucifix. He realized that he was in one of the places against which he had been warned. The apostators had baited him with sacred things—his love of home, his religion. Moisha Arnovitch started to slink from the hall. But a firm hand fell on his arm. A kind face looked into his. And he was discouraged and hungry—very hungry. . . .

The villagers in Russia heard no more from their pet, But in that way which evil news has of seeking and finding its own, they learned that Moisha Arnovitch has become Moses Aarons, as being not too *Yiddish*, and yet *Jewish* enough. It became known that he had forsaken his faith, had become a *meshumed*, a priest to his confounders, an enemy to his people for hire.

As stern custom dictated, a funeral was held. Thenceforward the prodigal was dead—far more dead to these who loved him than if he had never lived. His mother wept secretly. His father forebade that his name be mentioned.

In Europe a War gathered; spread sinuously, sickeningly over half the earth, laboriously gorging itself on the life before it; finally subsided with only now and then a twitch of its horrid body to show that it still lived. When the monster

lifted itself from the little village in Russia, it left only the putrid bed of its wallowing—that and a few shivering souls who, creeping slowly, spasmodically crossed devastated Russia; who crawled painfully over unkindly Siberia; who were drawn with the sureness of fate through Japan; who lay miserably in a Transpacific steerage; whose bodies were finally fed with strange food and warmed with coldly efficient warmth in the bare charity-house of an immigrant society. And among these was an old man, with his eyes war-blinded, with his wife war-murdered, with his only son banished even from memory. . . .

Across a continent the Reverend Moses Aarons laid down a newspaper and wept. The paper contained a pictured account of the arrival of a band of war refugees at a Pacific port. The minister's tears fell full on the blind face of an old man with a queer, foreign, familiar name. . . .

"You must not excite him," said an attendant to the eager young man in the office. "He is very weak."

"I shall be very careful. But I have not seen him for so long—and we come from so far, so very far. Take me to him."

Moisha Arnovitch started quickly to his father. Then he remembered. "I bear news from your son."

"My son—" eagerly. And then coldly, slowly, hardly, "I have no son. My son is dead."

"Your son is truly dead."

And then the old voice lifted up. Seven times he called the name of his *kaddish*, his son, while the tears streamed from between his closed lids and rolled in little rivers down the furrows of his cheeks. Thus did David when it was brought to him that the traitor son, Absolom, was dead. And when the old man had finished the cry for the soul in purgatory, and had turned to the younger:

"Forgive me. Alive he was dead. But dead, he is my

son. Forgive me." And then, after some moments, "Come closer, that I may know the friend of my son."

Then, with the slow touch-sight of the blind, he felt the straight nose, the high, white forehead, the smooth cheeks. And as the old fingers crept slowly from feature to feature, it seemed for a moment that they trembled. . . . But when they came to rest together on the top of the bared young head they were quite steady. And so was his voice steady—quite steady:

"Jeverchachu Adonoi werishmeracho." The words were old as Hebrew itself. The beautiful, stately blessing of the Levite to the worshipers in the temple; of father to son; of loved one to loved one. *"Johed Adonoi panaiu elocho vichcrocho. Jisho Adonoi ponov elecho weioshimlecho sholem."*

"May the Lord bless thee and keep thee! May the Lord cause His countenance to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee! May the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee and give thee peace!"

And then from the magnificent Hebrew into the minor wail of heart-broken Yiddish. *"As seh wie tzu mein aigen kind."*—"As if you were my own child."

"He did not know me! My father did not know me," said Moisha Aronovitch dully, stumbling down the wooden stairs.

"My son! My son is gone!" sobbed an old man. And the four walls of a bare room gave him back his echo.

THE TALL TALE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

By ESTHER SHEPHERD

Histories of American literature generally devote a chapter or two to the subject of "American Humor," and one gathers from reading these chapters that Western humor was something that sprang up suddenly in the middle of last century. They speak of the "new" school of humor which came into existence in the 1850's, with the rise of John Phoenix, Petroleum V. Nasby, Josh Billings, Artemus Ward, and, later, Mark Twain. George Horatio Derby ("John Phoenix") is usually said to be the "father" of the new school. As a matter of fact, the sort of writing which these mid-century humorists turned out had been in existence long before their time, and had already gone through quite an extended period of development. The men of the "new" school of the fifties and sixties were followers rather than originators. The material they used they found ready at hand, and there was a long tradition of frontier humor behind them. Their indebtedness to the men who had gone before them is evident. Artemus Ward, if one is to credit a reported declaration by him, is a conscious imitator of Seba Smith's "Jack Downing" letters, and Petroleum V. Nasby, "of Confederit X Roads, Kentucky," is certainly a direct descendant of the same redoubtable Jack "from Downingville, away down East in the State of Maine." Just as Locke, in the character of Petroleum, successfully satirized the administration of Johnson and the anti-freedmen party in the South after the war, so Seba Smith, back in the early thirties, had used the Jack Downing letters to satirize Andrew Jackson's administration--and it is interesting to note that the earlier letters do not suffer from comparison with those of the later writer. The forty years intervening between these two series of letters may be taken as constituting the period when frontier humor was at its

height. The decade of the forties probably represents the very peak in the production of this sort of literature.

The early humorists found the means of spreading their stories in the newspapers of that time and in what were then called the "sporting magazines." Some of the best known of these newspapers and magazines were the *Yankee Blade* of Boston, the *New York Spirit of the Times*, the *Baltimore American Turf Register*, the *Philadelphia Saturday Gazette*, the *St. Louis Reveille*, the *New Orleans Delta* and *Picayune*, the *West Alabamian*, and the *Southern Miscellany*. Chief among them all was the *New York Spirit*. This paper took an especial pride in being the first purveyor of "wild Western yarns," and one finds, interestingly enough, confirmation of this fact in the numerous references to the *Spirit* within some of the frontier stories themselves. Besides publishing as much original material, apparently, as it could get hold of, it copied extensively from the other papers of the time. An especially well known example of the sporting magazine was the *New York Constellation*, devoted expressly to wit and humor. From this and similar publications a few collections of frontier humor were made; notably, W. T. Porter's *The Quarter Race in Kentucky*, T. A. Burke's *Polly Pease-Blossom's Wedding*, and Judge Haliburton's two collections, *Traits of American Humour* and *The Americans at Home*. There were other volumes also, devoted solely to the work of individual writers, among which might be mentioned *Johnny Beedle's Sleigh-Ride, Courtship and Marriage*, by W. J. McClintock, T. B. Thorpe's *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, Samuel Kettell's *Yankee Notions*, and J. S. Robb's *Streaks of Squatter Life*.

The stories in these collections have one great characteristic in common. They are all frontier stories. They were written by the frontiersmen themselves, or by men who knew the frontier intimately, and they reflect truthfully the actual

conditions that prevailed in the backwoods and on the borders. No matter how "all-fired" and wildly exaggerated, or how "tall" they may be, there is something about them which rings true, as a comparison of some of them with true-to-fact accounts readily proves. Among them are stories of "b'ar" hunts, coon hunts, and Indian hunts, characteristic of the frontier; of rifle shootings and horse tradings, camp-meetings, barn-raising, and log-rollings; eloquent stump-speeches, whisky-consuming political campaigns, grand and glorious Fourth of July celebrations, husking-bees, church fairs, and monkey-shows, fast-and-furious courtings, and, in general, the hard living and hard loving of the frontier. The men who wrote this humor used the material which was at hand, and the language and method of spinning out the material which was the language and method of the frontiersmen themselves. They had been "thar," and they knew what they were talking about. It is this fact, probably, that accounts for the naturalness and originality of this class of writing. The Western tall tale is a type of literature which was indigenous to the American frontier, and could have been produced nowhere else. Crude though much of this sort of writing is, there seem to be touches of real art here and there in it, and certainly, whether it will ever be accepted as "standard" literature or not, its service in furnishing an accurate picture of the frontier is inestimable. The pioneer period of our history is a period which is fast passing, or has already passed. The literature in which it found a voice is surely one that deserves some attention.

A good deal has been said of the frontier and of frontier influence in certain of the books which have been produced in America during the past year. In all of these the frontier is held accountable for much of what is wrong with America today, and at its door is laid the blame for many of our obvious short-comings. These accusations are probably just,

most of them. But whether the indictments are just or no, it is a question whether a closer and more nearly first-hand knowledge of the frontier would not result in a more charitable estimate of its influence. In the frontier "tall tale" literature is to be found a key to just such a sympathetic understanding as a perfectly fair judgment would require.

There were, in general, two main lines of frontier humor, one the "down East" tradition, originating on the frontier edges of New England and Nova Scotia, the other the "wild West" tradition finding its first expression, in any widespread sense, in the stories centering around the frontier hero, Davy Crockett. As one was the means by which the shrewd New England Yankee of clockpeddling and "wooden nutmeg" fame found expression for his quietly satirical, and clever, though homely, philosophy, so the other, with all its impossible exaggerations of incident and its humorously drawled out seriousness of telling, was at once the epic of the "big b'ar" hunter of the West and the lusty mountaineer or "agered" poor white of the South. In both classes the truth with which actual conditions were portrayed, and the naturalness and originality of the language, are predominant characteristics.

There are, however, some differences between the humor of the East and the West. The Western stories seem to depend almost entirely on incident and exaggerated adventure for their main interest, while the humor of the New England yarn lies almost as much in the portrayal of character and quaintness and appropriateness of language as it does in the farcical nature of the situation itself. The Yankee "Sam Slick" is quite a different character from the "Big Bear of Arkansas." The one is noted for what he is himself; the other for the stories he can tell. There is more of tragedy, too, inherent in the Western humorous story. Life-and-death encounters with bears, dark nights spent in the woods

→ and Western story. The New England yarn, no matter how deeply philosophical, might be told with an occasional twinkle, but the regular wild West tall tale in all its grotesque exaggeration and serious impossibilities, had, in order to conform to convention, always to be told with a straight, if not even a long, face.

The real founder of the "down East" or New England school of frontier humor was Seba Smith, a journalist of Portland, Maine. For some time, during his initial experiences as an editor, Smith had contributed various political articles in the New England dialect to different newspapers, but it was not until 1830 that he began his "Jack Downing" series, which later gave him his great fame and success. The occasion which brought forth the first letter was a deadlock in the Maine legislature due to a stupid rivalry between two evenly-matched political parties, each of which refused to give way to the other. Smith, as well as many other people, disapproved of this foolish and wasteful political bickering, and wished to subject it to criticism which would be effective, but which would at the same time not be productive of personal ill-feeling. So it was that he conceived the idea of putting his opinions into the mouth of some country fellow, who should be perfectly "harmless." This fellow was "Jack Downing," of Downingville. Jack had come down to Portland to sell a parcel of axe-handles, bean-poles, and other things, and, while waiting for trade to pick up, strolled into the legislature and observed what was going on there. He sat down, accordingly, and wrote a long letter to his Uncle Joshua "back home," describing the whole ridiculous scene. The letter was very funny, and immediately created a demand for more of the same kind. Seba Smith was induced to carry on the series, and naturally, as he wished to increase the field of his satire, the importance and variety of the exploits of Jack Downing had to grow in proportion. Jack is given command of the Downingville mili-

or swamps, close races, and "tight fixes," which usually make up the repertory of the "ring-tailed roarer," are not really so funny when contemplated by themselves. In the manner of telling, also, there is a distinct difference between the Eastern tia and is sent up to the disputed boundary region to defend the state of Maine against the British government; he joins the army of office-seekers and hangs around the government offices waiting for a job; he carries on an elaborate political campaign to get his Uncle Joshua elected governor; he fails in this, but gets the appointment to the postmastership of Downingville for his uncle instead, and at last he winds up by becoming the first assistant and adviser of President Jackson. The president takes him into all his confidences, promotes him to the rank of major, and entrusts him with the carrying out of many of his pet schemes. Major Downing accompanies the president on his famous handshaking tour "up North," and is present when the doctor of laws degree is conferred upon him at Harvard. Through it all he remains always the same shrewd, self-seeking, calculating, "democratic" New England Yankee.

The "Jack Downing" letters became very popular and were copied in the various newspapers all over the country, and there were numerous imitations of them, especially by Charles A. Davis of the New York *Daily Advertiser*, who out and out stole Smith's "thunder," by appropriating the name of "Jack Downing" and the "down-East" style of Smith's work for the letters he himself wrote. As a means of self-protection against all this spurious publishing of "Jack Downing" letters, Smith, in 1834, published *The Life and Writings of Major Jack Downing* in book form. In this book were included some of these "letters of Major Jack Downing, which he never wrote,"—some of them very good imitations of the originals, by the way. The *Life*, quite appropriately, was dedicated to "Gineral" Jackson, and has an especially funny and

clever preface. Many of the "letters" represent really highly finished humorous writing. Haliburton in creating his character "Sam Slick" of the *Clockmaker*, and Lowell in his *Bigelow Papers* both follow the models of Jack Downing, and, as has already been observed in this study, at least two of the mid-century humorists were his acknowledged imitators.

For the Western type of frontier humor the origins are more difficult to trace, nor is it at all definitely known when the Western yarns and "tall tales" first began to be published. They seem to have been a more or less spontaneous growth and were probably circulated orally long before anyone thought of putting them into print. Even after they were published and collected a very large proportion of them remained anonymous. That the first tales to attain anything like a wide circulation were the pseudo-Davy Crockett stories seems fairly certain. These must have come out during the actual Crockett's career in Congress, a little preceding but roughly coinciding with the great days of that other noted frontiersman, Andrew Jackson. From that time on there seems to have been an almost unlimited outpouring of this kind of wild Western stuff, strongest in the forties, and continuing fairly vigorous and strong well along into the fifties. Men vied with each other as to who should tell "the biggest one," and the mass of material rolled up like a huge snowball, gaining in all-fired-ness and exaggerated impossibilities as it bowled along. There is no telling to what extent it would have grown had its development not been checked by the peculiar circumstances of the following decades. The slavery struggle became the absorbing question on the frontier as it did in other parts of the country and took up at the same time both the energies of the people and the available space in the newspapers. The spontaneous production of frontier literature was, therefore, more or less effectually stopped. Furthermore, had the war and the excited time just preceding the

war not accomplished this result the bringing of this class of writing up into the realm of "legitimate" literature later by Mark Twain would certainly have done so.

The frontier yarn, as has been noted before, grew out of actual conditions that prevailed on the frontier, and reflects almost always some characteristic phase of pioneer life. The hard conditions which had to be met, the loneliness, and consequent eagerness for any sort of communication with the outside, the nine-tenths repression and the one-tenth of abandoned hilariousness which followed, the alternate periods of sullen despair and rose-bespectacled "idealism," the cruelty and coarseness and commonness of the frontier, and withal its neighborliness and kindness, are all there in the tales. Every story, no matter how impossible, adds something to the whole vivid picture:

"The farmer was plowing in his clearing one day, when his oxen started forward and went right through a huge stump. Just as the plow reached the other side, the stump, which had been split down the middle, clamped together and caught the farmer by the seat of his homespun breeches. The neighbors come to his aid and with twenty ox-teams they succeed in hauling him out, at the same time, fortunately, pulling the stump out with him. Asked afterwards if it wasn't a considerable strain on his suspenders, the old man admits that the strain was 'considerable.' "

A crude story this, but it portrays vividly the "battle with the stumps," which the pioneer farmer had to wage. In the same way, the bear hunts and the coon hunts, the "tight fix" adventures and the all-night courtings, the excited election campaigns and the "shootings-for beef" were real incidents of frontier life. And it is of just such stories that the epic of the pioneering age was made.

Two very valuable anthologies of American frontier humor exist in the collections made by Thomas Chandler Hali-

burton, a Nova Scotian judge, and creator of "Sam Slick, the Clockmaker." For the main features of his hero, "Slick," and for the general method of his work, Haliburton had followed the Jack Downing models, but he had found it expedient also to turn into his clockmaking mill some grist from the wild Western field of humor, and he had, therefore, found it both necessary and useful to keep in close touch with the output of frontier yarns all over the "States." His two anthologies probably represent the surplus of the material he had gathered in this way—old scrap-book collections, perhaps, which he later edited and arranged for publication.* The first, *The Americans at Home*, is a group of more or less serious sketches from the "Byeways, Backwoods, and Prairies of America"; the second, *Traits of American Humour*, contains more frankly humorous pieces. A few of the titles will be suggestive of the kind of stories included: "Deaf Smith, the Texan Spy," "Hoss Allen's Apology," "The Pre-Emption Right; or, Dick Kelsey's Signature to His Land Claim," "Colonel Crockett's Adventure with a Grizzly Bear," "Three Chances for a Wife," "The Gander-Pulling," "A Tight Race Considerin'," "Johnny Beedle's Thanksgiving," "An Extraordinary Coon-Hunt," "The First Piano in Northern Illinois," "Mike Fink in a Tight Place," "The Fastest Funeral on Record," "How Mike Hooter Came Very Near 'Walloping' Arch Coony." Except in a very few cases, Haliburton gives no credit to the original author, nor does he indicate in any way where the selection came from. A great many of them, doubtless, he clipped from the New York *Spirit*. But no matter what Haliburton's sources may have been, his two anthologies of frontier literature, for completeness and variety and discriminating selection of material, are certainly unique.

An interesting manifestation of the growth of a group of

stories owing their development to more recent frontier conditions than those which produced the original tall tale is the evolution of the more modern "Paul Bunyan" stories. It is only within recent years that any interest has been taken in this epic figure of the lumber-camps—"Paul Bunyan," hero, demigod, and "super-jack." But while he has been unknown to literary men and historians, he has grown in strength and prowess all the time, so that now, when he is seemingly about to disappear again, he looms up as a very considerable figure. Making the Mississippi River, piling up the Rockies and Alleghanies, digging the Great Lakes, logging off the forests of North Dakota, plowing out Puget Sound and Hood's Canal, and building Mount Rainier are only a few of the feats which Paul already has to his credit.

Just when this interesting character first appeared it is difficult to say, but it seems very likely that he first came into existence in some "mossback" lumber-camp on the Maine frontier, and that he gradually traveled west as the lumber industry traveled west, first to Michigan and Wisconsin, then to Minnesota, and lastly—probably about 1870—to the Pacific Coast. With each new move he has taken on still more wonderful characteristics and has accomplished still more wonderful deeds—and according to many who know him he has not yet anywhere near reached the limit of his powers. The old-time lumberjacks all know him well and are glad to tell you about him if you ask them.

The name, "Paul Bunyan," in the camps seems to have several different associations. Sometimes it is the cognomen of some particularly clumsy or "queer" fellow among the loggers, sometimes it is applied to the superintendent or foreman, especially if this person is inefficient and does not know his business, and again sometimes, "Paul Bunyan" is a particularly skilful man. But it is in his other role, that of superman or demigod, that he is the most interesting, and that he is

the subject of the stories the lumberjacks tell of him. In this guise he is a very marvellous fellow, a cross, apparently, between a genuine down-East "clever feller" and a Scandinavian or possibly North American Indian god. Here are a few samples of him.

"Paul Bunyan was born in Maine. When three weeks old he rolled around so much in his sleep that he destroyed four square miles of standing timber. Then they built a floating cradle for him and anchored it off Eastport. When Paul rocked in his cradle it caused a seventy-five foot tide in the Bay of Fundy, and several villages were washed away. It was soon seen that if this kept up Nova Scotia would become an island, and Paul's parents were ordered to take him away. He couldn't be wakened, however, until the British navy was called out and fired broadsides for seven hours. When Paul stepped out of his cradle he sank seven warships and the British government seized his cradle and used the timber to build seven more. That saved Nova Scotia from becoming an island, but the tides in the Bay of Fundy haven't subsided yet."

Paul was hunting a buck one day with his dog Elmer. They hunted all over Michigan and Wisconsin, but finally, toward evening, they succeeded in bringing down the buck. Elmer, however, died of heart-failure from the exertion. Now Paul had the two carcasses on his hands, the buck carcass and the dog carcass, and he didn't know what to do with all this meat. He was quite puzzled for a while. But then Mr. Armour came up from Chicago and bought the buck carcass for \$1,000,000 and the dog for \$1,000. That was the beginning of the Armour meatpacking business.

Paul Bunyan was logging off North Dakota in the winter of the blue snow, and he was needing some water with which to ice his ice-roads. So he scooped out Lake Superior for a reservoir and got the blue ox and hitched it to his tank.

One day the ox slipped on something, and the tank tipped over and sprang a leak. That's what caused the Mississippi river.

Paul Bunyan's blue ox's name was "Babe." He was a wonderful animal, and he measured forty-two axe-handles between the eyes (or forty-two axe-handles and a tobacco box—there's some dispute about that). and he ate so much that he could never stay in the same camp more than one day because it took the tote-teams a year to a day's feed for him. Once the blacksmith, "Ole," carried one of "Babe's" shoes a mile and a half and sank a foot and a half in solid rock at every step.

Mr. Elliott, Mr. Rainier, and Mr. Puget (of the Puget Construction Company) were associated with Paul when they excavated Puget Sound. They were using an Alaska glacier for a plow, and Paul had his blue ox hitched to that. One day the blue ox shied at a school teacher with a pink parasol, and started to run away. Paul dug his heel into the earth to stop the ox and that's how Hood's Canal happened to be made. It has never been quite finished.

The logging-camp that Paul Bunyan had was so big that they had to have twenty ox-teams just to haul the prune-pits away, or else they would have to move the camp every week. They hauled the prune-pits out in the woods, and the chip-munks ate them and grew so big that people shot them for tigers. The pancake griddles in Paul's kitchen were so big that they had them greased by having flunkeys skate around on them with slabs of bacon tied to their feet. There were men in Paul's camp who had nothing else to do but to drive the salt and pepper wagons around the tables.

At present Paul is carrying on a logging business in Alaska. Every day you can see his airplanes going across the sky, for he is taking the lumber down to Mexico to build a navy for the Mexican government.

Such is Paul Bunyan, America's only epic hero since the days of Indian myth-making. Just what he is or where he came from can not be definitely known, but there seems to be some evidence that he may, in some way, be descended from the ring-tailed roarer and the crafty Down-Easter of the frontier "tall tale." Some of the very incidents which appeared in the frontier yarn appear again in somewhat different guise among the legends of the Paul Bunyan cycle. Of course this is not at all a strange phenomenon. "Good" stories traveled widely on the frontier, and it is natural enough that something should have been added to them as they were told and told again. There is in the Paul Bunyan stories that element of "stringing the tenderfoot," which is such a common characteristic of all frontier tales, and there is that exaggeration in them which is also peculiar to frontier humor. The men from the wild and woolly were not believed when they were telling the truth, so why shouldn't they tell a whopper? If they were not believed when describing an actual adventure, why not claim to have performed the impossible? Undoubtedly the "admiring" attitude of expectant listeners accounts for a very great deal of the frontier humor.

THROUGH GUINEA PIGS TO TRUTH

By ERIC T. BELL

It was a decorous, almost funereal gathering. For the directors of the United Cheese Corporation were assembled to discuss ways and means of increasing their profits ten thousand per cent without unduly pinching the gluttonous consumer.

"Before hearing these experts," the President of the Board began, indicating three fidgety gentlemen on his left, "let us recall the occasion of this meeting. My son, the Vice-President of this Corporation," he nodded proudly toward the youth in florid raiment at the farther end of the table, "served, as you know, with the A. E. F. Against my advice on his return from France he insisted upon attending Kaleyad University. His object? Let me quote his very words: 'To find out how it was possible for a nation of some seventy millions to stand up for four years under the united sluggings of civilization, and to come within half a round of winning the belt.' But what, you will ask, has all this to do with cheese? Gentlemen, he plans when he discovers them to inject the same principles of service, cooperation and efficiency into the affairs of our corporation. And, gentlemen," the President lowered his voice, "he believes that he has already made an eminently practical discovery. But let him continue in his own way."

Warmly conscious that his oration had been excellent, the President subsided, and the Vice-President lounged to his feet.

"It's just as Dad was telling you. I got next from a hunch the chemistry prof. dropped last quarter. He's a nut but he knows what he's talking about. He said it wasn't black beer, or blutwurst, or Bismark that in forty years made Ger-

many what she was, but coal tar. And he went on to prove that unless American business rubs the cobwebs out of its eyes, and sees the necessity of using scientific methods in production, the next forty years will put Germany back where she was and the rest of us on the junk pile. So I got Dad to summon this conference. He asked our efficiency expert whom we should call into consultation. He suggested we get Sir Francis Hamm from London, Dr. Erasmus Bramble-ditch from Chicago, and Herr Duns Esel from Berlin to advise us on the ins and outs of the scientific method. For the prof. said that until we get the methods of science down pat we shan't make much progress in the applications. So let us proceed to business and find out. Dad, you introduce the experts."

"Sir Francis Hamm," the President bowed graciously to the first and flabbiest gentleman on his left, "needs no introduction. Already the brightest star in the legal firmament of England when the war broke out, he still scintillates before the public with undiminished eloquence. His grasp of party politics is exceeded by none in Great Britain or Cork, and his record as orator-in-chief of the Royal Munitions Commission is unique. I have the privilege of presenting Sir Francis Hamm, who will share with you his invaluable summary of the scientific method. Sir Francis," he concluded jovially, "regards us as the enemy, and our intelligence as a fort which you must capture and hold at all costs."

So Hamm rather forlornly began the attack. "The professional scientists have it all wrong," he stammered. "What they call science isn't science at all. And as for the scientific method, they don't know what it means. Now, it really is like this. Nature is one but her laws are many.

"The problem is, Given the one to find the many. What could be simpler?

"To solve it let us in the well known manner assume it

solved. Then all the required laws will have been reduced to words. Now what are words but collocations of letters? Some words mean one thing, some another, and one means nothing; but one and all they are just so many ones or twos or threes or how-manys-you-will of letters more or less philologically arranged. Therefore in our analysis all the laws of nature will have been split up into their Lucretian atoms, their indestructible, infinitely small, infinitely hard letters. So much for our analysis, our picking to pieces.

"Now for our synthesis, our tacking-together of the ultimate particles of meaning into majestic laws of nature! It is too easy; truly it is too ridiculously simple. All we have to do is to engrave all the letters of all the alphabets, each letter an infinitude of times, on little rectangles of steel, one letter to a rectangle, and arrange the engravings in a row or gallery, necessarily of unlimited length. Need I go on?"

"Perhaps not," the President replied. "But why steel? Wouldn't calling-cards do?"

"No. You don't understand. Cardboards might fribble away; steel won't. You see we must rearrange the letters in that limitless row in all possible orders—shift them about in every conceivable and inconceivable way. At the end of every shift, whether it has been of one letter only, or of billions upon billions of them, we must pause and con the whole row of letters carefully over from beginning to end. In shuffling we must do the little shifts as well as the big, for Truth delights to sing herself through the short words no less than through the long; and our neglect to read over the whole row after a simple transposition of two letters might, for all we know, deprive us of her wisest utterance. Now if that grand row on being shuffled and read as I have prescribed makes sense it is a law of nature; if it makes nonsense, or a limerick, or a presidential address it is an abomination—your pardon! I did not mean to be discourteous in attack. But you follow

the argument, don't you? All the laws are reducible ultimately to letters; therefore, in the last synthesis, all of the letters are laws—or the other things, which we can reject if we don't relish them."

His eagerness was pathetic. "Your method is excellent," the President said, "but for one thing. Not only the best armor plate but all the alphabets of the universe and all their pregnant meanings would rust, dead of old age, aeons before you discovered so elementary a truth as that twice two is what it is."

"Oh, but let me try it!" he pleaded, "and I'll convince this Board of Directors to a man. I know it is feasible, for recently I found out by that very method how to refrigerate a chicken. I had tried everything—hot ovens, red-hot ovens, the Sahara Desert, steambottles—every blessed thing that might possibly work, before I thought of the alphabets. And do you know what they answered? 'Try ice. If you can't get ice, try snow. If you can't get snow, pack your head in scraped frost and sal ammoniac and boil it in a clothespot.' The frost worked! It had taken me fifty-seven years of incessant experimenting to find the law. Yet, did I grudge Nature her tithe of labor? Not I. The Truth will out, even about chickens!"

Although the President still seemed but half convinced several of the Directors were won. Hamm's brilliant exposition of the scientific method and his dramatic finale of the refrigerated fowl were as effective as a forty centimetre shell against a mud hut. The Board's outer defenses hopelessly battered, it would be a mere mopping-up operation for Bramble-ditch to rush in and consolidate the gain. He fidgeted impatiently for the President's introduction.

But the President was still ruminating. Presently his eyes brightened, and he rose.

"It has just occurred to me," he said, "that Sir Francis Hamm's method offers us the first complete solution of a

problem which has engaged the greatest humorists, from Ignatius Donnelly to Mark Twain. Until a moment ago I never saw how it was possible for such a stupid man as Shakespeare to have written Bacon's plays. Now, of course, it is plain. Bacon simply gave Shakespeare the alphabets, and shuffling did the rest. And the fact that Shakespeare's classics are so weak is conclusive proof that Bacon forgot to give him the Greek and Latin alphabets. This brilliant achievement of Sir Francis Hamm's method, gentlemen, is to my mind sufficient argument that we adopt it forthwith in our business. We already have the material in our card catalogues and an efficient clerical force to do the shuffling. But not to disappoint these other experts who have travelled so far to be with us, let us hear what they have to add. I now introduce to you Dr. Erasmus Brambleditch, President of the Chicago Correspondence University for Unemployed Employment Managers."

Brambleditch was on his feet instantly. "Hamm erred fundamentally," he began. "The scientific method is purely a mental aroma. It has no concern either with permutations and combinations or with their consequent improbabilities. Again, in any application of science to business practice we must not overlook the human element. Without due regard to the factor of adaptability the large employer certainly will engage a nomadic paranoiac as his confidential secretary merely because her hair is up to the accepted gold standard. Gentlemen, we must test character, weigh personality and sift susceptibilities in the impersonal crucibles of science. The rough and ready estimate of the eye belongs to the past."

"Do you mean we should give all our employees an intelligence test?" the Vice-President enquired uneasily. He was a kindhearted young man, and he remembered his own performance under the Army 'alpha test' and the unbroken spell of K. P. duty which it won him.

"Yes and no," Brambleditch admitted diplomatically. "You are right of course when you refer the scientific method to a system of precise measurements of the mind. Now I know all that is to be known about mind, for my daring plummet was the first to be let down into that unfathomable well of being. First then I shall acquaint you very succinctly with my epoch-making experiments which revealed to me the true nature of mind. Second—but there need be no second. The essence of the scientific method as applied to human personality will flow out as an easy consequence of my first."

He pulled himself together and whirled on like a windmill. "I began my researches with guinea pigs. These intelligent little creatures could not fail, I well knew, to orient my consciousness toward an understanding of the mind, and particularly of the human mind. I crossed and crisscrossed them without gaining much to show for all my industry but more—many more—guinea pigs. Some of the progeny were black, some brown, and not a few were beautifully piebald like raisin cookies. For longer than I am willing to confess I noticed nothing, drew no inference, from their manifold misbehaviour. None was to be drawn, at least as yet.

"I had been too deeply engrossed in the data's luxuriant father-and-mother-love to notice the overpowering truth my materials were doing their dumb best to convey. Gradually—such is the osmotic pressure of Nature!—this truth diffused itself into and through my consciousness. I began to suspect an odor. The hint was enough. I was supersaturated! My zeal flamed up like a bonfire. How I tracked the scent from province to province of the animal kingdom would probably not interest you, gentlemen, who as yet have been untouched by the scientific spirit, nor will you appreciate the significance of that crowning achievement of mine which put me in the front rank of scientists as a breeder of smells. Where all before me had failed pitifully I succeeded. I met the chem-

ists on their own field and routed them. For I crossed civets with muskrats and produced a veritable flower garden of an animal—a new species of vertebrate tuberoses!

“Here your second-rate experimenter would have been content to rest. But not I. All my guinea pigs, all my eugenic civet-rats, yes! even all my notoriety were but the teredo-proof piles on which to base my towering superstructure of reason. For it is the cathedral of theory reared moonward from the immobile foundations of coordinated fact, and not those necessary though humble foundations themselves, that elevates the true scientist above the dull plodder, architectonics above rude carpentry.”

“I must agree with you,” Hamm broke in enviously; “but what has all this to do with cheese or guinea pigs? For anything you have said so far, old what’s-his-name back in Venice might just as well have built his campanile from the cupola down, instead of from the piles up. No! for mercy’s sake don’t stop to argue. Get on! I’m all one ache to hear what the mind is, and what *it* smells of.”

“Nothing!” Brambleditch exclaimed triumphantly. “There is no mind. It doesn’t exist. That is my theory, and I smelt it all out of my own behavior, or savor,—or mind, if you are still prejudiced in favor of a nonentity.”

“But where does intelligence come in?” the Vice-President hazarded.

“Nowhere.”

This simple conclusion demolished whatever remained of the Board’s defenses. To a man they felt themselves scientists of the first rank. But Brambleditch like many another conqueror in the crimson flush of victory was merciless. Not content to leave his masterpiece untouched and let the Board pay whatever price he cared to ask for it as an incomprehensible palladium of the divine genius, he began to daub it over with esthetic names, and to cover up its perfectly modest,

natural indecencies with a sort of crazy-quilt of insane commentary or art-criticism. At least this is what Hamm confided to the reporters after the Board's momentous decision was announced. Hamm of course was probably suffering from acute professional jealousy. Brambleditch, he declared, had achieved his first three reputations and his first five millions as the promoter of a new and astounding theory of the beautiful. This, according to Hamm, was all one formidable sound and fury of technical contradictions in terms for the pseudo-scientific discrimination of one gush from another. But all that is best forgotten; Brambleditch has long been ashamed of its inhuman reasonableness.

As gradually the clamor of Hamm ceased to resound through the marble corridors the President stood up to introduce the remaining expert.

"Herr Esel," he stammered, struggling with his embarrassment, "my task is one of great delicacy. For as you are aware our nations are not yet on speaking terms with one another. So you will please consider anything that I may say as a bad dream. I am not really talking to you; all your sensations to the contrary are mere illusions. I imported you solely on the advice of my efficiency expert. He says that according to your own estimate you are the greatest living authority on the scientific method. Is he right?"

"Assuredly. I have no competitor."

"Excellent. It is one of the first principles of sound business psychology to accept a man at his own valuation. A 'good front' is the infallible index to success. We believe, you see, in the well-dressed show window. Gentlemen, I present to you the leading scientific authority of the age."

Esel displayed a remarkable command of our stubborn tongue. "Hamm," he began, "in making an ass of himself made a good point. But he had it all wrong about the problem of science. Nature is not one, as he said, but many. It is

her laws that are one. And so, ascending to a higher synthesis and looking down on her, we perceive nature herself through her confocalizing laws as the one. Here, you see, I follow Brambleditch. For what are nature's laws but manifold evidences of her misconduct? Need we then hypothecate a nature at all? Why cannot we identify the Lady Nature with her manifest acts—the one with the many, the sweet maiden flower with her enchanted bees and memorable fragrances?"

"It seems to me," Brambleditch cut in, "that you have hamstrung your argument. So far as I can make out you now have both nature and her laws many. Every time you bring the two together you guinea-pig them."

"You are as fatheaded as Hamm. In the obvious sense of discreteness any fool can see that the laws of nature are many. But in the ideal sense the laws are one. For if you add two laws together don't you always get another—or possibly nonsense?"

"Oh," Brambleditch apologized, "if you meant it that way, all right. Go ahead. I see I'm not such a dummy as I thought you were."

"Before going ahead," Esel continued, "I must go back. Like Hamm I am a philosopher, only much more so. He was right when he said the professional scientists know nothing either of science or of the scientific method. To form a just estimate of these matters you must appeal the philosophers, for philosophy still is queen of the universe, and she rules her domain with a hand of iron and a head of brass. I am glad your expert gave you my name. You are progressive, and science is the very light of progress. The method, the time-spirit, of science is progress itself. If you would learn the secret of science follow me and I will show you progress. How can I do this better than by acquainting you with the latest achievement of philosophy, the all-embracing theory of rela-

tivity? If you understand that, nothing in science, pure or applied, need baffle you."

"But I thought Einstein invented relativity," the Vice-President murmured. He had derived his misinformation from the inaccurate press.

"Bah! Einstein knows nothing of relativity. We philosophers had it all centuries ago. What is true in his system he pilfered from us. The nonsense alone is his invention."

"Can it be applied to the cheese industry?" a timid Director asked.

"Why not? Follow me and I will show you how. Progress, absolute or relative, is purely ideal. To use a senseless metaphor it is all a matter of the mind—a sort of accelerated memory. For that matter, using 'matter' in the technical sense I have just defined, all matter is relatively a sort of mental gravitation, and so also is all memory. The instantaneous progression we are now accomplishing is nothing but the acceleration of time, or, what amounts to the same thing, the free generation of our minds—nay, our very minds themselves. From this stands revealed the true mystery of mind and its unveiling, my Equivalence Hypothesis of Mentality! And what is this last secret of progress, this first and last principle of science? It is this: A given mind is equivalent to the algebraic sum of all those events in time by which it may be replaced or which it may replace; it is those events, those shapes of itself of which it is cognizant."

"Why *algebraic* sum?" the Vice-President whispered.

"Why? Why not? The question is worthy only of a mere scientist. Because future events must be taken positively, past events negatively. The present may be neglected, for past and future meeting in the present, obviously nothing can happen in the now. Keeping an eye always on the positive curvature of time you now see that by merely thinking backward at a uniform speed you can undo events, but not the

mind. I now command you to increase your speed, to put yourself in your mind's place and to think of it, like a rising body, attaining its maximum of uncommon sense with a uniform negative acceleration. Do not you see that in order to reduce the mind to imbecility it is only necessary to accelerate your present 'state of mind' negatively? Doing so you must of course run over backward not only the gross shadows of reason—events—but also the thinking process itself."

"My mind is a perfect blank," the President sighed, staring vacantly at the ceiling.

"Ah, you have succeeded! Now we can remodel the future to our own desires. For by thinking fast enough from our state of absolute rest we can by sheer imagination create the present; out of this, merely by thinking faster we can devise tomorrow, and from that accomplished thought the day after, and so ad infinitum. But we must be careful not to think too fast. For it is an established principle of science that when the speed of a thought approaches the velocity of omniscience, or Light Eternal, the mass of that thought tends towards infinity. In the universe thus packed solid with highly electrified, unscratchable nonsense, none of us could make a move. Progress would have ceased, and in fact an inspiration to adjourn would be the only motion in order."

"And is this then relativity?" the President sighed.

"Nothing less. The true, philosophic principle."

"I move that we adjourn." It was the Vice-President coming out of his stupor.

"Hold on," cried an alert Director. "How about the cheese?"

Esel turned on him with pity. "Haven't I shown you that all things are mere matters of motion? That all motion is inversely relative to a mental state? And what are fluctuations in the price of any commodity but the motion of an ideal point up or down an arbitrary scale?"

"I see it all," the President shouted. "To save our souls we must lose them; to raise the price of cheese we must first lower it."

"Sound finance, Dad," the Vice-President agreed. "More than once they have used that kind of science to squeeze the tar out of the bears in the wheat pit. I move we adopt the scientific method."

The motion carried, and next morning the pleased consumer learned from his newspaper that henceforth the great Corporation was to be run on strictly scientific principles. For a week all went skyward. Then disaster rocked the commonwealth to its foundations. In pursuance of Hamm's method the card-shuffling clerks discovered that twice two is eight. Following Brambleditch's suggestion the divorced President married his janitress because she reminded him of a honey-suckle. She proved a Delilah, and he an easy Samson. It was at her suggestion that the President accepted the Hammian result of his scientific clerks at its face value and cut the price of cheese ninety per cent. It was she who persuaded him that by standing on his head according to Esel's instructions and reading the quotations in that position he must still see cheese at the top of the sky. The bottom dropped out of the market, and for six weeks the ultimate consumer rioted through a saffron haze of Welsh rarebits and nightmares, only to succumb at the last to an inglorious indigestion.

AN INTELLECTUAL BREVIARY FOR THE YOUTH OF SPANISH AMERICA

By G. W. UMPHREY

In the year 1900 there appeared in Montevideo a small book that has exerted a remarkable influence upon the intellectual and spiritual life of the young men of Spanish America. This book, entitled *Ariel* and written by Jose Enrique Rodo, Professor of Literature in the National University of Uruguay, set forth in language of imperishable beauty the ideals that the author wished to instil into the minds and hearts of his students. With its publication the range of the teacher's influence was immeasurably widened; the walls of the class-room fell away and all the thinking youth of a continent listened to the inspired words of the master.

The frequency with which *Ariel* has been republished and the unanimity with which intellectual leaders have accepted it as the expression of Spanish-American ideals stand as proof that it offers a philosophy of life that makes a strong appeal to educated people of Spanish America. It is worthy of careful study as a masterpiece of serious literature; it is especially interesting for the light that it throws on the type of civilization that is being developed in a considerable part of the New World. Moreover, in connection with his discussion of the rational conception of life, the author devotes several pages to the United States. We may not agree with the unfavorable judgment that he passes upon us as a nation, much more unfavorable than it would have been had he written the book seventeen or eighteen years later; his keen analysis of our strong and weak points is interesting, however, in that it gives the impression produced by our civilization twenty years ago upon a South American of wide erudition and cosmopolitan attainments.

Before entering into a discussion of the philosophy of life presented in *Ariel*, let us attempt to get the author's point of view in the brief consideration of certain facts of his life and writings. Jose Enrique Rodo was born in Montevideo in 1872 and spent almost all his life in his native city. He received his early education in the first lay school established in Uruguay. Religious instruction was left to his parents and from them he learned the Roman Catholic doctrine stripped of all narrow clericalism. In a home atmosphere of culture and refinement was laid the foundation for the cosmopolitan breadth of outlook and the passion for truth and beauty that were to set their seal upon his life and all his literary productions. As student later in the University of Montevideo he followed his inclinations rather than the prescribed courses and did not graduate. In his twenty-third year he was one of the founders of a literary periodical that was widely influential in Spanish America during its three years of existence, although not financially successful, *La Revista Nacional de Literatura y Ciencias Sociales*. In 1898 he became Professor of Literature in the National University. Three years later he resigned in order to enter politics. Elected twice to the House of Representatives, he did not remain long in active politics; political intrigue was very distasteful to him and his uncompromising idealism lost for him the support of his party.

His chief and abiding interest throughout life was in literature and philosophy. Journalism drew him at times from the seclusion of a life of study, meditation and literary composition; not because of any personal ambition but because of the conviction that the writer who refuses to give at least part of his time to the promotion of his ideals by means of the daily press selfishly neglects his duty to country and humanity. Shortly after the outbreak of the War he was induced to go to Europe as foreign correspondent for a literary

magazine of Buenos Aires, *Caras y Caretas*. While in Palermo he was suddenly taken by death on May 1, 1917.

The literary work of Rodo is contained in three or four volumes, small in bulk for one who devoted himself so assiduously to literature. This is accounted for, in part, by the shortness of his literary career; the main explanation lies in his method of composition. Careful investigation and deep meditation always preceded literary composition. The form of literature best suited to the calm deliberation with which he gave definite expression to the results of his study and meditation was the essay. This was with him a favorite form of composition and even when he did not actually use it, as in his most important book, *Motivos de Proteo*, his method of composition was still that of the essayist. Appearing at long intervals, his books came to be looked upon as great literary events. During the twenty years from the publication of his first notable essay in 1897 until his death in 1917 he built up for himself a solid reputation that placed him in a unique position in the intellectual life of the Southern Continent; he became, by common consent, the chief spokesman for the highest thought and ideals of all Spanish America.

The most complete expression of Rodo's philosophy is to be found in *Motivos de Proteo*, a book of one hundred and fifty-eight chapters, some of them containing only a score of lines, others covering several pages. The book does not follow any definite, preconceived plan; it might be described as a journal or record of the author's intellectual and spiritual experiences, treated objectively and adapted to educational uses. In the one hundred and fifty-eight more or less detached chapters he presents ideas gained by observation and meditation; ideas assimilated from many years' intensive study of philosophy, psychology and literature; examples and illustrations drawn from the whole range of history and literature; short stories, apologues and parables, invented and related with masterly skill to clarify and enforce his meaning

or to give point to an idea. Any attempt to give in a paragraph the substance of such a book would be futile. The connecting thread of thought is indicated by the title. *Proteo*, or Proteus, symbolizes eternal change in the individual as in any organized society; the human personality, capable of infinite possibilities of development, is in a continuous process of formation. *Reformarse es vivir*, self-renewal is life—this is the key-note of the book.

The value of *Motivos de Proteo* does not lie in its originality; it does not offer any new system of philosophy. A philosopher in the original sense of the word, Rodo consecrated his life to the pursuit of truth; novelty in itself had no attraction for him. His chief concern as student, thinker and writer was to select the fundamental truths of philosophy and to combine them into an harmonious system that might serve as the basis for the complete development in the individual of all the human faculties and as the basis for the continual progress of all humanity. The value of the book lies in the application of old truths to new conditions of human existence; it lies, too, in the unsurpassed literary skill with which the author expresses profound ideas in clear and beautiful prose. In all his writings there is the happy combination of artistic expression and deep philosophic thought. The fine rhythmic phrasing and his felicitous diction, exquisite in the adjustment of word to thought, have gained for him a place among the greatest masters of Spanish prose.

Ariel, an essay of more than a hundred pages, is a less pretentious work than *Motivos de Proteo* and does not present Rodo in his full maturity of thought. It is, however, a masterpiece of Spanish-American literature; it is still the most popular of all that Rodo wrote; it lends itself more readily to our purpose, namely the discussion of the ideals and aspirations that are offered to the thinking youth of Spanish America by their acknowledged master and intellectual guide.

II

Ariel is a lay sermon addressed primarily to young men as they leave college to take up the serious duties of life. To give to it an artistic setting and to lessen the inconsistency between the twenty-eight years of the author and the mature and serious wisdom of the ideas expressed, Rodo imagined a group of students listening for the last time to their old and beloved teacher, known affectionately by the name of the wise magician of Shakespeare's *Tempest*. The name, Prospero, appropriate because of his character and ideals as a teacher, had been suggested to his students by a bronze statue that stood near him as he lectured and that harmonized so completely with the ideals that he stressed in his teaching—a beautiful statue representing Ariel, the “airy spirit,” at the moment of taking flight when released by the magic of Prospero. Ariel, spirit of the air, symbolizing the highest aspirations of the human spirit, is invoked by the master as he now makes his last appeal to the ideality of the young men in front of him and attempts to put before them the intellectual and spiritual ideals that he would have them follow in life.

In the preliminary part of the exhortation we find the familiar truths of commencement addresses, ideas and sentiments that are appropriate to the occasion and that can well stand repetition because of their fundamental nature. Expressed in the language of one of the greatest masters of Spanish prose and vitalized by apostolic fervor, they are not at first recognized as familiar truths; moreover, they are directed to youth, not to those of us who have become familiar with commencement addresses.

The advancement of civilization is dependent upon the progressive development of the individual; only those who have raised themselves by their individual efforts are worthy of a place in an advanced state of civilization and they alone are capable of enjoying its fruits. The achievements of any

generation are the sum total of the achievements of the individuals that compose it, a truth that cannot be repeated too often in these days when the belief is so prevalent that social reform can be effected by legislation alone.

Human progress needs the forcefulness and the enthusiasm of youth. The future of the world belongs to the nations and races that preserve collectively these youthful qualities, just as in the past the civilization of Ancient Greece was given enduring vitality by its spirit of eternal youth. Christianity, unjustly accused of having brought sadness into the world by its proscription of the joyousness of paganism, was accompanied in the lifetime of Christ and in the early centuries of the Christian era by the enthusiasm and hopefulness of youth. Its rejuvenation of the spirit, manifesting itself in a new and ingenuous joy of living, resisted alike the decrepitude of the worldly-minded and the severity of the stoics.

The forcefulness of youth, its self-confidence, enthusiasm and idealism, must be renewed with each successive generation, if the efforts of the few who refuse to be discouraged by life's disillusionments are not to be rendered futile by the indifference and pessimism of the many. The inherent optimism of youth is an irresistible force, but it must be wisely directed and it must be optimism of the creative sort. That superficial optimism which believes that everything is best in this best of all possible worlds, that shuts its eyes to the stern realities of life and shuns knowledge for fear of disillusionment, is, manifestly, of little value to the world. Fortunately, the optimism that is inherent in youth, is very different; it is the optimism that faces valiantly life's problems, its doubts and scepticisms and sorrows; it is the optimism that recognizes gladly the good that has been achieved; looking forward with faith and courage, it advances toward the achievement of still greater good.

With the statement that present-day civilization is

greatly in need of the enthusiasm, hopefulness and strength of youth, Prospero begins his exposition of the ideals that he would have his students accept for their guidance in life.

Modern civilization is highly complex and has made necessary intensive specialization. In this specialization lies the chief danger that besets the harmonious development in the individual of all his faculties. Just as a large factory forces the employee to spend all his energies in a single mechanical detail, so modern civilization tends to confine to one small phase of life the interests of the business or professional man, the scholar or artist. This exclusive specialization is not necessary for the attainment of success in any vocation and should be resisted for the good of the individual and for the good of society. "More potent than the inclinations that carry you individually to different vocations and different modes of living should be, within each of you, the consciousness of the fundamental unity of our nature, which demands that each individual be, before all else, an un mutilated specimen of humanity, in which no noble faculty of the spirit is neglected and in which no interest that is common to all loses its communicative virtue."

Even more dangerous to the individual and to society than exclusive vocational specialization in the life of the world is the tendency to premature specialization in education. Much may still be learned from the Athenian ideal of culture with its insistence upon the harmonious development of all the faculties.

In words of intense conviction and impressive seriousness he urges youth not to permit the encroachment of material success and utilitarian ideals upon the rights of the spirit. "I beg of you," he says, "to defend yourself, in the conflict of life, against the mutilation of the spirit by the tyranny of a single and selfish objective. Never give to utility or to passion more than a part of yourselves. Even

within material bondage the liberty of the mind and spirit may be preserved. The slavery of your spirit cannot find justification in the exigencies of business or professional life."

Appealing to the efficacy of the parable for the teaching of abstract truths, he evokes from a dusty corner of his memory the story of a certain hospitable king of the Orient. In an exquisite pen-picture he describes the palace of this hospitable king. All its magnificent rooms were thrown wide open to any who wished to enter—all except one small room far within the interior of the palace. To this room to which he alone had access retired from time to time for self-communion this legendary king. "There he had his day-dreams; there he was free from all worldly claims; there his gaze was turned inward and in meditation his thoughts were rounded and polished like pebbles by the wash of the tide; above his head hovered Psyche on outspread wings." Within each of us there should be a similar sanctuary unprofaned by worldly thoughts, a holy of holies to which we may retire for self-communion.

How are we to prevent the encroachment of materialism upon the rights of the spirit?

In the opinion of Rodo, whom we might well describe as an Athenian of the Twentieth Century because of his ability to harmonize in his own life as well as in his writings an intense love of beauty with a deeply religious conception of life, the cultivation of the esthetic sense is of prime importance in spiritual growth. Several pages of the essay are given to the thesis that ethics and esthetics are inseparable. They have been separated at various times in history, but always to the detriment of civilization; in Italy of the Renaissance, for example, or in England at the time of the Puritans. He admits that morality may be taught and practised without reference to esthetics, but the highest morality cannot thus be attained,

and the moralist who neglects the cultivation of the esthetic sense loses thereby a most effective auxiliary. "I consider it indisputable," he says, "that he who has learned to distinguish the vulgar from the refined, the ugly from the beautiful, will have little difficulty in distinguishing the good from the evil." Although it is quite true that the possession of good taste is not in itself proof of moral rectitude, the cultivation of the esthetic sense will surely be more effective for the raising of moral standards than intolerant asceticism. "According as humanity advances the moral law will be conceived more and more clearly as an esthetic law of conduct. Men will shun evil and error as they would a discord; they will seek good as they would the pleasure that comes from harmony." Truth and beauty, justice and harmony, are inseparably related.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the incessant cultivation of the esthetic sense, not only because of its importance in the harmonious development of all the faculties, but also for the reason that it is the first to feel the malignant influence of narrow specialization and utilitarianism. Many are the young men who go out into the world with their spirits open to the delights of beauty in all its manifestations; few are they in whom the esthetic faculties are not dulled by the narrowing routine of life. The beautiful creations of art, neglected by the masses, exert their stimulating and spiritualizing force upon the small minority.

The advantages of a rational conception of life, the free and harmonious development of all the faculties, are apparent. How can we explain, then, the wide diffusion of the utilitarian conception during the second half of the nineteenth century? Two causes have been generally accepted, the revelations of the natural sciences and the rapid growth of democracy. To this second cause Rodo gives special attention.

In approaching the discussion of democracy and its influence upon the rational conception of life for the individual

and for society, Rodo realizes the difficulty of the task that confronts him. He is well aware that the democratic conception of government is an essential part of modern civilization, that democracy and science form the fundamental basis of social life as it is and as it will be. Moreover, unlike the disillusioned philosophers of the later nineteenth century, he has entire faith in democracy, if properly defined and directed. With his mind open to all the objections that have been made against democracy and fully aware of the many mistakes made in its name, he offers us an ardent defense of the democratic ideal.

First comes the theoretical objection based on the revelations of science. Just as the species advances toward perfection through the process of selection, so civilization advances through the selection and survival of the best and strongest elements of social life. Democratic institutions, founded on the equalitarian conception, are concerned primarily with the greatest good for the greatest number; the inevitable result, in theory as it has been in fact, is the setting up of a quantitative criterion rather than a qualitative, the exaltation of the mediocre and commonplace, self-complacent indifference on the part of the average man to everything that does not affect his material welfare. The commonplace ideals of such a democracy look with indifference, if not suspicion, upon the development of the higher faculties of mind and spirit, upon culture in the best and broadest sense of the word.

The tendency of democratic institutions has been, then, toward narrow utilitarianism and commonplace ideals. Especially has this been true in the New World because of pioneer conditions, the rapid growth of population by the influx of uneducated immigrants, the mistaken conception of equality. Fortunately it is as yet only a tendency; civilization in the New World is in a formative state and is readily susceptible to the influence of the young men who go out into the

world with the high ideals that are consistent with the rational conception of life. The hope of democracy lies in universal education and in the universal acceptance of its true meaning.

Liberty, fraternity and equality may still be considered as the essential principles of democracy if they are rightly defined. The definitions of liberty and fraternity need little discussion; it is the misconception of equality that has caused the most harm.

Equality as a basic principle of democracy does not mean equality of capacity and accomplishment; its real significance is equality of opportunity. All rational beings are endowed by nature with faculties capable of development; it is the duty of any social organism to offer to all its members conditions favorable to the development of these faculties; then, according to the mysterious elections of nature or according to the meritorious effort of the individual will, inequalities are freely produced. Starting on the initial basis of equality of opportunity there is freely developed an aristocracy that has for its foundation a real superiority of character, of intellect and of spirit, very different from the traditional aristocracy dependent upon birth and special privilege. This new kind of aristocracy will be accepted in the future as an essential part of democracy according as education becomes more diffused and according as the old equalitarian conception, tending inevitably to hopeless mediocrity because of its levelling process, gives place to the real meaning of democratic equality.

True democracy will combine and harmonize the best elements of the two greatest civilizing forces of history, Hellenism and Christianity, purifying each of its vitiating factors and preserving only the best of each. "From the spirit of Christianity is born the fraternal sentiment of equality, vitiated by a certain disdain for spiritual selection and culture. From the inheritance of the classic civilizations come the feeling for order, for hierarchy, and the religious respect for gen-

ius, vitiated by a certain contempt for the humble and weak. The future will synthesize both suggestions of the past in an immortal formula that will become the basis for a new democracy."

Having set forth his conception of the rational conception of life, having discussed utilitarianism and its dangers, having defined real democracy and the place that it is to occupy in the gradual realization of the ideals that pertain to a rational conception of existence, Rodo turns from theory to an analysis of the type of civilization that has developed in the most powerful republic of modern times, the United States of North America. In justice to the Uruguayan philosopher we should keep in mind that he wrote this essay twenty years ago and was naturally influenced, in spite of the keenness of his penetration, by the ideas that were current at that time. The traditional conceptions of our national life were given a shock in South America by our entrance into the War with all our resources in defence of ideals. Had Rodo been writing his essay seventeen or eighteen years later he would have been one of the first to recognize that our ideals as a nation were on a higher plane than generally supposed.

In his analysis of our civilization he finds many elements and aspirations worthy of admiration and these he puts down with considerable enthusiasm. He recognizes the fact that to the United States is due a new conception of liberty, which, converted with admirable logic from an abstract concept into a living reality, has become an irresistible force in modern civilization. To the United States is due also a new conception of the dignity of labor and the opprobrium of idleness, irrespective of inherited wealth or social position. There the cult of self-reliance and energy has made each man the molder of his own destiny. While jealously guarding their rights as individuals the people of the United States have known how to achieve through cooperation marvellous results in in-

dustry and philanthropy. With an insatiable thirst for practical knowledge and an abiding faith in education, they have made the public school the hinge of their prosperity. Their culture, neither refined nor spiritual, is wonderfully efficient for the realization of definite ends. Without having contributed a single general law, a single principle to science, they have surpassed all others in the ingenious application of scientific principles. Much of the piety of the Puritans is retained in their religion; although lacking on the side of spirituality, it is efficient in the maintenance of high moral standards. That the body may be an efficient servant of the mind and the will, physical culture receives due attention. Optimism, faith and hope are dominant notes in their national life as in the *Excelsior* and *Psalm of Life* of their poets. Strength of will and tireless energy, originality and audacity give a tone of epic grandeur to what would become, otherwise, vulgar materialism.

Granted, then, that the Anglo-American republic has gained a place in the forefront of nations because of national qualities that are worthy of considerable admiration, would imitation on the part of Spanish-American countries be beneficial? Assuredly not, answers Rodo, addressing the youth of Spanish America. In the first place, imitation cannot be commended in the individual or in any organized society if it means the sacrifice of individuality, the surrender of the essential characteristics that distinguish one individual or nation from other individuals or other nations. In the second place, the Spanish-American countries belong, by traditions and by character, to the Latin race; the civilization inherited from Spain must be retained as the fundamental basis of future progress. "We Spanish-Americans must not forget," he says, "that we have a racial inheritance, a great ethnic tradition to maintain, a sacred tie that binds us to immortal pages of history."

Moreover, if the rational conception of life as opposed to

the purely utilitarian is to serve as a guide to youth of Spanish America, imitation of the United States cannot be recommended; on the contrary, its influence, already assuming the proportions of a moral conquest, must be held within narrow limits if not entirely checked. The civilization of the United States, unless it is considered merely as a transitional stage, the crudeness of which is due to pioneer and temporary conditions, is a serious menace to the ideals that make for the highest type of civilization.

However great his admiration for the achievements of the United States, the general impression that Rodo gained from his study of its civilization was one of insufficiency and spiritual emptiness. The general acceptance of utility as the principal criterion of value; the tendency to set up material success as the chief aim of life; the incessant absorption in work and in the pursuit of material pleasure; the inability to use the time of leisure for meditation or spiritual recreation; such conditions are not favorable for the development of high ideals. English traditions, implanted in the New World, would seem to have retained all their positivistic tendencies with little of their idealism. Whereas in England the institutions of aristocracy, unjust and anachronistic though they be from a political point of view, have served as a bulwark against the spirit of commercialism; in the United States a false conception of democratic equality and a widespread indifference to genuine culture have resulted in complacent satisfaction with the mediocre and commonplace. In spite of great art collections, public and private, art is divorced from life; good taste and a genuine love of the beautiful belong to a very small minority. Philosophy and science that are concerned with the discovery of truth for its own sake arouse little interest; investigation must have a definite and practical end in view. Public education diffuses the fundamental elements of knowledge efficiently and generously; controlled by

the accepted principle of the greatest good for the greatest number, it does not concern itself with the needs of those who have the worthy ambition of rising above the general mediocrity. The result is universal semi-culture in which quality is sacrificed to quantity. The utilitarian conception of life has invaded the domain of the spirit, converting religion into the practical morality of a Benjamin Franklin.

The logical results of the growing utilitarianism and complacent satisfaction with commonplace ideals are already apparent in public and private life; wealth becomes an irresistible force and political dishonesty a venial sin. Particularly in the Western States are to be seen the natural fruits of the spirit that has guided the powerful democracy since its origin. There the domination of utilitarian ideals is unrestrained and the levelling process that is supposed to be essential to democracy is complete. In the West the cultural traditions of an earlier generation are disdained as being characteristic of a reactionary and effete East.

So complacent are the North Americans in their material prosperity that they take it for granted that the special kind of civilization evolved in their country cannot but become universal; they cannot understand why other countries persist in refusing to acknowledge its superiority. Confidence in their destiny does not waver; the hub of the universe, they believe, must in time gravitate to their national capital.

Refusing in the name of the spirit to accept the utilitarianism of the United States as the best type of civilization, Rodo willingly admits once more that the Northern Republic has much to offer the world that can well be accepted. A certain amount of material welfare is indispensable as foundation for the rational conception of life. Just as surely as history shows a very definite relation between material progress and the advance of idealism, so in the future advancing civilization will owe much to the United States. The civiliz-

ation of that great country is a menace, however, in its present state of development; happily we can find in it sufficient grounds for believing that the present state is merely transitory. With its immense energy and adaptability, it is not at all probable that its evolution will continue to follow a single and exclusive course. "Let us hope that the spirit of that Titanic social organism, that has been up to the present *will* and *utility* only, may become in time intelligence, feeling and ideality."

Approaching the end of his exhortation, Prospero urges the young men in front of him to be always mindful of the great responsibility that rests upon them and the other young men of Spanish America. Upon them depends the kind of civilization that is to develop in a large part of the New World. They must have ideals and they must have confidence in their ability to make these a reality; they must have strength of will and perseverance of effort; their chief incentive must be the vision of a new and greater civilization. "Every man who consecrates himself to the propagation and defence, in contemporary America, of a disinterested ideal—art, science, morality, religion, political idealism—must educate his will in the persistent cult of the future. The past belonged to the arm of the fighter; the present belongs to him who levels and constructs; the future will offer the stage, the setting and the atmosphere for the development of the higher faculties of the spirit."

"Keep before your eyes," he says, "the vision of a regenerated America,—hospitable toward all things of the spirit; thoughtful, without disdain for physical activity; serene and firm in spite of youthful enthusiasms . . . Play your part in this regeneration with perseverance and patience. You may be only the precursors of the new civilization and not live to enjoy its fruits; be satisfied with the consciousness of well-doing and the thought that the consecration of a part

of your spirit to the future makes more certain the realization of your ideals.

"Accept as your guide Ariel, the spirit created by the genius of Shakespeare and infused by him with such noble symbolism . . . Ariel represents man's intelligence, the sublime instinct of perfectibility . . . Ariel, triumphant, signifies ideality and order in life, noble inspiration in thought, disinterested morality, good taste in art, heroism in action, refinement in habits . . . Held in bondage at times by the untameable materialism of Caliban, Ariel is ever resurgent, ever ready to respond to the call of those in need of his aid . . . Through the pages of human history he will pass, intoning, as in the play of Shakespeare, his melodious song. . .

"More than the words in which I have given you my final message I would have you remember my statue of Ariel . . . In your dark hours of despondency may the memory of this bronze reanimate your enthusiasm for the vacillating ideal. . . I believe in your will and in your effort; and still more in the will and the effort of those to whom you will give life and transmit your work. It is for me an exhilarating dream that one day reality will suggest the thought that the Cordillera of the Andes, dominating our beloved America, was sculptured as a pedestal for the statue of Ariel, was destined from the beginning of time to become the everlasting altar for its veneration."

Such, in substance, is the little book that appeared in Montevideo in 1900 and that, in many editions, has been read and reread in all countries where Spanish is spoken. So influential has it been in molding the thought and ideals of a generation that it may well be called the Intellectual Breviary of Spanish-American Youth. America, a name occurring so often in its pages, meant for its author Spanish America; surely it may be said that such a book deserves to be known more widely in that part of the New World in which America means the United States.

THE MEXICAN IMMIGRANT OF CALIFORNIA

By WILSON D. WALLIS

Everyone knows the Mexicans and no one knows them. There are, of course, many people who have a first-hand knowledge, and a very valuable knowledge, of the local Mexican problem; but as to the larger national or even the larger state problem we are ignorant. It is essentially a national problem. But the nation leaves all such problems to the various states, and the states, in turn, leave them to whosoever may care to have them. All of us inherit the consequences of this neglect.

Until 1908 Mexican immigration into this country had not reached considerable proportions. The preceding year was a year of financial panic and this effected a considerable diminution in the European immigration. Not only, however, did many hundreds of thousands fewer immigrants come to us, but many thousands more than usual returned from this country to the home land. It was this decrease in European immigration, supplemented by the outward flux of aliens, that afforded an invitation to the Mexican.

He was needed as a laborer, and he was procured for that purpose, in large part by agents from this country who stimulated the emigration movement by active enrollment work across the border. The illegality of this procedure did not hinder unscrupulous labor contractors. After we entered the World War the labor force of the country could not supply our needs, particularly the agricultural needs of the West and Southwest.

Accordingly, to relieve this shortage in the labor market, arrangements were made by the Department of the Interior whereby immigrants might come for six months under contract to engage in agricultural labor during that time, said

companies assuming the responsibility of returning them to the border at the expiration of the period. The responsibility lay, however, only in exercising ordinary care and in informing the United States marshal when Mexicans "escaped" from the labor camp. Needless to say, escapes were numerous and captures few. Some companies returned to the Mexican border several hundred fewer men than they had imported.

Another too common way of entering the country from the south is to elude the border patrol. The number of charges for being in this country without passport or admission papers, as indicated in such records as those of the San Diego County jail, for example, shows that this method is well known to the Mexicans. Similar conditions maintain in Imperial County, where there are many arrests of those who have no ostensible right to be on this side of the border. Since most of these arrests are for other cause, it being discovered incidentally that the prisoner is not entitled to be in this country, it may be surmised that the number of Mexicans illegally in the United States comprises thousands.

The immigrants come from all parts of Mexico, but more especially from the northern states east of the Gulf of California. It is here that conditions of life are most difficult and discontent with the Mexican Government greatest. Lower California sends fewer immigrants than any other border state, being also less affected by national politics. They come principally from the states of Sonora, Chihuahua, Durango, and Coahuila.

The Mexican is essentially a migratory creature. Even in Mexico the peasant, or peon, frequently, without any previous declaration of intention to family or friends, will board a train and depart, merely, it would seem, in order to be going somewhere. Upon arriving in this country he seldom resides long in the place to which he first goes. The average length of residence in one city is, for the average Mexican, but a few

years, and, during this time, he will probably live in about as many houses as he has been years resident in the place. Most of those in California who have previously lived elsewhere in the United States have come from Texas; but large numbers have come from Arizona and New Mexico, and some even from distant Kansas. A high percentage consider themselves temporarily domiciled in this country and intend to return to Mexico—or think they do, though it may be surmised that most of them are mistaken in this. Most of them do not really want to return to Mexico and will not actually do so.

In point of literacy the Mexicans do not stand high, though they are not so badly off in this respect as is commonly believed. The literacy runs well over eighty percent for those who were born in Mexico. Though the women have had less schooling than the men, they are not much below the men, if any, in literacy, and in some communities rank above them. But the Mexican does not like the English language, and he insists upon speaking Spanish in the home.

The Mexicans are Roman Catholic in religion, but many of them are indifferent to the Church and to all religion. An antagonism toward the Church has been intensified since the revolutions following the Diaz regime, owing to the fact that the Church supported and was supported by the Government. As a result, many of the priesthood are exiles to this country, and can be found in large numbers in the southern part of the state. The Roman Church feels that it has a peculiar claim upon the Mexican, a claim based not merely on historical associations, but on the nature of the Mexican as well. He is regarded as having a mystical, emotional, and artistic temperament which is appealed to only by such form, ritual, and approach to religion as the Roman liturgy supplies. And, in one way at least, it may be said that the Roman Church has served his needs more than has any other. It has been most sympathetic toward and most tolerant of his own customs and prepossessions.

It has allowed him to continue his Indian dances, rededicated to the cause of the Christian religion. The images which the Indian "worshipped" he may still utilize as images, but they are reinterpreted in terms of the Christian religion, of Mary, or of some of the saints of the Roman Calendar. The temples to the sun god are rededicated to the Christian god. The place of worship remains the same, many of the local superstitions persist, but they have been reclothed and baptised with a new name. In a word, the Roman Church takes the Mexican where he is and attempts to build upon that foundation.

The methods of the Protestants who are doing missionary work among the Mexicans are, in general, the reverse of this. They want, first of all, to sweep away the old foundations, to clear the mind of prepossessions, to launch out a new personality.

The Mexicans are social in an informal, but not in a formal way. There are very few organizations among them, and the membership in established benevolent societies is not large. The children, similarly, are seldom identified with any children's organization. Though divorce is practically unknown among them, separation is not uncommon. But if divorce is uncommon, so is marriage, and the facility of separation has its compensation in the facility of beginning marital life anew. Even among those who have lived together as man and wife for years there has, commonly, been no ceremony of marriage. Both men and women marry young, the girls usually while in their "teens." The young women are very attractive, but the early age of child-bearing soon robs them of their youthfulness, and the incessant cares of motherhood, in a large family bring them to a premature old age. Of children there are plenty, though the average Mexican family, counting living children only, is scarcely larger than five. But the size of the family is kept down to these proportions only by the exces-

sively high infant mortality. In many communities the chances that an infant will survive the period of childhood are scarcely more than even. Many a Mexican mother counts as many children dead as living. This high infant mortality is due to lack of knowledge of proper care of infants, to absence of medical and nursing attention, and often to a fatalistic view of the matter, a submission to what is regarded as the inevitable. Although the father in patriarchal fashion, is master of the household, there is often more respect shown the wife than is common in the same economic status of our society. Parents are fond of children, are kind to them, almost never punish them; and all members of the family seem normally happy.

In personal cleanliness the Mexican leaves much to be desired. This must, in part, be attributed to deficiencies in household equipment. Bath tubs are as frequently used as coal bins, garbage cans or clothes receptacles as for the purpose for which they were designed. Bathing is indeed regarded with horror. And there are many taboos or superstitions connected with it, especially in the case of young mothers. In no case, for instance, must a baby be bathed. The housing conditions, too, among peons fresh from Mexico who have no supervision or advice, are, almost uniformly, very bad. And the food of the Mexican is tortillas, frijoles, chili, and coffee. These serve for all seasons of the year and for all ages. As to the tender age when children begin to partake of this food and drink it is discreet to maintain silence, for no one who is unacquainted with the Mexican would believe.

Almost all of the Mexicans are unskilled laborers. They are employed especially in railroad, road, street, or other public construction work. They do much of the cotton picking in the Imperial Valley, a great deal of the work in the sugar-beet fields in the western counties of the state, and the walnut and orange picking in the southern part. There is a migratory

element which is at work principally in the orchards and vineyards during the grape and fruit season. In the larger cities, especially in San Francisco and Los Angeles, many are entering factories and foundries as common laborers. Owing partly to the seasonal nature of his labor the Mexican is in enforced idleness a large part of the year. Fruit pickers can not always find employment, either in their own industry or in some other. The total earnings for the year are, therefore, not considerable, and from them must be deducted the expense of moving from place to place.

Probably more than any other nationality the Mexican takes out insurance upon the life of his children. This is seldom a large amount, as a rule only enough to cover funeral expenses. It is, however, about the only kind of providence he shows. In general, a Mexican will spend his money as fast as he makes it. It is true that necessity drives him—he must supply his family with the means of life. But when by chance the surplus comes, as it sometimes does, he views it as opportunity for idleness, waste or extravagance. It is practically only the owner of property who learns thrift and economy. Some interesting experiments made by Los Angeles in obtaining homes for Mexicans which they could buy on easy terms, show that property owning engenders motives for economy and industry and that it solves with complete satisfaction the migratory problem.

In almost all cities and counties in which there is a large Mexican population, the Mexicans receive most of the charitable assistance. This is notably true of Los Angeles County and city. The most common causes of poverty are sickness and large families, while desertion or the death of the breadwinner figure largely.

In crime, so far as this is to be taken as the equivalent of arrests, the Mexican maintains a record comparable to that which he has in the field of charity. Almost everywhere the

percentage of arrests among Mexicans is much higher than among other nationalities. Even when we rule out the cases of "suspicion" and of dismissals there is still left for the Mexican a more ample number of arrests in proportion to his numbers than for any other nationality.

The Mexican peon is part Indian, part Latin. Sometimes he is pure Indian. In any case he has a combination of the qualities of the two peoples—a certain outward stolidity from the Indian side, and a light-heartedness and buoyancy of spirit from the Spanish. Coupled with this there is a courtesy and cordiality unknown to Anglo-Saxons, and found only in the simpler peoples of Latin race. His prevailing attitude toward life is one of unconcern. At heart he is a fatalist. This saves him many a worry but loses him many an opportunity. He is fond of music and aspires to own a graphophone. Singing he likes, and dancing. The poorest has artistic sensibilities, a fact which any one can verify by observing the decorations on hat or clothes of which the men are fond, and the gayly colored shawls or dresses of the women. Many of the women do exquisite lace work, and some teachers think that Mexican children have a keener appreciation of colors and of color schemes than has the average child, though they do not rate them so highly in matters of taste.

The Mexican is always hospitable. He is willing to assist his fellow in need, if no extraneous assistance is forthcoming. Ignorance as to the source of tomorrow's meal will not make him any the less reluctant to share with another the meal of today.

There are few exceptions to the statement that the Mexican does not wish to be Americanized. It is not only that he does not want to be naturalized. He has no desire to be an American citizen. Neither has he much desire to be as we are. He holds us as much in contempt as we hold him, admitting, as he needs must, our superiority in some things. But

this superiority, as he sees it, reaches only to the crass and material. Courtesy and hospitality we know not; kindness is not in us; we employ our lives in a rush from which there is no respite; most of all, we have none of that spirit of abandon, no letting go of all duties in order to enjoy untrammelled the simple pleasures; we can not rest; we have no fulsome fellowship; sympathetic ties have vanished, and in their stead we see only the ties of economic relations, ties which are as much bondage as bonds. None of this appeals to the Mexican; or, rather, in its entirety, it leaves him convinced that his own way is better, that his own life, all things considered, is preferable to ours.

The Mexican is the most expensive immigrant that we have. He is not paid wages that enable him to maintain a decent standard of living. No one cares whether he maintains this standard or not. He is simply an economic tool, doing, as we are again and again told, the work which no one else will do. Rather is he doing the work which no one else would do at the price which he receives, or under conditions which he accepts. The benefit of this economic slavery—for it is little else with a large majority of the Mexicans—goes to those employers who can use a poor tool because it is cheap. The employer pays for cheap labor but he does not pay for the Mexican. The citizenry of the county, of the state, and of the United States, pays the real expense of Mexican immigration. Tax payers, whether they employ Mexicans or not, pay for the cheap labor. They pay for it in the form of public hospitals, nurses, physicians, charity assistance, jails, retarded children—to say nothing of the community's inheritance of poor material for citizenship.

It is in part because the Mexican is the cheapest labor that it is the most expensive we have. There is another item of expense which is of even greater moment than that which can be expressed in figures and the dollar sign. The econom-

ic element in the Mexican is what brings him here. But when he arrives we have acquired something besides an economic tool. We have a man, a future resident if not a future citizen—for the latter he seldom becomes—the father of a family, and an ample one at that; the giver, then, of future citizens and of future fathers and mothers of citizens. What quality of citizenship does this promise?

He introduces no poison into civic life; but he brings no pride in country. A certain loyalty to land there is, but in Mexico there are few heroes and few national accomplishments.

The Indian background has gone from him and the Spanish has not taken its place, save in a most indistinct manner. His standard of living is different from ours, and is not easily made like unto it. His standards of life may be suitable for Mexico and ours unsuitable, but they are certainly not adapted to this country and this century. Most of all, a prevailing indifference, the *manyana*, or tomorrow, spirit that pervades all his life and activities, keeps him, and his children likewise, from effectively participating in our social or political life.

The closest analogue to the Mexican immigrant is the Indian of this country. What a fine job we have made of Americanizing the Indian! The Spaniard did much better with the Indian that we have done with him. The Mexican peon is but the Indian slightly Iberianized; and we have yet a long way to take him in the process of Americanization. We shall succeed better with him than we have succeeded with the Indian, for we know a little more about culture contacts and pedagogical methods than we knew in the days of John Smith or Miles Standish. Notable successes can be pointed to. Yet the fact remains that assimilating the Mexican is a slow and a laborious process, an exceedingly expensive one, and one for which we must all pay in order that somebody may get his work done for less money. The employer reaps the benefits of

the economic Mexican and we reap the benefits of all the rest of him. We have the divine gift of complacency in such matters and it is not likely that we shall soon be disturbed about them; for, after all, they concern no one except each one of us, and that is equivalent to saying none of us.

What has been said regarding Mexican immigration and immigrants leaves no implication that it is useless to bother about the Mexicans who are here, inasmuch as they do not change and do not desire to change. They do change, and a more potent desire to change can be inculcated. As a matter of fact, we cannot neglect them. All we can do is to postpone the attention we are going to pay them. Not to invest our public moneys in this enterprise of educating the Mexicans is about the most expensive thing we can do. So far we have adopted toward them a typical Mexican attitude—we have said, "Oh, they are only Mexicans." But the statement is ridiculously untrue, and the attitude, to say the least, is futile. they typify the social influences of thousands of future Americans, and they are, at this moment, one of the influences determining the trend of American life.

Nor is this altogether untoward. I have had much contact with Mexicans in every walk of life; and if I wanted to go to that section of a city where I might most confidently expect innate courtesy, independently of the economic status of the people, I would, whatever the town, go to the Mexican district. Before we judge the Mexican by our superficial contact and hasty observation, we should allow him to describe us and estimate our qualities on the basis of the experience he has had in his contacts with Americans. "The American as seen by the Mexican," would make an illuminating story. The manner in which he commonly understands us does us as much justice as we do him in the picture we ordinarily form of him. Let us be fair enough, then, either to accept ourselves at his valuation, or to revise our valuation of him. If we can remain ignorant of the fact that the housing conditions of our

Mexican immigrant frequently violate every law of the statute as well as of human decency; that this is in part because we wish to have cheaper pickaxes, cheaper muscles, to do the work demanded of human brawn; that we, as citizens, are willing to lower our status and cheapen our standards, even • to make payment in taxes and charities in order that a cheaper economic tool may be furnished to those who turn over to us the cheaper citizenship material for a perpetual inheritance—if we can remain ignorant, it is well; but we can not remain ignorant always.

THE PAN-PACIFIC EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

By E. O. SISSON

Behind the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference stands its creator, the Pan-Pacific Union. The Union is a permanent organization with headquarters at Honolulu, Hawaii, "at the Ocean's Crossroads," to use the words of the Union's own bulletin. Its significance may be indicated by the fact that its president by accepted usage is the Governor of Hawaii; and that among those who have accepted honorary presidencies are the President of the United States, the prime ministers of Japan, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and the President of China; in its active membership are practically all the most prominent and influential citizens of the Hawaiian Islands, including members of all the many races making up the cosmopolitan population of the territory—American, native Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Portuguese.

The purposes of the Pan-Pacific Union may best be explained by quoting from its own published statements: "The Pan-Pacific Union, representing the lands about the greatest of oceans, is supported by appropriations from Pacific governments. It works chiefly through the calling of conferences, for the greater advancement of, and cooperation among, all the races and peoples of the Pacific." The Union is incorporated with an international Board of Trustees, representing every race and nation of the Pacific. From the list of particular activities and aims the following may be quoted:

"To call in conference delegates from all Pacific peoples for the purpose of discussing and furthering the interests common to Pacific nations.

"To aid and assist those in all Pacific communities to better understand each other, and to work together for the furtherance of the best interests of the land, of their adoption, and through them, to spread abroad about the Pacific the friendly spirit of inter-racial cooperation.

"To establish and maintain a permanent college and 'clearing house' of information concerning the lands, commerce, peoples, and trade opportunities in countries of the Pacific. To bring all nations and peoples about the Pacific Ocean into closer friendly and commercial contact and relationship."

It is a matter of no small significance that aims like these are set forth in the charter of the Union, and that the Union with this charter enjoys not merely the approval but also the official cooperation and the

financial support of Pacific governments—especially of the United States, under whose auspices of course it is established, and from whose government have issued the official invitations to the conferences conducted by the Union.

It is the general plan of the Union to hold the first conference in any particular field under the auspices of the United States, with the official call issued by authority of the government: succeeding conferences in the field will be under the auspices of other leading nations of the Pacific. The conferences are all held in Honolulu.

The initial conference under the auspices of the Union was the Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference, held in the summer of 1920. This conference was participated in by leading scientists from all the leading Pacific countries, the United States and Japan naturally having the predominant part. It is reported to have been a great success in itself, and it resulted in the establishment of the Pan-Pacific Research Council, a permanent association for the continuation of scientific cooperation upon the special problems of the Pacific. The Council is now organizing the Second Scientific Conference, the call for which it is hoped will be issued by Japan, a most appropriate procedure. In accordance with the same principle the Pan-Pacific Union is seeking to secure the calling of the second educational conference by the Chinese Government.

The second conference conducted by the Union was the educational conference, held in August of 1921. The third was the Pan-Pacific Press Conference, held in October of 1921: this conference was first proposed by Dr. Walter Williams, president of the Press Congress of the World, and the conference had the status of a section of the Congress. This conference also projected plans for succeeding meetings to take place biennially. The fourth conference has been announced as a Commercial Conference, to be held in August of 1922.

The Pan-Pacific Educational Conference convened on August 11, 1921, and continued its sessions until the 21st. The official delegates in actual attendance numbered just eighty: six or eight others were looked for but did not arrive, in some cases owing to the canceling of Oriental sailings. About half the delegates were residents of Honolulu: the rest came from all points of the compass: some from the sister islands of the Hawaiian group, others from places five or six thousand miles distant. Some hailed from even further away, notably Dr. Kannan from the province of Mysore, India; however he was in attendance en route from the United States to his home, so can hardly be counted as having come for the conference.

The official government delegates who came from the "mainland" of the United States were nine in number: first, not only of this group, but in the whole conference, David Starr Jordan, Chancellor Emeritus of Stanford University; Miss Julia Abbott, of the Bureau of Education; Dr. Frank F. Bunker, representing the Commissioner of Education; President Frederick Burke, of the State Teachers College, San Francisco; Supt. Frank B. Cooper, Seattle, Wash.; Dr. Thos. E. Finegan, State Superintendent of Pennsylvania; President Ernest C. Moore, of the Southern Branch of the University of California; Professor George M. Stratton, of the University of California; and the present writer. In addition to these, several resident educators were delegated by the government, including particularly President Arthur L. Dean of the University of Hawaii, and Superintendent Vaughan MacCaughey, of the public schools system of the Territory of Hawaii. In addition to the government delegates a number of delegates were present representing organizations and institutions.

Japan was represented by seven delegates, who formed a most distinguished and interesting group. They were headed by Baron N. Kanda, professor emeritus of the Tokyo University of Commerce, and member of the Japanese House of Peers; next in prominence in the conference, and greatly admired for his valuable contributions to the discussions was Professor M. Anesaki, of Tokyo Imperial University; Dr. K. Hara, of the Kyoto Imperial University, was also a prominent figure in the sessions, partly because of his vigorous Japanese views and attitudes. Dr. I. Abe, of Waseda University, on the other hand, greatly stirred the conference by his exceedingly liberal and progressive views of international duties and responsibilities, which he expressed with no little emphasis and applied directly to his own country.

From China came two government delegates: Tsai Yuan-Bei, Chancellor of Pekin National University and former Minister of Education, the head of the delegation, but unfortunately unable to speak in English, therefore heard in the conference only through an address translated by one of his colleagues; Dr. Sidney K. Wei, of Kwontung Normal College and Canton Christian College, a graduate of Oberlin College and a doctor of the University of Chicago, with perfect mastery of the English language except for the slightest accent; Dr. Wei was easily one of the two or three foremost figures in the conference, winning the respect and affection of all by his wisdom and modesty. Two other government delegates failed to arrive owing to canceling of the sailing which should have brought them from China. Three other Chinese delegates represented local or Chinese organizations.

The most serious gaps in the ranks of the conference were caused by the absence of representatives of Canada and of South America: no very satisfying explanation was given for these unfortunate absences. The one British delegate was Mr. F. Milner, of New Zealand, officially delegated by the Education Department of New Zealand, and also representing certain teachers' organizations. Mr. Milner was a notable figure in the conference from first to last; he was emphatic in his praise of the Pan-Pacific idea and of the conference itself: it is to be hoped that his reports to his Canadian and Australasian compatriots may result in better British representation at the next conference.

No list of outstanding figures may omit H. Heung-wo Cynn, representing *pro forma* the Korean Educational Association, but really standing in all eyes for the unhappy people of Korea. When Baron Kanda read the list of Japanese delegates, he included Mr. Cynn among them—or at least at the end of the list: however, as the roll call of nations proceeded the Chairman read from the printed list the name of Korea, and the young delegate answered for his country: diplomatically all wrong, no doubt, but there were many in the room who were glad, and no one betrayed any offense. Cynn made an extraordinary impression upon the conference; I doubt if any one else, with the sole exception of the revered presiding officer, won deeper respect and affection than this young Oriental, placed in so difficult and delicate a situation; he never concealed his intense national views, yet he never transgressed the finest courtesy and the most rigorous respect for the interests of the conference itself. He is a graduate of the University of Southern California and has a Master's degree from the same institution; his English is perfect, and his keenness and intelligence are distinctive; his success in the trying ordeal of his position could never have been so complete but for a swift and exquisite humor, which never failed him in a crisis. It was a lesson in international respect to realize that so fine a human being could come from a people whom we so easily hold in contempt.

This is as good a place as any to point out one of the greatest values of the conference and of any such gathering—the irresistible advance in mutual respect and friendship: no one could spend ten days in the company of the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean delegates without realizing the high human quality that must be in the races which they represent. We may well assume that the Pan-Pacific Union has this very end largely in view in fostering these contacts.

Two other persons of the conference must be mentioned: Dr. Frank F. Bunker, the representative of the United States Bureau of Educa-

tion, and therefore charged with primary responsibility for the actual operation of the conference; for the Pan-Pacific Union had requested the Bureau to take the lead in planning and executing. Mr. Bunker was no stranger in Honolulu, having conducted the official survey of the school system of Hawaii which was concluded only a short time before the conference. He acted as secretary of the conference, and, in cooperation with the Pan-Pacific officials and the local committees really engineered the meetings.

The other indispensable figure is the mainspring of the whole Pan-Pacific movement—Alexander Hume Ford—whom not to know in the Pacific is ignorance indeed. If Ford has any aims in life except to kindle and utilize international friendship and goodwill, he does not betray them to any ordinary scrutiny. His method is based upon Charles Lamb's well known saying, "You can't hate a man if you know him." He is a dreamer of dreams, with a shrewd and dogged way of getting them into fact. He is Secretary General of the Pan-Pacific Union officially, but in reality factotum, getting all sorts of people to do all they can and doing himself what they don't do. He had very little time to spend in the meetings; he left them unhesitatingly to Secretary Bunker: he was busy pulling strings and making new plans. He strikes me as Christianity brought down to the Twentieth Century. In other words he is the only really useful type—a practical idealist, with emphasis on both terms. On top of all this he is the very soul of good fellowship in all kinds of company, and, as Stevenson so well says, "without capitulation."

Lack of space is the only good reason for not mentioning many other able and admirable personalities who participated in the conference.

The agenda of the conference consisted of a most interesting set of tentative questions framed in advance and sent to all delegates: it contained a large number of topics such as might naturally engage the attention of an international and inter-racial group, and many of these questions were discussed in close accord with the announcement: but from the first hour to the last, one theme took possession of the minds and hearts of all, and dominated practically all the discussions—*friendship and peace on the vast Pacific*; and what education and educators might do to advance that great cause. It was in the very air of Honolulu: *Aloha*, the universal greeting and farewell of the magic islands, means just that; it was in the faces of those who met us: Hume Ford first, who came out on a tug and climbed aboard before we docked; Hawaiians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, who vied with each

other and with the whites, in grappling us to Hawaii with hooks of steel. No wonder that a man with the heart and imagination of Hume Ford dedicates his life to averting the unspeakable horror that war in Hawaii would be, and war on the Pacific would surely mean war to the knife in Hawaii.

It was an American general, the the commanding officer of the military department of Hawaii, Major General Charles P. Summerall, who struck the keynote in an afterdinner speech, before the formal opening of the conference: "We are fortunate," said General Summerall, "to be gathered here as representatives of the most progressive idea that has yet been advanced—the encouragement of friendship, of brotherhood, among nations.* * * We * * * are meeting here tonight as friends, as members of the broader nationality, the human race, and for the purpose of furthering that spirit of world-friendship and true internationalism that will ensure lasting peace." General Summerall's ringing utterance of the ideals of world friendship called forth some such response as did Secretary Hughes' startling and challenging opening proposals at the armament conference. Thenceforward throughout the whole course of the meetings, every session sooner or later focussed on the same great question.

The first official session chose David Starr Jordan permanent chairman by acclamation: Dr. Jordan then proceeded in his "keynote" address to orient the further proceedings of the conference. For eleven days he was the center and soul of the conference: there at least his relentless antagonism to war and his constant stress upon inter-racial friendship were ever welcome. His extraordinary range of knowledge concerning the countries and peoples of the Pacific was a constant source of advantage in the discussions: particularly valuable was his established friendship with Japan and its leaders: all of which did not deter him from the plainest kind of talk against militarism and autocracy in Japan as well as elsewhere.

Topics which commanded much attention were: the use of history and geography to stimulate and enlighten mutual understanding and respect among the nations of the Pacific; the ideals of democracy and the task of education in contributing to their realization; the actual educational systems of various Pacific lands and possible improvements in them. To this last topic two complete sessions were given, in the course of which national systems of education were described in detail.

Honolulu itself served as an inter-racial educational exhibit. Delegates were entertained by the various racial groups, and also visited a large number of types of schools which result from the racial situation.

In the Honolulu High School there are said to be no less than forty racial types, including various distinct races and a great number and variety of mixtures. The Japanese in particular made elaborate arrangements for exhibiting their culture and education to the delegates.

The Conference took definite effect in plans for a permanent organization and in the adoption and publication of a series of resolutions. For the purpose of permanent organization, the Conference recommended "that the Pan-Pacific Union establish an Educational Council, as a permanent department of the Union, under such conditions of organization and with such powers and purposes as the Pan-Pacific Union may, permanently or from time to time, delegate to this Educational Council."

The resolutions inevitably centered upon the idea which had dominated the discussions—international friendship. The first resolution congratulated the President of the United States on issuing the invitations for the Conference on Limitation of Armaments. The second recorded appreciation of the "far-sighted vision of the promoters of the Pan-Pacific Union in summoning this educational convention, its appreciation of its illimitable possibilities in furthering the great ideal of Pacific inter-racial understanding and friendship, and its congratulations on the abundant measure of success that has attended this inaugural gathering." Eleven specific recommendations were made with regard to educational practice. The following quotations are significant:

"That there be incorporated in the educational programs of Pacific nations definite teaching inculcating the ideals of peace, and the desirability of the settlement of international disputes by means other than war."

"That scientific research into the causes of war should be promoted by governments and educational agencies."

"That all possible educational agencies and especially the subjects of History, Civics, Economics, and Geography be utilized to eliminate racial prejudice and antagonism, and to promote better understanding and cooperation among the peoples of the Pacific."

"That the governments of Pacific nations be asked to promote the production of educational films showing the resources, industries, and general social conditions of their respective countries, and to provide adequate means for prohibiting misrepresentation of other nations through the use of moving pictures."

"That the Roman alphabet should be adopted in all Pacific countries."

The incomparable hospitality of Honolulu encompassed the mem-

bers of the Conference from the hour of arrival to the hour of sailing. The moment that the official sessions ended the entertainment began: it was as varied as it was delightful. It wonderfully combined enlightenment and instruction with delight. The racial groups vied with each other in the generosity and in the distinctive character of their entertainment, and thus the delegates had the great advantage of an intimate contact with the culture and ideals of the various groups. This generous hospitality combined with the magic beauty and charm of the islands captivated all the visiting delegates and left them all resolved to revisit some day the Crossroads of the Pacific.

Problems of the Pacific and the Press

HOW OLD IS AMERICAN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST?

By TYLER DENNETT

Some will immediately rise to oppose the interrogation on the ground that is a begging of the question—that the United States has no Far Eastern policy and never has had one.

And yet Mr. Hughes, in his note of July 1, 1921, to the Chinese Minister in Washington, took occasion to remark:

“Your reference to the principle of the open door affords me the opportunity to assure you of this Government’s continuance in its whole-hearted support of that principle, which it has *traditionally* regarded as fundamental both to the interests of China itself and to the common interests of all the powers in China, and indispensable to the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean.”

The italics are ours.

Yes, replies the critic, the United States did make some such assertions twenty or more years ago, but that was all it amounted to.

Much of the criticism and misunderstanding of the Open Door Policy in American history arises from the fact that so few of the critics have ever taken the trouble to go back of John Hay to find the key to the interpretation of his policy in the history of the sixty years which preceded it. Mr. Hay did not make any claim to having formulated a policy. He merely *applied* one. That he was well aware of what had

preceded his circular note of September 6, 1899, must be evident from the fact that only a few months later (July 3, 1900) in another circular note to the Powers in which he defined the policy of the United States in the Boxer uprising, he introduced his explanation with the significant phrase:

"Following the precedent enunciated by the United States as early as 1857. . ."

Had Mr. Hay at that time been defining the substance of the entire Far Eastern Policy of the United States he might have carried the date even further back. By 1857 the American policy in the East was already fairly well seasoned. More important, however, is the fact that the policy of the pre-Civil War days remained the policy throughout the 19th Century. In the '60s, the '70s, and in the '80s there were elaborations and new applications, but the principles remained the same, and the applications were consistent.

Much of the existing confusion of opinion today, not merely in the United States, but also in England, in Europe, and, most of all in the Far East, is due to the fact that so few have any clear notion of what the early American policy was, why it was, or what it sought to accomplish.

Because of these misunderstandings, the United States has been represented as having been the false friend who would lure one Eastern nation after another to its ruin and then desert her. One can hardly pick up a book or paper in these days without being met by the apology of some conscientious American writer for American faithlessness in the Far East. Such apologies are quite unnecessary. Nevertheless, when one turns to the histories and biographies for the facts by which to support the foregoing assertion, he is more than likely to come away with the conviction that apologies are all too justified.

The only American in the Far East of whom we know is

1 *Foreign Relations*, 1900, p. 299.

Commodore Perry, and the reason is plain. In addition to being successful he had some highly talented press-agents under his autocratic control, and the report of his expedition was published in quarto volumes at the expense of the government and circulated by the thousands. We do not complain of this extravagance—the report cost several hundreds of thousands of dollars even in those days of cheap paper and printing—for it was the most enduring monument he will have. But what about Caleb Cushing, Alexander Everett, John W. Davis, Humphrey Marshall, Louis M. McLane, Peter Parker, Anson Burlingame, S. Wells Williams, Townsend Harris, John A. Bingham, Charles Denby and Horace N. Allen? One wonders if today they are spared the pain of knowing that already they, most of them, are forgotten.

One of the most obvious necessary steps in the accomplishment of that international understanding without which the future looks black and yet blacker, is the withdrawal by both British and American publishers of all but a bare dozen of the existing books on the foreigners in the Far East, and then the appointment of a joint commission, composed of Chinese, Japanese, English, French, German, Russian and American editors to bring out a collection of source-books on the early history in which each nation's representative shall have the privilege of writing the foot-notes to the records offered by the other editors. Such a compilation would make the present literature on the subject read like mythology.

But we must return to our subject: how old is American policy in the Far East? The answer involves also the statement of the policy itself. Such a statement reduced to broad principles is not so difficult as at first it might seem.

American policy in Asia dates, officially, from the visit of Commodore Lawrence Kearny to the mouth of the Canton River in 1842.² Hearing that the British had already concluded a treaty with China, Kearny sent his compliments to

² Senate Ex. Doc. 189: 29-1.

the governor and hinted—very broadly hinted, for he had his fleet with him—that in any treaty arrangements which China might make with foreign powers, the United States would demand most-favored-nation treatment. This demand for the open door was the foundation of American policy in Asia.

The demand was granted, and two years later Caleb Cushing was glad to report to the Secretary of State that even before Kearny had made his request the decision had been reached by the Chinese Commissioners themselves at Nanking. He was especially glad to make this report because Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Commissioner, had returned to England and modestly was announcing that he had secured the opening of the Chinese ports to other nations on terms equal to those granted to the British.³ It was discovered that the Chinese, while settling matters with Pottinger had made it clear that if the ports were to be opened to the British they would likewise be opened to all.⁴

Thus, as early as 1842, reasoning in each case from similar grounds of self-interest, the Chinese and the Americans reached a similar conclusion: it was for the welfare of China and the United States alike that the door be opened on equal terms to all nations. This identity of interest is the key to the understanding of all subsequent American policy, not only in China, but also in Korea and in Japan.

The United States has been portrayed as a philanthropic fool which sailed about the China Sea inviting all the oppressed peoples of Asia to bring their troubles to Washington for redress. The facts point in a very different direction. The United States, in 1842, was the second commercial nation in the China trade. Its trade was increasing rapidly, more rapidly than the British trade. It then seemed clear that it was only a matter of time when the American trade in

³ From Sir Henry Pottinger's address to the citizens of Liverpool, Dec. 17, 1884: "The moment that I explained to the High Commissioner Ke-Ing, the great advantages which must follow from such a provision in the treaty which I had the honor of conducting—advantages to China and to all other nations affected by it—he immediately concurred in my views . . ."

⁴ *Littell's Living Age*, Vol. 4, p 387.

⁴ Sen. Ex. Doc. 67: 28-2; *Chinese Repository*, May, 1844, p 145.

Asia would greatly exceed that of any other nation. It was therefore of the utmost importance to keep the trade doors open.

There were just two ways by which those doors in China, and subsequently in Korea and Japan, could be kept open. One way was that of the Europeans—to storm the doors, capture them, and place a guard there to keep them open. That was the method of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French, the British. The other way was to hold the owner accountable for keeping open his own doors. That was the American way. It was written into the first American treaty with China by Caleb Cushing in 1844. Whereas the British treaties had provided for the protection of British subjects in China by means of the cession of Hongkong which was to be made into a fortress, and by means of British war vessels in every open port, the American treaty of Wanghia placed the responsibility for the protection of the Americans squarely on the shoulders of the Chinese. It was the sovereign privilege and duty of the Chinese Empire, according to Cushing, to protect the Americans, and to be liable for damages in case they were disturbed. Cushing was a very clever man. He made a virtue out of a necessity. If the Chinese did not assume the responsibility of protecting his countrymen, who would? Certainly not their government which had no taste for garrison duty and had few ships of war.

Early American policy in China grew directly out of the necessities of the case—and is still largely governed by similar necessities.

Very shortly after Cushing left China the Americans realized that American policy with respect to the protection of Americans rested on a false assumption. The government of the Chinese Empire was not able to protect them. What should be done? Again there were clear choices: to repudiate the Cushing policy which had been written into the treaty and occupy some territory, perhaps Formosa, as the British had

taken Hongkong; or, to turn to and help China to become strong enough so that someday it would be able to exercise in fact the rights which it still held in theory. Humphrey Marshall in 1853 chose the latter policy, and though his choice was for the moment quite unauthorized and even contrary to instructions from Washington, it was approved, and in years to come became the second point in American policy in the Far East.

"Whenever the avarice or the ambition of Russia or Great Britain shall tempt them to make the prizes," wrote Marshall, "the fate of Asia will be sealed, and the future Chinese relations with the United States may be considered as closed for ages, unless *now* the United States shall foil the untoward result by adopting a sound policy."

And then, in the absence of such a policy Marshall, with characteristic American enterprise proceeded to make one which he stated in words that found their echo in John Hay and have been reechoed by Mr. Hughes:

". . . the highest interests of the United States are involved in sustaining China. . . ."

Marshall had reference to a very definite situation not entirely unlike that which exists in China today. There was a divided government: the Imperialists at Peking, the Rebels at Nanking. Foreign nations were flirting with both sides, and there was the immanent possibility of foreign interference which seemed to Marshall, and to many others, but the first step in the dismemberment of the Empire. Space does not permit an elaboration of this situation in 1853, but the Marshall correspondence, published almost in full to the extent of more than three hundred pages in the good old days when the government thought it not an indiscretion to take the public into its confidence, will repay reading.

First step: the open door; second step: full recognition of Chinese sovereignty and integrity; third step, and a necessary

deduction from the other two: assistance to China to increase her strength. The policy was not primarily philanthropic; it certainly was not sentimental. Furthermore, it did not mean the establishment of a protectorate over the Empire. From this point it was the farthest possible removed. The United States did not want China. The American Far Eastern policy did not rest on any exceptional regard for China as a nation; it was based rather on a special regard for the exceptional trade opportunities *in* China.

The significant fact both then and now is that the United States and China are so situated, geographically, commercially, politically, that they are natural allies without the necessity for a treaty. *What China desires for herself is exactly what the United States needs for her own well-being.* The United States desires that China become capable of guarding her own doors. It is far cheaper for the Americans to pursue such a policy than to follow the path of the British in India. Even the British admitted it, as the better policy for England also so far as China is concerned, only a few years after Humphrey Marshall discovered it.

The United States pursued the same identical policy in Japan. What, in the '70s and '80s, was the choice of the foreign Powers in Tokyo? Similar to that in Peking: between keeping the Japanese enslaved by withholding tariff autonomy and retaining extra-territoriality, and releasing Japan from these handicaps in order that the Empire might become strong enough to stand on its own feet. The United States registered its policy in the "secret" Treaty of 1878, and how the British did hate us for it! Yet in the end the British surrendered as gracefully as a good sportsman always does when it is necessary. The American policy in China today is just what it was in Japan in 1878, and what it had been in China in 1844.

The present American ill-will towards Japan does not rest upon race prejudice, or upon any American desire for

exceptional privileges in Asia. If the conditions were reversed, as some day they may be, and China rather than Japan were the aggressor, the Americans would be on the side of Japan. It is not for the national interest of the United States that any nation in Asia shall be weak. Nor is it in harmony with American ideals to join in, or approve of, the oppression of the weak by the strong.

And was it not the same in Korea? The United States did not care for Korea any more than it cared for China or Japan. It did care for the supposed markets in Korea. How were they to be opened? Our experience with China for nearly a century led to the belief that Chinese suzerainty in Korea meant one of two things; either an inefficient, corrupt, anti-foreign policy, such as China herself was following, or the eventual wresting of Korea from the Koreans by some foreign power. Neither possibility promised the open door. Therefore the United States first drove a wedge between China and Korea, greatly to the delight of Japan, and later favored the increase of Japanese influence over the Hermit Kingdom. That Japan would in the end play us false was not then wholly realized, but, on the other hand, it was perfectly clear that the entrance of Russia into Korea would not benefit American influence there or elsewhere. As between Russia and Japan, the United States backed the latter. Our statesmen were not omniscient. They could not foresee the Russian Revolution. And as between the old Russia and the new Japan was not the American choice justified? At any rate it was clearly in line with traditional American policy.

One other phase of the American policy in the Far East requires attention. What about cooperation with other treaty powers?

This is an especially opportune question at this time in view of the recent proposals from London for an alliance of Great Britain, Japan and the United States for the settlement of the Far Eastern Question. Lloyd George was not the first

to suggest an alliance for this purpose. Back in 1857 Lord Palmerston proposed one, to consist of the United States, France and Britain for the settlement of affairs in China, and Japan. The United States declined. Why? Because there was not at that time any agreement as to the policy to be followed. The United States wanted to keep the door open by sustaining China; Great Britain and France, it was feared (and the fears were justified), proposed to keep the doors open by slugging the gate-keepers, and then placing their own guards. The American policy was to sustain; the European policy was to disintegrate.

However, the United States made it clear in 1857, and this is the fact to which John Hay referred in his note of July 3, 1900, that the United States was more than willing to cooperate with the foreign powers wherever the force of that cooperation would be used to strengthen rather than to enslave an Oriental state. Great Britain was not slow to see the wisdom of the American policy, and when Anson Burlingame came to China in 1861, Sir Frederick Bruce greeted him with the assertion, as true today as it was then, that "the interests of our two governments in this country are identical."⁶ Out of the recognition of this fact, quite as much as out of the necessities of the American Civil War, grew the "cooperative policy" in China; out of a similar recognition in Japan came the Convention of 1866, one of the most exceptional treaties in American history, because in it the United States carried its cooperation with foreign powers to a point where it was willing, jointly with other foreign powers, to make a treaty with Japan.

But the cooperating powers did not play fair. Cooperation for them was not a tool for helping the Asiatic races to autonomy but a weapon for keeping them down, and also for embarrassing American trade. Therefore the Americans withdrew from cooperation. Now the invitation comes to

⁶ Dip. Correspondence, 1862 p 881.

resume cooperation. Indeed, it has already been resumed to a degree. Whether it is to be continued and enlarged depends entirely on the answer given in 1922 to the question first raised in 1857.

For what purpose is the United States to cooperate?

Is it to sustain the Asiatic races in order that they may take an increasing autonomous share in the international relations of the world, or is it to disintegrate one or more of them in order that some day one or more of the cooperating powers may the more easily slam the door in our faces?

The foregoing highly unsentimental review and statement of American policy in the Far East may possibly shock some readers. However, better a few shocks now and a resort to the library—to the American records rather than to the English historians or the traveloguing globe-trotter for the facts—than this continual apology for alleged bad faith. It is not the United States which needs to apologize.

The United States has never entered into an alliance with any Oriental nation. Into the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) the Chinese were allowed to write a clause in which the United States engaged to use its "good offices" if any other nation were to "act oppressively or unjustly" towards China.⁷ This clause, with slight alterations was copied by Li Hung Chang into the draft of the treaty which he gave to Commodore Shufeldt to take to Korea to be signed as the first treaty between the United States and the Hermit Kingdom. Almost before the ink was dry China, and then Korea, began to invoke the good offices of the United States. What they really desired was armed intervention. China and Korea, both, would have been willing, many times, to have placed themselves under the armed protection of the United States. No longer ago than five years an erstwhile Premier of the Chinese Republic asked the writer if something like that might not still be possible. But the United States never engaged to defend

⁷ Journal of S. Wells Williams. *Journal of the N. China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XLII-1911 p 61; W. A. P. Martin, *Cycle of Cathay*, p 183.

either China or Korea. "Good offices" has a very definite meaning in international law, or, at least, it is not synonymous with either "intervention" or "alliance." The United States faithfully observed the treaties with China and Korea. Whenever appealed to it did offer its good offices, but they were uniformly rejected by Russia, by France, and by Japan. What then was the United States to do? Ought we to have gone to war to protect Korea, or China? Suppose we had; suppose we had fought and won? What then? A condition very similar to that in which the United States has more recently found itself in the Philippines. By merely raising such questions we reduce them to absurdities. A protectorate over Asia was never an American policy. A plan was definitely repudiated in the case of China in 1854. Such a protectorate would be ill-suited to the American palate today. The proof is to be found in the conviction upon which the people of the United States are in more unanimous agreement than upon any other, viz., that it would be wise to grant the Philippines complete independence if only the independence of the islands and the fundamental policy of the Open Door in Asia were secure.

The situation of the United States, *vis a vis* Asia, has not greatly changed in seventy-five years. Only the names, dates and locations of extreme irritation are different. The principles involved are unaltered. Then Great Britain and Russia were the aggressors. They were maneuvering for a position where they might either close the door or bleed the native races to death, if that seemed cheaper. Then came France and Germany. Now it is Japan, which, having carefully studied the methods by which the attempt was made to enslave her, is now applying to the continent of Asia the same identical methods. Japan is even turning back upon the Western world the same diplomatic phrases which were once sent to her by England, France, Germany and Russia. The United

States has no peculiar hatred for Japan; but the United States has always hated the methods she is using even when they were in the hands of their originators.

If space permitted it would be profitable to point out still another parallel between the present and the past situation in Asia. It is quite true that hitherto the United States has followed a pacific policy. Rather than fight we would suffer the open door to be closed. And yet in the years immediately preceding the American civil war, the United States was rapidly approaching the conclusion that peaceful measures were exhausted. During the war Lincoln, Seward and the American representatives in Japan all proposed something very different from peaceful measures. After 1866 the United States swung off into a new phase of national development which is not yet completed, but the time may come when the United States will be as determined about the open door in Asia as it was in the '60s. And when that time does come a whole crop of misunderstandings and diplomatic lies will come to harvest, unless before that time the sprouting seeds have been torn up.

And after all, is there not a net gain for all concerned when we frankly recognize that the American policy in the Far East rests not on sentimental reasons, but rather upon the soundest considerations of national and international interest? These considerations belong equally to the self-interest of Great Britain, of France, of Holland, and of Japan. To say that the soundest basis on which to rest the present Conference on the Limitation of Armaments and the Problems of the Pacific is national self-interest for every participating nation is to rob the Conference of a great deal of cant and pharisaism, but also to lift it into a clearer ethical atmosphere where races and nations, as individuals, are viewed not as units, but as inter-dependent fragments of a unity, in which an injury to a part is an injury to the whole.

THE ROLE OF THE FOREIGNIZED STUDENT IN CHINA

By MARY ROBERTS COOLIDGE

The spread of the idea of common interests among nations is an educational process composed of many elements. Trade and exchange, emigration, diplomatic agreements, world news and the authority of printed information, the temporary pooling of national aims in those of a larger group—all these and many other factors have their share in making alien peoples known to each other. None of these, it may be ventured, has a subtler part than that of the student, the chosen of his teachers, who brings home from a foreign society the best it may have produced and puts it at the service of his country. As an individual, he may appear an ineffectual figure, a misfit, neither altogether a foreigner nor the conventional patriot. As the interpreter of peoples to each other, one of the channels through which aliens come to desire mutual knowledge and activities, he rises into dignity and international significance. As a transitional product of cultures in new combinations, he is essential: the achievement of his life may be apparently infinitesimal, yet it lifts the social level and carries nations onward toward intelligent unity.

Only by the missionary and the foreign teacher in China is the returned student truly understood and his influence appreciated at its proper value. In order to make his role in his distracted home country clearer to the West, it is necessary to describe briefly the devious road by which he went and returned. The story of his foreignization in Japan, or France or England would be as interesting as his experience in America, but for the present purpose, a survey of the administrative difficulties he has had to overcome in order to obtain an American education, is useful, and indeed, imperative.

It is three quarters of a century since an American missionary took from the streets of Macao three Chinese boys and put them in a mission school, an act whose consequences are reflected in the cosmopolitan personnel of the Chinese representatives at the International Conference in Washington. One of these little boys became the distinguished Yung Wing of Yale College, who, in his brief life, persuaded his conservative countrymen to send more than a hundred students to the United States, to fit themselves for leadership in China. After the premature death of Yung Wing, the official guardian to whom these boys were committed had slight sympathy with this radical experiment in education; and in a few years, they were recalled to China, either because of the growing anti-foreign feeling in the Orient, or perhaps merely because their guardian had been shocked to see them walking with young women on the public streets, and playing baseball in a manner unfit for scholars. Whatever the motive, the abandonment of this first project of educating leaders in America served to check the extension of Western Education for nearly a generation. The feeling against foreign encroachments was increasing at the Chinese Court and culminated finally in the siege and rescue of Peking; and during this period Chinese students went in greater numbers to Japan.

The early foreign mission schools in China were occupied more with evangelizing their pupils than with giving them formal courses in science and western history, but a few exceptional boys were selected to be sent to America for an advanced education. These early candidates were disheartened, irritated, and often prevented from reaching the colleges to which they were destined, by the inconsistent and sometimes cruel treatment to which they were subjected by the Consular and Immigration employes of the United States government. In California and the Pacific Coast states an extraordinary vio-

lence of feeling had been developed against Chinese immigrant laborers and the Federal Exclusion Law had been passed. The United States Government and its immigration officers were bound both by treaties and express legislation to treat all classes other than laborers with the consideration shown to the citizens of the most favored nations. But during the first ten years of the administration of the Exclusion Law, the immigration service was hampered by lack of money, and by the inexperience of officials in devising regulations for separating the laborers from the exempt classes. They were unable to agree even upon who were to be recognized as entitled to admission. At first all Chinese who were not definitely classed as laborers were to be admitted. By 1884 there were more than a hundred Chinese students in the United States; and for sixteen years thereafter the exemption clause was interpreted to admit youths to the secondary schools, American officials being then unfavorable to the admission of adults desiring collegiate education. In 1901, suddenly and without reference to the Chinese Government, the law was reinterpreted, and the Immigration Bureau ruled that only students prepared for graduate work, who were "provided with a competency" and who would guarantee to return to China were to be admitted. This arbitrary action drew continuous protest from the brilliant Chinese Minister, Wu Ting Fang at Washington. Meanwhile, the merchant class against whom equally stringent rulings were being made, began in South China an effective boycott of American trade, which finally compelled the Commissioner of Immigration to defend the administration of the law and, under Commissioner Straus, even brought about a certain liberalization. Although the application of the ruling was still irregular, students were thenceforth generally admitted who intended to study "higher branches of learning," for which facilities were not afforded in their own country, for whose support in this

country provision had been made, and who expected to return to China upon completion of their studies. Since 1907, the definition of "student" has been slowly expanded by administrative regulation. Officials have applied the regulations with more intelligence as shown by the fact that out of twenty-five hundred students arriving at Angell Island with consular certificates in the last eight years only a little more than one per cent have been excluded for non-conformity. The tortured Exclusion Law, which has always been interpreted by American-made regulation to mean what the immigration authorities desired at the moment, is now more justly applied. But aside from this, the greatest gain in recent years has been the increasing co-operation between the American Consular Service in China and the immigration officials. There was formerly no uniformity of treatment: one service not infrequently nullified the administrative action of the other. In 1917 it was arranged that a particular passport officer of the Consular Service at certain ports in China should handle the certification of Chinese applying to enter America. In 1920 such officers were already stationed at Shanghai, Canton and Hong Kong, all of whom were chosen from the immigration staff to serve as special consular officers assigned to this duty.

The defeat of the Boxers in 1900 by the Allies ushered in a new relation between China and America, by which the future of Chinese students in foreign countries was determined. The Empress Dowager set out to placate foreigners and to bring China into the world of nations. When the United States notified the Chinese Government that a portion of the indemnity assessed upon her for the Boxer outrages would be returned, it renewed the interest of young Chinese in the opportunities open to them in America. Hitherto nearly all the Chinese students in the United States had come from South China; but from the foundation with the indemnity money

of Tsing Hua College at Peking, there has been a yearly group of eighty to a hundred students from this college alone to foreign countries, the majority of whom come to America. During the earlier years the students from Peking and the corresponding groups from South China were uniformly prepared at accredited foreign colleges or at Chinese Government universities, but the numbers have now risen to four hundred a year, many of whom have no diplomas from these institutions, but have been prepared for foreign study in smaller schools or by tutors, and whose credentials are therefore irregular.

With the political revolution in China and the fundamental economic and social changes which the revolutionary parties have set in motion, still other classes of students find it imperative to go abroad to prepare for leadership. Fewer Chinese now desire a classical or even a purely academic education. Many wish to study English and the college sciences and then to get practical training in factories, in industries, and commercial undertakings. Students in agriculture wish to spend a year or two in college and the rest in learning how cotton or silk is grown and manufactured; engineers wish not simply to study, but also to practice electrical or railway or mechanical engineering to fit themselves for management at home. But here again they come in conflict with outworn interpretations of the Exclusion Law. The Chinese American Association at Peking appealed in 1920 to the Department of State for a new ruling to permit industrial students to obtain the necessary training in America. The Department of Labor ruled that such students in addition to the conditions provided in the law of 1884 must furnish a bond of \$1000 guaranteeing that the student will actually be placed in a school of the sort necessary to fit him for supervisory service; that he will not be permitted to engage in any form of work for wages while in the United States; he will be pro-

vided for by funds from home and will not under any condition become a public charge; upon the completion of his course he will promptly return to China, and in no case shall his stay here exceed three years. In addition to these items the Commissioner of Immigration is to be informed on each first of January the first of July of the exact "whereabouts of, and the nature and extent of the training then being received by each student theretofore admitted under the arrangement and still within the United States, and the whereabouts and occupation of each student who, after having been trained here, has returned to China."

Obviously, in view of the inevitable fluctuations in international exchange, only wealthy Chinese can meet this stringent financial ruling, and the few selected students who manage to get in will be here, as it were, "on parole," and pursued by the State Department even after they return home. Yet so important are young men trained in the West to the future development of China that a large American company in the Orient keeps continually in this country twenty-four Chinese boys at a cost of \$30,000 a year, under the supervision of an educational director, to learn the technique of production and distribution.

The Chinese American Association asked further that technical students of certain classes should be allowed to go to America directly from the Middle (High) Schools for practical training, and they offered to safeguard this privilege by a guarantee from the Chinese Gentry of a bona fide intention to obtain training and to return to China when it is accomplished. To this request, as far as is known, no reply has been made.

Throughout the history of the obstacles which have been for forty years set against the admission of Chinese students, while the students of Europe come and go freely, there is visible the habitual discrepancy between the friendly diplomacy

of the State Department and the arbitrary regulations of the Immigration Service in the interest of American labor. For the sake of guarding the smallest loophole through which a Chinese laborer might come in, international courtesy has been violated; moreover America has thereby limited the development of her own trade interests in China. Meanwhile the French Government is inviting Middle (High) School Chinese boys to learn Western methods in her varied industries; and the British, anticipating the competition of Americans in the Orient, put the least possible difficulties in the way of Chinese students and technical men who wish to get their training in England.

Twenty-five years ago when China was still afraid of Western culture, and while the regulations of our Immigration Bureau were putting almost insuperable obstacles in their way, some thousands of young Chinese were sent to Japanese colleges, but the encroachment of Japan on Chinese territory, and the animosities which have arisen made these opportunities less inviting. Soon the Chinese began to question the practicality of diluted technical courses in Japan, and in recent years the intrigues of the Anfu party have discredited the influence of Japan altogether.

It might be supposed that the Chinese students who suffered indignity from officials in America would hold a lasting resentment and would advise their countrymen not to come. But they belong to an astute and practical people and the majority have set over against discourteous treatment the cordiality of American teachers in the colleges they attend, and the general kindness of the American people at large when their race prejudices are not specifically involved. They have been used to a certain arbitrary discourtesy from Chinese officials at home, and they are, above all, a people who do not expect to attain things easily. They have been accustomed to great self-restraint and they expect to work harder for

what they get than the American student is generally accustomed to do. The return of the Indemnity money has to them become a historic instance of American justice and coupled with it the negative virtue of the United States in refraining from taking historical concessions and in demanding "The Open Door" have in their minds obliterated all minor unfriendliness. In spite, therefore, of obstacles, a larger and larger proportion of Chinese students come to America.

What then, after nearly two generations in which foreignized students have been returning to China, is the effect of their Western ideas upon the social, economic and political development of the Orient? Can it be measured? Has their struggle in America against bureaucratic interference and race prejudice been compensated by the training they acquired and the rewards attained in their own country? And to what extent has their effort contributed to international good-feeling?

The isolation to which they were earlier condemned at home is now passing away, and by virtue of the progressive spirit of the Revolution and the spread of foreign commercial ideas into the interior, they begin to find normal opportunities. The returned student, although the least picturesque, is yet to the sympathetic mind, the most dramatic and moving figure in New China. "I am a foreigner in my own country," one of them said, whose years in English schools and at Oxford in the plastic period of his life, had made a patriotic Chinese schoolboy into an Englishman of the leisure class, far more at home in London than in Canton. As for the little group of young women educated abroad, their isolation would be even more tragic if they did not make a new and better place for themselves by social service. They win their way by devotion to the education of Chinese children, by medical service, by bringing into the narrow lives of domestic women some of the joyous give and take which they learned in America.

Among commercial foreigners in China, it is customary to belittle the influence of returned students; to represent them as hanging about for Government appointments, despising manual labor, lacking initiative, of no use in the development of the new industrial China. These foreign representatives of trade, living abroad for the purpose of making a fortune in the fewest possible years, and often under the direction of great Occidental corporations, do not associate with the Chinese except for commercial reasons. Commonly their opinions are based on hearsay and casual instances. Their information, therefore, on such subjects as the achievements and influence of missionaries and of the foreignized Chinese student is for the most part negligible. All the more since they have no sympathy with the desire of the Chinese to develop their own country in their own way.

There was lately dedicated in South China a monument to the "Seventy-two Patriots" of the Revolution, whose chief significance to this discussion lies in the fact that all of them had been in America. They were probably sons of progressive merchants and landowners, but whether formally educated or merely Americanized by their experience abroad, they had served their country by turning the traditional revolution against Imperial tyranny into a constructive movement for a modern constitutional government. The political revolution was, and indeed is, the most striking aspect of an eruption of fundamental social, economic, and moral forces which has been preparing for all these years since foreign trade and foreign educational influence began to penetrate the Empire. The chief medium through which the social revolution is expressing itself is the body of foreignized students. There are at least ten thousand who have studied abroad and returned; another ten thousand still abroad. There are many more who have been enrolled in the foreign missionary colleges and schools in China, and whose foreignization, though not as

complete, is having an even wider effect. Whether trained by foreign teachers in China or in Japan, England, France, and America, they constitute a foreignized class, so to speak, a focus of Western contagion. It is they who are undermining the patriarchal family system, transforming educational methods and industrial technique. They are becoming, inevitably, the social interpreters for foreign experts in railway and irrigation enterprises; the progressives through whom new ideas continually percolate into the interior, and among their conservative countrymen.

The careful observer in China will not overlook the fact that the foreignizing process, begun so long ago in the mission schools, now shows itself in the decline of the patriarchal system. The Chinese who profess Christianity adopt the monogamic family system and endeavor to imitate Western family life. A high official at Peking confessed to an American at a banquet table that he did not particularly value his book education, but that it was worth going abroad to live in an American household, and see all the members of the family sitting at a common table, sharing the conversation and their daily interests. Wherever the student settles on his return he endeavors to carry the idea of comradeship between husband and wife, between parents and children, while still clinging to the ancient sense of responsibility to the larger Chinese family - and his ineradicable respect for the aged.

Without scientific knowledge, the Chinese people have learned to safeguard health by drinking only boiled water tintured with tea, and by living almost wholly on cooked food. The foreignized Chinese contributes his knowledge of science and his influence to an organized health movement. On the walls of the ancient city of Tai Yuan Fu in the interior of Shansi, an American traveller recently discovered a large poster in Chinese with vivid pictures of what happens when flies carry infection. When pursued to their origin

these placards and many exhibits scattered throughout China are found to be distributed from a joint council on Public Health Education organized and promoted by Western medical men. But their go-betweens, their means of interpretation, their local personnel, are the foreignized students without whose intelligent aid they could not so quickly put it over. Wherever the rare Chinese physician, man or woman, trained in Western medicine is settled, there too the contagion of scientific ideas spreads. The wives of the students also have their modest part to play in the social reconstruction. In ancient stone apartments, devoid of plumbing and sewage facilities, they struggle to maintain Western standards in bringing up their children. For children in crowded China are as precious as in devastated France. In most missionary colleges the undergraduates are nearly all married or betrothed. In one of these institutions the teacher of hygiene, who was herself the mother of a brood of five husky American children, was besieged by boy students with questions about how she kept her babies alive, with demands for medicine and recipes and even for patterns of baby clothes. Through them she continually reached a wide audience of simple people eager for science.

Turning from such inconspicuous contributions to social reconstruction, one finds in the economic field even more significant indications of the influence of Western ideas upon Chinese industry through technical men trained abroad. Here again the commercial foreigner in China is inclined to discount the achievement of the progressive Chinese, because it is not modeled upon his own, and is not yet an important factor in trade. The British and Americans and French fear each other's competition but not yet, to any great degree, that of the progressive Chinese. Yet signs are not lacking that it must shortly be reckoned with. For up on the Yangtse River there is an Iron Works, on no great scale and relatively new,

where Western methods are employed by the Chinese owner, himself a graduate of Columbia University. Like many other foreignized Chinese he is somewhat pessimistic about his laborers. He says, as if it were surprising, "They do not like manual labor!" To his employing mind this is a fatal defect. Nor has he much use for the white-handed boys who return from foreign countries with an academic education and no engineering experience—the type to which he himself once belonged. Nevertheless, he is making an experiment whose consequences may be of great value to China. Selecting his better workmen, he has moved them and their families to the estate surrounding the works and established "grammar" grade and craft schools in which the children of employes are carefully trained for future employment in the Works. A curious pedagogical mixture of the traditional methods of Chinese apprenticeship and Western shop practice is being worked out to develop a higher type of workmen. The proprietor is, in one character, the self-made American business man intolerant of young men who have not come up from the ranks of common labor; in another character he is the Chinese of traditional Confucian culture, who has absorbed whatever foreign education offered him which he could employ in the development of China.

The historians have taught us that the Chinese as a nation have always had enormous powers of cultural absorption; and it is this capacity for intelligent assimilation which is making a new Chinese type—the modernizing type, with the stable character of a thoroughbred capable of thriving in new environments from which he instinctively selects that which is useful to him from other civilizations. This produces some queer results: In the Coast cities of China there is what we call in America "a string of stores," owned by Chinese capitalists and managed by one of their number, educated in America. The stores are outwardly arranged on the precise plan of

a large department store in San Francisco even to the entertainment provided for mothers and children on the upper floor. But the clerks live in a dormitory where they board, lodge and attend night schools in which they learn to speak business English, and are trained in American methods of salesmanship. In this practical manner the foreignized manager satisfies the Chinese custom which demands that employers shall train and be responsible for their clerks, while he achieves at the same time the courtesy and efficiency of a good Western mercantile establishment.

The largest publishing house in China, owned and managed by Chinese exclusively, is a model establishment measured by Occidental standards. It is yearly turning out hundreds of thousands of modern Chinese textbooks, carefully prepared from foreign school-books, but rewritten and adapted to Chinese needs and environment. Foreign experience has deeply impressed on Chinese leaders the need of scientific as opposed to classical knowledge, and the importance of adapting Western methods for Oriental use. To the Interior this publishing house sends for use in the lower schools not only textbooks in chemistry, but a complete laboratory outfit for elementary teaching. The editor who selects the texts to be modified and rewritten spent twenty years in study and work in America. The influence of his cosmopolitan experience is tremendous and incalculable in the modernization of China. Yet the foreign business man scarcely recognizes his name when it is mentioned, and the casual tourist visits the curio shops, the slums, and the native city and returns home without knowing that such an engine of civilization exists.

If one sets out earnestly to see and know the modest, industrious, educated class of young Chinese dedicated to the social reconstruction of China one will not find them in foreign hotels. One meets them on the Yangtse steamers: the

mining man educated in California, who tells you he can produce coal at the pit mouth for two dollars a ton but it costs him sixteen dollars a ton to get it down to the river, and he is engaged in solving the transportation problem. After finding you a carriage and a hotel, he shakes your hand and says a little wistfully, that he feels almost more at home with Americans than in China. Wherever there is a Chinese newspaper--there are more than five hundred started since the Revolution--you are sure that behind it there is some foreignized idealist bringing new political and economic ideas from the West to the East. Dr. Tyau says that one can hardly take up a Chinese periodical without detecting the spread of the movement inaugurated by Chinese students to replace the appalling classical language with more practicable characters; to modernize the drama for social uses; to make Western philosophy, economics, law and even fiction available to the Chinese reading public.

Professor John Dewey, a friendly and acute interpreter of Chinese life and institutions, has described in detail the so-called Student Movement growing out of the Twenty-one Demands, the Shantung Controversy, and the defeat of China at the Peace Conference in Paris. He dwells upon their turning of the boycott of Japanese goods into "a constructive movement for the development of Chinese industry. . . . a strictly native movement, showing what China can do and will do in the future."

We may conclude from these and many other illustrations that the effect of foreign training upon two generations of Chinese students is often inconspicuous and subtle; elusive and yet nevertheless far-reaching. It cannot be measured, and yet it is profound. By propaganda and by street-preaching; by renovating ancient industries and converting the merchant class to an articulate share in the transformation of China, in a thousand nameless ways, they are justifying

their struggle and their foreign education. Few of them will reap an adequate reward; like all transitional types they serve and may be forgotten as soon as China attains her own educational institutions. But, however incomplete their experience may be, they are forerunners, the bearers in their own persons of intellectual understanding.

“DISARMING OUR MINDS”

By KENNETH SAUNDERS

Lord Northcliffe has lately been exhorting us to “disarm our minds.” It is a good idea, even though the cynic may wonder whether it is the *London Times* or the *Daily Mail* which he is to take as his guide in this delicate process. Most of us, however, will be ready to welcome the advice; for it is now clear, even to the most muddle-headed, that this is the first stage towards disarmament, and we may wake up one day to find Mr. Hearst also amongst the prophets. For we are slowly learning, at immense cost, that it pays to be less pugnacious, and that patrioteering is as costly to us all as profiteering is to most of us. As a first step in getting rid of the colossal burden of armaments we must forego the genial exercise of the “morning hate,” and disarm our minds.

This will mean many things besides merely refraining from hate; here on the Pacific Coast, for example, it will involve the exorcizing of certain bogies of the mind, such as the “mastery of the Pacific”; we have to learn that the Pacific cannot be mastered by any one power, so long as any other powers have even a few ships left: it is too big and too broad as the elusive *Edmen* showed us. The local press, instead of scaring us, may well help to lay this and similar ghosts, unreal, yet terrifying to the uninformed. Let them allay panics, not

promote them. I was told before I came to California, by a "native son" of more than average intelligence, that there were twenty Japanese to every American in the state; and how many times has this vigorous race been credited with powers of reproduction which are nothing less than miraculous! As a matter of history it increased from about six millions in the seventh century to about sixty in the nineteenth.

Upon these and kindred topics the local press is not very constructive. Yet it is only fair to discriminate between those journals which are respectable, and those whose policy seems wantonly provocative. Experience in San Francisco, we are often told, is that it does not pay to be anything else: and that the public demands a press that is both pugnacious and salacious. Now it is difficult to accept this libel upon the good people of the City, and to believe that human nature is radically different here and in Seattle or Los Angeles—cities whose most successful daily papers are sane and clean. We of San Francisco are restive under this accusation, and many of us are at work trying to expurgate the Yellow Press. Some of us even hope for a change of heart in its lord and master. We should like to convince him that we are not so sordid and so stupid as he believes. Recent experiences should be a warning to him and his editors. The *Journal*, for example, which is by no means brilliant, is succeeding because it is clean, and gives some foreign news. And many of us even so, take an Eastern paper, four days old. The public of today is in fact a different public from that which the Yellow Press controlled five years ago: the War has at least broken up old creeds, and awakened in all of us except the incurably provincial an interest in other lands. We want accurate news, news less obviously "controlled" about Russia, and about the countries of the Pacific.

The present agitation for a "clean" press gives the editors a fine chance to meet our demands. If as they so often

tell us, they are there to give the public what it wants, many of them will soon find their papers full of empty columns! What are they to put in the Augean stables after they have been cleansed? What is to take the place of the picaresques of Roscoe Arbuckle, and the nauseating details of divorces and murders which bring discredit upon the whole Pacific Coast, and poison the minds of our children?

The reply is obvious. We are all interested here in our neighbors in Asia; we want more news of what they are doing, some of it very significant indeed. In India, for instance, Mr. Gandhi is leading a movement of immense import to civilization, building up a new India upon Tolstoian principles, and offering to show us how to get things done without armaments and wars: yet scarcely any of our daily papers tell us of the progress of the movement, unless it is to use it as a stick to beat John Bull.

They may tell us something of the rising of the Moplahs, they tell us nothing of the remarkable success of the new provincial parliaments in India—her first substantial measure of Home Rule—and about the growing success of the "Moderates," of the loyalty of men like Lord Sinha, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri who is just now representing India at Washington. Palates, they tell us when we ask them for such information, which have been trained to enjoy spicy murder cases and the offal of the divorce courts, want something more exciting! They do not tell us who has trained or perverted these palates, and this kind of excuse really deceives no one, not even themselves. The real reason for this conspiracy of silence on vital matters is largely that a noisy part of their constituency, upon whose advertisements they depend, will not allow them to put in any good word for anything that Britain does, and the result is that one of the most remarkable stages of liberal policy in the world's history, the spirit of which is worthy of a Lincoln or a Washington, is passed over in silence, or misrepresented.

I do not speak without personal experience. Several times after I have lectured upon India reporters have been sent to see me, and having taken an hour of their time, and mine, have left with copious notes; but these have never, I think, passed the editorial office. They contained the truth as an honest investigator sees it, and this would not do. On another occasion, after I had advocated Home Rule for India, but had pointed out some of the difficulties in the way, a very garbled account appeared in a San Francisco paper. Some of the Sikhs who had not been present read it and challenged me to a debate. As I was sailing next day for Japan I had to be content with calling upon the editor, and giving him my written statement. His reply was exactly what I had expected, "We cannot publish anything of a controversial nature!"

So it goes with our local press; and in view of the immensely grave situation the question must be asked "How long is it to go on?" Is this rabble to endanger the relations between England and America? "Yes", says Mr. Hearst? Can we not bring about a change of heart in him? An hour with Lord Northcliffe might work the miracle. If not why not deport him, as much less dangerous people have been deported in the past few years?

If the dice are loaded against Britain, how much more are they loaded against Japan. Of Japanese imperialism, they tell us all they can, and there is a good deal; of the much more significant and ever-growing liberal movement in Japan, of the Japanese socialists, of the resolute attempt to improve the government in Korea, of the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference—of these they tell us nothing. They reflect too much credit upon the "Japs"!

As I landed from Japan two examples of current methods of journalism met me. An outrageous article upon insults to Americans in Japan, of which my friends and I had seen absolutely nothing, prompted a strong repudiation on the part

of some of my fellow-passengers. It was waved aside; it was not "good copy." As I was watching the machine at work an interviewer came up to me, drew me aside, and asked me my views of the Buddhist missions in America. I told him with some emphasis that every religion had a right to follow up its own people abroad, and that if it believed itself to be true it naturally aimed at making converts from other religions, though it was not likely to succeed in San Francisco. The next day an almost entirely false account of what I had said appeared, and I have abundant evidence from presidents of California colleges and others that this is by no means an uncommon experience.

Yet I do not forget that these men have to do what they are told, and that a newspaper is a commercial enterprise, and I am going therefore to offer them some practical suggestions for making their papers pay better than they do now. What is wrong with their policy is not so much that it is wicked, as that it is stupid. They do not know their public. They judge it not by the great masses of their subscribers, to whom their papers are sent, but by the crowd who buy them in the street, and even they are getting nauseated. The public at large is interested in ideas; let it be given some. It is intensely interested in the great movements of the day. Watch the subjects which most interest the men's clubs, and even more the women's clubs of this Coast, and you will realize that there is a strong demand for information about these things. Splendid copy is going to waste. I have indicated some of it. If India and Japan are remote in interest what about the Philippines? Another example is the great educational conference of the Pacific peoples at Honolulu. The *London Times* would have had this reported by an educational specialist, who knew how to popularize his material; our local press failed to have it reported at all, and this on the eve of a Disarmament Conference affecting the whole world.

By a stroke of genius Mr. H. G. Wells is being sent to report this Conference at Washington. Why not make this a precedent? Great scientific gatherings, again, and many of the religious conferences are always discussing matters of great moment and of very general interest; yet they are passed by practically in silence.

In a word, our local press, even the best exemplars of it, needs reconstruction; if it is honest it will welcome criticism, and it will increase its circulation whilst it fulfils its duty in this fateful day. There is nowhere a nobler opportunity more wantonly abused. And meantime all intelligent people will beware of the power of mass-suggestion, and remember that out of it came the gross injustice of the Spanish and Boer wars—of which the end is not yet.

THE MISSION OF THE WORLD PRESS IN THE FAR EAST

By JABIN HSU

The attention of the press of the world is today being drawn to the Orient because the political as well as the economic center of the earth has now shifted from Europe to Asia. Sentiments of the Orient and the Occident are widely divergent. The nations bordering the one-time peaceful Pacific are by no means calm. They misunderstand one another and their ignorance and misunderstanding are actually threatening the tranquillity of the entire human race.

While the responsibility of the statesmen who are guiding their respective ships of state is heavy, that of the press of the world is no less so. The press is the sounding board. Or rather, it is the trumpet of international relationship, whether peaceful or warlike. It has always been recognized

as a powerful instrument in time of war as well as in time of peace. Every effort on the part of the newspapermen to improve the relations of the Pacific countries either among themselves or with others is important in this critical time.

What are the factors of the Oriental Press which will increase amity between the East and the West? I propose to mention four. The first is perhaps more or less general while the other three constitute the vital needs of the press of the Far East at the present moment.

1. A code of ethics among newspapermen.

The obligations of the newspaperman in international relationships must be clearly understood and carefully defined. A code of ethics must be recognized. The prime duty of a journalist is to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Give the world the truth, and it will lead to peace and justice. The day of secrecy and propaganda is past and when people know what is going on, there is not likely to be any trouble. One of the best ways of keeping the world press free and intelligent is to develop a class of journalists of high caliber and character in every country. The journalist should not be blinded by governmental encouragements or honors, or attracted by great wealth. He must not hesitate to attack an evil if need be. He must be determined to advocate the right of the poor and humble in the cause of humanity.

In this connection, the importance of journalistic education cannot be over-emphasized. Already this branch of work has been recognized by some of the leading executives of the journalistic profession. The endowment of the School of Journalism at Columbia University by the late John Pulitzer and the recent bequest of the late W. J. Murphy of the *Minneapolis Journal*, amounting to about a million dollars, as well as the donation of the *Chicago Tribune* to Northwestern University are some of the encouraging evidences.

Twenty years ago, newspaper "fakes" were quite com-

mon. Such a thing as journalistic ethics was not known to the profession and even some of the more conservative journals of the day indulged in the orgy of sensationalism. The schools of journalism have aroused young men of integrity to pursue the life of newspapermen and pursue it honestly. The teachers have succeeded more or less in guiding the efforts of their students. In recent years, consequently, the reporter has ceased to come from the printing office or the detective bureau but has been trained in an institution of higher education. These schools have not only developed creditable newspapermen from students who were originally not interested in journalism but have also discouraged students who are not fit for the profession. Special courses of newspaper ethics are offered; and advanced standards of news and editorial writing and practice are taught by precepts and examples.

2. Elimination of propaganda.

The Far East offers a dumping ground for news as for many other things. Reuter's News Agency is the "chop suey" of intelligence, featuring British news and opinion. The Kokusai, a worthy second cousin of Reuter's, caters to the needs of the Nipponese Empire and does its work most loyally. The American and French wireless news present a mass of confused despatches, while the Russian and German journalistic aspirants are showing their earmarks all over the youthful press in the Orient. It is no exaggeration to say that none of these institutions deals with the news which we want, the news of the Far East and the news of world events which concern the vital interests of the Pacific. We are convinced that the news of the Far East today is not conducive to international understanding and that therefore the press is injurious to Far Eastern relationships.

It is the duty of the world to fight propaganda so that the plain truth will come out and so that the governments and peoples of the world may see the issues involved with clear vision and meet them with good faith and unflinching courage.

The eminent editor, Frank Cobb of the *New York World*, recently protested against the terrific volume of propaganda and colored news, designated in journalistic vernacular as "handouts." He is quoted as having said in an address that the press was exhausted by the world war and that the war did more to debauch journalism than anything that has ever happened. He deplored the system of censorship that was used as a war measure and spoke of its spread into all channels of information. He regrets that the use of censorship through publicity organs has been accepted by the editors.

Propaganda has been rightly called the "hookworm of journalism." We who live out in the Far East have certainly been suffering from its effects long enough. Disarm the yellow press and universal peace is at hand. The dark chapters of human history are largely records of man's blunders through misunderstanding. Propaganda is the mother of international misunderstanding; so the sooner it is interred, the better it will be for humanity.

3. Reduction of Rates of Communication.

Many cases of international misunderstanding, however, can be attributed or traced to the absence of full and lengthy accounts of events, sometimes not entirely due to propaganda or misrepresentation but to a very laudable desire on the part of the correspondent to reduce cable, wireless or telegraphic expenses. When international matters of gravity are under discussion like the proceedings and the developments of the present conference on limitation of armaments in Washington, it is the sacred duty of the press to give the accounts in full detail. They have an obligation to their reading public which they must fulfil. The people of the world must be kept informed about the doings here. Yet this fulfilment is impossible when a single message may absorb the receipts of a newspaper in an entire day.

Telegraphic facilities for the general exchange of news,

press comments and wholesome suggestions should be greatly lowered in cost, and be improved and extended. The general outcry of the newspapers of the Far East is that we want news and plenty of it. We want news that is free from restriction or misrepresentation caused by brevity. We want cheap rates in order to avoid the partial knowledge of an event which may cause a great deal of international mischief as it did in the Far East during the period of the world war. The cheapening of all means of international communication is of supreme importance to civilization. This must be effected if the nations of the world are to picture their neighbors in a true light. Only by this means may the Far East and the rest of the world be linked into a close unit.

Not only political information, but also international social events, sports, human interest stories and all features of human interpretation will serve to eradicate misunderstanding and enable the nations to know more sympathetically the private and social life of one another. Owing to the high rates of cablegrams and telegrams, the press in several countries in the Pacific cannot pay for the amount of news necessary for their publication in the interest of human welfare.

The public must therefore appreciate the importance of cheap and rapid communication and secure at once the lowest possible rate for the despatching of news in order to have a brighter, broader, and better news service.

4. The exchange of journalists.

The exchange of professors between universities of the East and the West has been found to be beneficial to the educational world. Not only are the young students thus able to grasp the actual situation of a nation depicted to them by a professor most competent to do so, but the professor himself comes home with a broadened view of the country in which he has made his sojourn. The civilizing influence of this movement is already being felt and is contributing a great deal to-

wards the betterment of international relationship. But an experienced newspaperman, who is trained to grasp a situation in the shortest possible time and can describe vividly events in a nation hitherto misinterpreted and who can despatch the news immediately to his home country would indeed accomplish even more than the professor, for the timeliness of his intelligence is a factor which the professor lacks. Timeliness is of the highest value in international relationship.

By the interchange of journalists, correspondents will receive education and experience of the highest value through travel from one country to another, serving actively at places where they are visiting and at the same time keeping in close touch with their home offices.

The world war has altered many things. Human views are broadened. We are more interested in our neighbors every day and want to know how they live and progress in the tide of time. We want to know them and understand them. The foreign correspondent of broad views and high caliber will bring enlightenment and education to millions and millions among races which are just being introduced to the Western world of intelligence. It is the sacred duty of the press to watch their interests. It is the duty of every journalist in this world to disseminate correct information about one country in another and eliminate the wild desire for sensation or colored reports about other nations whose true position his own countrymen cannot grasp.

The white light of publicity, accurately, honestly balanced, and radiated by a truthful writer, will go far in paving the way to intelligent conclusions and clear understanding.

The time for the realization of the above mentioned needs is today. Here in Washington at this very hour is gathered together, upon the far-sighted and wise initiative of President Warren G. Harding, a conference on disarmament.

Diplomats of nine important nations of the earth are attending. With them came also the leading newspapermen of the world, whose integrity and character have made their words the guidance of public opinion. The exchange of views among these knights of intelligence cannot but produce a beneficial effect upon the conference in particular and the human race in general.

Benjamin Franklin branded the press as the mistress of intelligence. A press consecrated to public welfare, telling the truth and seeking to bring about world understanding is more powerful than a conference of diplomats gathered for peace. The ideal press should be devoted to justice and fair-play and should sponsor friendliness and harmony among mankind.

THE PRESS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By BARON S. A. KORFF

There is no doubt whatever that public opinion is playing in our days an increasingly important role; its influence is felt everywhere, in Parliament, in Government policies, in social life and daily events, important as well as trivial. And yet a careful observer cannot help feeling that in too many cases the reaction of public opinion is unconscious, not to say blind; it is hardly ever a long-thought-out process of reasoning and thus only too often reacts erroneously and creates evils, instead of achieving good results.

In the shaping of public opinion the greatest part is played in turn by the information that people get from the outside as to how the world is living and progressing; and most of the information comes through the daily press. This is the

reason why the newspapers at present possess so very much influence. Their function, in other words, consists in shaping public opinion by feeding the news to the people, by helping them to form an idea of what is going on in the rest of the world.

In the realization of this function of the press, naturally, the most important object ought always to be accuracy: first, in making the picture it gives of life correspond as far as possible to reality, in fighting and counteracting all that is called propaganda (which differs from simple news by admitting the colorings that unfortunately so often warp the picture and garble the news); and secondly, in explaining and commenting on the news, telling the ignorant either the history of the respective event, or elucidating its political or other meaning.

It is in this last field of commentary and explanation that the American press differs most from the European; whereas in the Western Continent the great majority of daily-papers seem to consider their most important work to be the collection and dissemination of as much news as possible, the European press lays much more stress on the explanation of the news, and on editorial comment. If a paper concentrates its attention on collecting news, local news-items naturally always predominate, and among them crime, fires, and the like necessarily take the leading place; these easily attract the eye of the local citizen; they appeal more to the imagination of the uneducated man, or sometimes concern him personally, having happened in his own neighborhood, perhaps next door; or they involve his friend or relative. Whereas the foreign news is much more intricate, and needs explanation that the local editor cannot always give.

The other method of editing a newspaper, usually preferred by Europeans, has however its own drawbacks, implying often-times even greater dangers; it is in process of

comment that propaganda comes in most easily; and here it is that temptations beset an editor from every side. He has to guard constantly against outside influences, ready to persuade him to editorial comment in the interest of some special idea that may often have nothing to do with the matter in hand.

Knowing this people in many countries do not quite trust their papers and try to find other means of information or at least of verification of the news given them by their daily papers. But it cannot be said, unfortunately, that such methods are always successful. Too often the public remains uninformed, and public opinion continues to be formed and shaped more by chance or subconscious reactions than by logical reasoning, principles, and ideals.

We had a remarkable opportunity to witness how all this works in practice and what a tremendous role the press does play in the every-day life of a nation, during the latter part of the war in Finland. The Finnish people are known to be among the best educated of the world; the small percentage of illiteracy among them shows how large a proportion of the boys and girls go to school and receive some kind of education, perhaps not very deep, but certainly above the average. During the war, when social discontent gradually and steadily increased, largely because of the foolishness of dying autocracy, strikes became very frequent; and among other branches of labor, the typographical unions began to take a leading part; hence came unavoidable strikes of the daily press; certain city populations remained in consequence without their daily papers for weeks; it was uncanny to witness how the great majority of people during those days lost their political bearings; when news trickled through, by telegraph or personal communications, they did not know what to think of it, for the simple reason that they had not their morning paper to supply them with the point of view, with the appreciation

and evaluation of events that they were used to getting at breakfast time. This applied even to the best-educated citizen, whom one would never have suspected of not possessing a well defined individual opinion on political or social matters.

At no time were we entirely cut off from the outside world; news continued to come through, though in very small quantities and without any system whatsoever; it was only the explanation of the news and its systematizing that was lacking. This state of affairs clearly showed how much depends on such comments and system, even in a community that stands above the average in education, and one would think in independence of thought and judgment.

These last years there has been collected a vast amount of scientific data of the same sort as the facts just mentioned, proving the enormous influence that the Press can and does have on public opinion; this is the more important to remember, when we consider what role public opinion in turn plays in the life of a modern nation. One only can wonder why the sociologists have not yet paid sufficient attention to the experiences of war times and have not made adequate use of the accumulated scientific material.

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Among all the branches of modern life, foreign relations invariably are the most complicated, and the most difficult to understand without a thorough preparation and a good education; no wonder, then, that in questions of Foreign Affairs public opinion reacts usually in the blindest way. And yet, as time goes on, the interdependence of nations becomes more evident and important. No nation can live any more outside of the international community of nations, no people cut themselves off from the outside world. On the contrary, as decade follows decade, the inter-relations of nations become more complex and the ties that bind them to one another become stronger and more efficient.

This necessarily increases the value of all the factors that can or do influence the development of International Relations. Among these factors it is easy to see that public opinion plays no mean role. How many of these relations depend in the likes and dislikes of the people, on national sympathies or antipathies, which are strengthened or weakened by public opinion! In the vast majority of cases, however, all these influences are the result only of unconscious or subconscious reactions, of emotional reflections or momentary effervescence, and not of logical reasoning or well-thought-out political strategy. Even among a very highly educated people standing far above the average, for instance Scandinavia, it is only a minority that reacts consciously in matters of Foreign Relations, that can appreciate in full the details of the Foreign Policy of their respective governments.

Some authors consider for that reason, that this is the weakest point of Democracy and that the participation of the people at large in the shaping of the Foreign Policy of their country is well-nigh hopeless. Such for instance seems to be the view of Lord Bryce, who considers that the time is still very far off, when Diplomacy will become absolutely open and will be shaped by Democracy. I do not think that such a pessimistic view is quite justified for the following reason: it is no longer a question of *when* the people will begin to participate in the shaping of the Foreign Relations and *when* public opinion will begin to make itself felt in this domain, but of *how* to improve such participation, because it is well started and public opinion does interfere already, and in no small degree either. But I agree with Bryce, and most emphatically, that the only way to improve these influences and this participation, is by education, which alone can raise the masses to the necessary standards and enlighten, and reform if necessary, the Press.

These interesting and important questions were

thoroughly debated by Lord Bryce, myself and many others during the session of the Institute of Politics last summer in Williamstown, Massachusetts.

The conclusions reached were unanimous and invariably condemnatory to old methods of the so-called Secret Diplomacy. Our reasons for condemnation were the same as those cited above. Secret Diplomacy is so very dangerous because it keeps from the people's knowledge one of the most important fields of a nation's life, its Foreign Relations with the outside world. The explanation of such a state of affairs is purely an historical one; the arguments usually mentioned in its defense are merely political camouflage for the purpose of shielding personal, selfish, or class interests. Improvement can come only through the slow processes of education.

Considering the tremendous influence the Press can and does have on public opinion, it can also help very much in combating the evils of Secret Diplomacy, by building up the necessary and vital link between government policy and public opinion, giving the latter a better chance to comprehend and appreciate the contemporary Foreign Relations of the nations of the world.

* * * *

The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments and on Pacific Problems is most interesting from this point of view.

The great strength and possible influence that the United States can have, as compared to the other nations, lies almost exclusively in the force of public opinion. The ideals that inspire the American people are shared by the rest of the world, but they can be realized only in as much as they are supported by public opinion, particularly in the United States themselves. The American Government can achieve results only as long as it is backed by the people, in other words by American public opinion; and the same applies not only to the Gov-

ernment or the President, but in a much larger measure to the American Delegation at the Conference; if the latter have not the people and public opinion back of them their work will necessarily be fruitless and all their endeavors vain. The Europeans, with their wider experience, their more subtle ways, will surely get the better results, as long as the old methods of Secret Diplomacy prevail. There is but one way to get around this, namely to discard these old and obnoxious ways and to play the game openly, so that the American people and the world at large may know what is going on in Washington. That does not mean, in any way, that all the transactions must at once be made public, that the newspaper correspondent can and ought to know all the details of all the proceedings. Not at all: much can be discussed behind closed doors and never reach the ear of the public; but the nation must know the general trend of the transactions, the objects achieved or striven for. The policy of the Delegation must be a national one and the public must be kept informed of the different stages of its development, as well as of the difficulties encountered from whatever quarter.

There are good reasons to believe that the importance of the support of public opinion is well realized in Washington. The best proof of this I find is the remarkable way in which public opinion was warming up to the conference under the influence of Secretary Hughes' talks with the pressmen. During the months of September and October a great change took place; in August, the feeling toward the Conference was more than cool in many quarters; there were a great many sceptics who did not believe in the Conference and openly said so; and naturally such a state of mind was extremely dangerous and detrimental to the cause and to the work of the American Government. As time went on, the change of opinion concerning the Conference became more and more evident and with it came a change in the attitude of the European

governments. The stronger the backing of the American nation, the easier their Delegation's task in dealing with the European Delegations and Representatives.

Another point too has to be kept in mind, namely, that public opinion, never very stable, in this case seems even more than usually shifty and unreliable; it may turn back to hostility in a very short time, thus frustrating all that is already accomplished. There exist very many misgivings in various circles that may become actual hostilities at the least provocation. The Conference of Versailles is too fresh in most people's memories and the precedent is not a wholesome one. More than ever, the American Government and its Delegation must be careful in keeping up the above mentioned splendid spirit of public support for their work and attitude at the Conference.

Very naturally, everything in this respect will depend on the newspapers and on them alone. The magazines and other literature can have no influence in this case, coming too late, moving too slowly, reaching the public when results have already crystallized into *faits accomplis*. Quite otherwise with the daily papers; they will disseminate their news constantly. Just in time to form and influence the opinions of their readers and either assist and help the work going on in Washington, or frustrate and hamper it to the detriment of the nation.

Finally, one more point must be mentioned. The work of the Conference is so complicated, the questions raised are so numerous and so involved, the political horizon is so very vast, that disappointments will be certain and unavoidable; there will be cases and possibly many of them, of unsatisfied desires or misconceptions and failures. One can only hope that such failures and disappointments shall not discourage the American nation in the achievement of the final aims of the conference. In this respect again public opinion will in-

variably be the strongest and surest support for the American Delegation.

But such a state of public opinion depends absolutely on the policies the daily newspapers take. If they themselves do not get discouraged and continue to view the future with hope and optimism, public opinion is sure to remain favorable to the work of the Conference. It is a noble, useful, and thankful task that thus confronts in Washington the American Press.

BOOK REVIEWS

PROBLEMS OF THE ORIENT

What Japan Wants. By Yoshi S. Kuno, Assistant Professor, Oriental Department, University of California. Thomas Y. Crowell.

China, Captive or Free? By Dr. Gilbert Reid, Director of the International Institute of China. Dodd, Mead & Co.

Dr. Kuno's little book, issued with introductory notes by President Barrows and ex-President Wheeler, makes a very distinct contribution to the discussion of present-day problems in the Far East. There are so many little bits of unusual information and so many indications of an unbiased way of regarding things, that the book compares with larger and more pretentious volumes to great advantage. Dr. Kuno shows that some of the problems which have hitherto troubled the minds of publicists are slowly being eliminated. For instance, the problem of overpopulation is, in the opinion of the author, being solved by industrial development and by other less desirable methods. It is clear that the controversy with Japan is narrowing down to the question—which is indeed one of life or death—as to Japan's being permitted free access to sources of raw material on the Asiatic mainland. If this be secured, there is but little danger of further territorial aggression. In this respect Japan only followed the example set her by nations more experienced in expansion and has already learned not only that such aggression is unpopular abroad but also that it is rather expensive than profitable. Dr. Kuno's book is written with a good understanding of American opinion and should be widely read by those who desire to make themselves acquainted with both sides of the question.

Dr. Reid unfortunately during the war gave so many illustrations of his pacifist, or really pro-German bias that it is not strange to find the same defect reflected in his otherwise interesting book. According to the author China should never have been drawn into the war with Germany with which nation, he claims, she had no cause for quarrel. It is remarkable how much more serious was the offence of Japan in depriving Germany of Kiaochow than was Germany's original offence in taking the same territory from China. Moreover, the war against Germany should never have been carried into Eastern waters; further, the United States was ill-advised in joining the allies. This point of view evidently caused Dr. Reid some annoyance during the war and now

mars what might otherwise have been a helpful consideration of the Chino-Japanese imbroglio. There is plenty of evidence of keen sympathy with the Chinese and ample knowledge of recent political history. But all this is deprived of its value through quite unnecessary displays of prejudice and bitterness towards those who chose another course than that of the author. The questions at issue between the two great peoples of the Orient must be solved in quite a different spirit from that of Dr. Gilbert Reid.

—H. H. G.

PRESIDENT'S ENGLISH, PLAINTIFF

American English. By Gilbert M. Tucker. Alfred A. Knopf.

"On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners" is a phrase which is universal in range, and reversible. At its crudest it shows a provincialism measuring all things by the norm of its own limited experience; the wider the experience, the less denunciatory the criticism. This feeling of condescension is in-grown in the Anglo-Saxon, where the strange has given us words like *uncouth* and *outlandish*. It points to a domesticity which is a precious heritage, but which in its degeneracy produces insularity and snobbishness. This is likely to be noticeable in matters of speech, for speech is so intimate and personal a thing, that too great and constant care expended upon it becomes as objectionable as a perennial flaunting of a family tree, or a persistent public manicuring. Language is a vehicle of thought, an instrument, not an end. The whole value of a tool is its usefulness, its repair and its adequacy for the task. A saw or plane is valuable not by reason of its decoration or its antiquity, but by reason of its power to do its work well.

Each country with its distinctive climate, crafts, developments, has two linguistic problems. It has to develop a vocabulary with which it can adequately express its own conditions of life—its geographical peculiarities, its flora, the needs of its industries. Then it must keep clean and bright its language for purposes of communication with the outside world. So long as its local vocabulary is adequate, that is its own affair. But the chief difficulty lies in keeping its second vocabulary effective. When the community is isolated, deterioration quickly sets in. Where the language is used only by a few hundred thousand people, the problem is simple enough. The norm is set in the cultural center of the community, and quickly spreads from there. But when the language

is used by many millions of people in lands scattered all about the earth, the problem is indeed a knotty one. It becomes peculiarly difficult because it is at the same time private and public. To whom or to what place may we look as a norm? We look with loving eyes to England as the mother country, but when our English brothers step forward and ask us to behold in them the embodiment of perfect English perfectly used, our English blood makes us reply that Britons even to the twentieth generation never, never meekly submit to self-elected tutors. It is much as if the Smiths of San Francisco, Boston, Vancouver, Capetown, Auckland, and Bombay must learn their Smithly duty from the eldest son of the Smiths of Kensington. It is exactly here that the problem of the norm becomes delicately diplomatic, calling for a large measure of patience and good manners. It is true that the cultivated Englishman takes his language as a much more serious thing than does the average American. It is also true that a cultivated American can make himself intelligible throughout the English-speaking world without coaching from the mother-country. Our cultivated American from Boston, from New Orleans, from Portland, finds the rasping voice of our streets just as nerve-racking as does the cultivated Englishman; he also finds the English of the grocer-peer from the Five Towns nerve-racking. He feels that to speak of "the American voice" is as uncharitable as it would be for him to say that "a woman in England is a bloomin' lidy." In discussing the norm of good English, it is idle to deny that there is a real sensitiveness. Any book on dialect or speech difference which tends to lessen this friction is welcome; any book which tends to increase it, is not.

We doubt very much if Mr. Gilbert M. Tucker's book is as valuable a contribution as the author's evident grasp of the subject should have made it. He rightly demurs at the injustice of British critics who compare the language of the cultivated Briton with that of the illiterate American. But he frequently adopts the method not unknown to politics, of answering abuse with abuse, which engenders a vicious and active circle. Once in a while he ventures into dangerous bogs, as when he says: "And in respect to geographical names, the closer adherence of our countrymen to the guidance of the orthography, is, of course, notorious and manifest." (p. 33). Those of us who have battled with Californian names, and our own Ilwaco, Jovita, and Spokane, hold our tongues. Likewise, he says: "Another peculiarity of recent British speech and literature is the insertion of superfluous words that an American speaker or writer would never think of putting in," (p. 45) in proof of which he quotes

"Every critic occasionally meets in with works of great fame, etc." Have we not a close analogy in our "meet up with," which is at present so widespread; or our "referring back"?

In his chapter "Exotic Americanisms," Mr. Tucker has done a good piece of work in making a list of words which Bartlett, Farmer, Clapin and Thornton call Americanisms, which are, however, immigrants from England. His list in the chapter called "Some Real Americanisms," is less valuable, largely because it is not critical. It might be of much more worth if one knew which words are obsolete, which local, and which universally used. Many of the words cited seem to be semi-jocular coinings for special occasions—such as *Abolitiondom*, *Africanize*, *councilmanic*; some purely local, as *lagniappe*, *hoptoad*, *musquash*; some, class dialect, as *Prer*, *hock*, *to bone*; and some surely on the outskirts of vocabulary, as *nary red*, *ker—*, *lobbygow*, *hunkidory*, *thank ye ma'ams*. In fact, instead of this chapter being invaluable, it is tantalizing in its incompleteness. A large number of words in the list can only be slang, or vulgarisms, which has a decidedly neutralizing effect upon Mr. Tucker's claim for the excellence of English in America.

In truth, Mr. Tucker has not touched upon the real key to the excellence of a language—its universality, nor the stimulus toward achieving that excellence—the desire to be intelligible to the greatest number of people using that language. The crying need throughout the English-speaking world is for a wholesome and manly attitude toward speech, discarding vulgarity on the one hand and preciousity on the other. Mr. Tucker's book does not help fill this need.

—R. M. G.

A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan. Translated by Annie Shepley Omori and Kochi Doi, with an Introduction by Amy Lowell. Houghton Mifflin Co.

To the average reader the chief interest of these Diaries will be the vivid portrayal of quaint and long-forgotten customs in which the lords and ladies of an ancient Court step out before us in all the elegant frivolity of their narrow, aristocratic little world.

Delightfully frank and simple are these three Court ladies in recording the incidents of their daily lives, and though they portray a veritable boredom of petty conventionalities, though the manners they depict

are musty with age, the writers themselves are not mere curiosities. They stand out to the reader as real women—one as distinctly different from the other as would be three intelligent women of today.

That we find their writings both human and interesting is doubtless owing to the fact that they have found sympathetic translators. Renderings into English from ancient classical Japanese have few readers because they are insufferably dull and flat.

One has keen pleasure in reading Amy Lowell's Introduction in which she has given the necessary background for the ladies and their writings, as well as a page or two concerning Japanese poetry—those tiny exclamatory odes to Nature which every elegant person of that day was supposed to be able to turn out on the spot as occasion demanded.

In the third Diary we have many of these. Izumi Shikibu was a celebrated poetess, and it is her own amorous adventure with a young Prince of the Court, and the poems they exchanged, which she records.

This passionate poetess often sits up till dawn watching the moon, writing verses to the night, to autumn leaves, to the cuckoo; and to these her lover responds with all the gloom of the youthful, introspective poet.

"Flashes of delicate fancy," these poems have been called—like post-impressionistic pictures merely outlining ideas for the imagination. Restricted in form to certain subjects, to a certain number of lines, to a play upon words, it is no wonder that they seem rather slight and unsatisfying to the Anglo-Saxon taste.

In the other two Diaries we have more description of Court life, for both writers spent most of their lives in the narrow confines of the Emperor's palace at Kyoto.

The first writer gives a few incidents of a journey—by palanquin and attended by a retinue of soldiers—into what was, ten centuries ago, the wilderness.

"Words cannot express my fear in the midst of it," she writes of Hakone, today beloved of tourists. And another journey of danger and hardships she takes over that highway made famous eight hundred years later by the color prints of Hiroshige.

Of Mount Fuji she writes, "In the Province where I was brought up [from which she begins this journey] I saw that mountain far towards the west. It towers up painted with deep blue and covered with eternal snow. It seems that it wears a dress of deep violet and a white veil over its shoulders."

During years of Court life, she frequently writes of being bored to death with doing nothing. "Days were spent in musing with a vacant mind."

At last, getting permission to go on pilgrimages, she makes the rounds of temples and prays to endless Buddhas—perhaps finding some relief in composing her sad little poems by the way.

From the writings of Murasaki Shikibu, a literary light of that time, we have many amusing details of Court ceremonies, curious descriptions of dress and etiquette, with much sprightly criticism of the vanities of a dissolute Court.

—E. T.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Clerambault. The Story of an Independent Spirit during the War. By Romain Rolland. Henry Holt and Co.

Romain Rolland and his Work. By Stefan Zweig. Thomas Seltzer.

Rolland begins by assuring his readers that *Clerambault* is in no sense an autobiography; as far as the events in the life of Clerambault are concerned, it is clear enough that this statement is true. Rolland did not, like Clerambault, begin, at the outbreak of the war, by renouncing his humanitarianism; he was not an ardent patriot who hated the enemy and who wrote war-songs in the most chauvinistic spirit; nor did he need the death of his son to make him see that the flames of hatred were being fanned into ever fiercer flames, that the herd was swallowing up individual thought, that the intellect of the nations was mobilized as were their armies and that love of one's fellow-man had become treason to the state. Nor was Rolland, happily, killed by a fanatic for his ideas, though many a fanatic would willingly have served him thus.—But the events of the book are of secondary importance. The growth of the soul of Clerambault from mental slavery to freedom; the picture of the madness and wildness of the warring countries; the thoughts that Rolland lends his hero—these are what make the book important. When Clerambault, brought to a thorough examination of his own convictions by the death of his son, sees things as they are, he issues letters to the press that recall the letters and articles Rolland wrote and published in *Above the Battle* and *The Forerunners*. "My theme is that the individual soul has been swallowed up and submerged in the soul of the multitude," says Rolland, and in treating this theme he presents the changing soul of a man who strives for and attains freedom and the picture of an entire country in the delirium of war.

The biography of Rolland (the publisher states that the work is published simultaneously in five languages—the translation into English is remarkably well done, and shows no evidences of being a translation) written with sympathy and penetration, occupies but a small part of this excellent book. We are shown the young Rolland with his love of Shakespeare and music, which all his life has been one of his greatest consolations; we catch glimpses of him at school and at the Normal School, where his love for history and philosophy develops; we see something of the friends he makes, and keeps for the most part; the influence of Tolstoy upon him and especially the effect of a certain letter, some phrases of which have become living parts of his existence as an artist and as a man: "That alone is of value which binds men together; the only artist who counts is the artist who makes a sacrifice for his convictions; the pre-condition of every true calling must be, not love of art, but love for mankind." One might imagine that one were reading Rolland's own words, so faithfully has he preached them and lived them. Rolland wins a traveling scholarship and passes two years in Italy. He returns to teach at the Normal School and later at the Sorbonne, but comes back through Germany, and when he returns, he has already acquired the European mind and the international outlook, that feeling of love for all his fellowmen of whatever nation, which is so large a part of his being. Aside from his marriage, which was wrecked some years later, a few journeys, his activities in the Dreyfus case, his story is nothing but the story of his thoughts and his books.

During fifteen years Rolland worked away in silence, unknown, publishing his works in an obscure paper, "Les Cahiers de la Quinzaine." He tried to revive a folk drama, and wrote several plays for it that failed to receive attention. He was trying in these "Tragedies of Faith" and the "Drama of the Revolution" to remold the spirit of his generation; his heroism and justice are already apparent. Following these come his *Biographies of Heroes*, and by heroes he means those who are great by the powers of the heart: "There is but one heroism on earth—to know life and yet to love it." In Beethoven, he found one who produced joy out of suffering; in Michelangelo, one who bore his sufferings like a cross, and Tolstoy a third form of heroic suffering, for he turned his joys into sorrows for his own salvation.

Then came *Jean-Christophe* with which Rolland was occupied some fifteen years, and it is to this work that one of the six parts of Mr. Zweig's book is devoted. Rolland had been looking for the supreme consoler in some actual historical figure, and not finding him resolved

to create one who should typify what the great men of all times had suffered, a hero who should belong not to one nation but to all peoples. These are indeed chapters worthy of their subject. With keen judgment Mr. Zweig analyzes the work. He shows us that it is an insight into the soul, with an outlook into the age and a portrayal of an entire generation. It is an attempt to understand life and an attempt to love life. It is the miracle of a man whose whole life is truth. He shows us that what makes Jean-Christophe's struggle supremely heroic is that he aspires solely towards the greatest, towards life as a whole. He analyzes for us the chief characters, showing their influence upon one another; he unfolds the picture that Rolland drew of three great countries of Europe, which were to form a sort of European symphony—France, Italy and Germany. With the publication of *Jean-Christophe* in book form, fame burst upon Rolland, just in time to give authority to his conviction during the war.

After *Jean-Christophe*, with the exception of *Colas Breugnon*, which is but a fantastical and humorous variation upon Rolland's leit-motif of faith in life, the hero of which book submits to tragic events and conquers himself, all of Rolland's energies during the war and since have been given to the effort to preserve the spirit of justice, to kill hatred and to establish understanding and love among men. He is the "conscience of Europe." In letters and manifestoes during the war (*Above the Battle* and *The Forerunners*) in *Liluli* and *Clerambault*, the folly and madness of hatred and the mob-spirit have been set forth with rare force and with wonderful courage, for almost alone among the writers of Europe he remained true to his ideals, "the bravest and freest man we have ever known."

We have in this book of Mr. Zweig a remarkably successful effort to set forth the essential continuity in the life of Rolland, and the harmony that has ever existed between the man and his works. He shows us that Rolland's aim has always been "to inculcate a new heroism of self-conquest, a new faith in justice" and that his life and his books have been but manifestations of that aim. This book is worthy of one of the noblest-minded men that ever lived. —O. P.

EVEN MR. MENCKEN LIKES IT

The American Novel. By Carl Van Doren. Macmillan Co.

Our literary history, let it be said to our shame, has long been a closed preserve of text-book mongers. Gentlemanly scholars like Moses Coit Tyler of a past generation—urbane, witty, catholic in knowledge and

sympathy—no longer hunt over it. Their place has been taken by zealous professors, who dream of text-books by night, and produce them in quantity during vacations. A successful venture gains recognition for one at "the office," and supplements pleasantly the meagre professorial salary, without making very severe demands upon intellectual equipment. Hence results an endless series of inexpensive volumes as much alike as the two ears on a donkey's head. But here is a book of a different sort that much be taken account of. Carl Van Doren—I am sure he would not want to be called Professor Van Doren—has junked the text-books and written a study. The result is a sort of hybrid, produced by a cross fertilization of the *Nation* upon Columbia seminars. It is fresh and original, but its roots are deep in scholarship, twisted about the *Cambridge History*. Mr. Mencken likes it, which is sufficient evidence that it is not unduly professorial; and "Billy" Phelps approves it, which gives assurance that it is adequately academic. But the praise of these two very different gentlemen need not prevent sensible persons from liking it also.

The book is short—rather disappointingly so; for where exposition is so clean and intelligent, one would like ampler discussions of certain men passed over briefly—Herman Melville, for example. It consists of five studies of outstanding figures—Cooper, Hawthorne, Twain, Howells, James—set in an admirable framework of groups and tendencies. Of these major studies, the analysis of Hawthorne and Howells is notably discriminating and sensitive. The commentary on the *Scarlet Letter* is worthy of the subtle genius of Hawthorne; and the interpretation of Howells—particularly the appreciation of the social disillusion, which under the influence of the Russians came in later years to becloud "the gay American horizons" of Howells' earlier art—is the most intelligent that has yet been done. The chapter on Cooper is not quite up to the others; for in passing lightly over the important books of social criticism, he throws the total work of Cooper somewhat out of perspective. In those too brief connecting portions which generalize concerning groups and tendencies, Mr. Van Doren has done pioneer work that reveals his power to deal with masses of material. He strips away the cluttering details and sees the main forces. How much intelligent reading, for example, had gone to producing such a sentence as this: "As in medieval France there were three 'matters' of romance, De France, et de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant, so in the United States there were also three: the Revolution, the Settlement, and the Frontier." In dealing with recent literature he is under greater difficulties.

The men are too close to permit the sure generalization that marks the earlier portion of the book; but his gift is evident and the attempt to group the later writers into "right" and "left"—the followers of romance and the advocates of naturalism—is suggestive if not quite convincing. In seizing hold of the thread of emerging naturalism, at least, he is following a certain clue.

Mr. Van Doren is a member of an interesting group of younger men who are doing much for American literary criticism. He is extraordinarily well read in American fiction and follows contemporary developments with keen insight. His serial discussion of contemporary American novelists, now running in the *Nation*, is discriminatingly analytical and trustworthy. To some readers he may seem to lay rather too much emphasis upon technique—the artist's handling of his material—at the expense of ideas; yet in certain later studies, notably so in dealing with Hamlin Garland, he reveals a canny insight into the forces which have produced the artist, that is shrewdly illuminating.

—V. L. P.

SOME PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY

Problems of the New World. By J. A. Hobson. Macmillan Co.

The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism. By Edgar S. Furness. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

Trade Unionism and Labor Problems. Edited by John R. Commons. Ginn and Co.

Students of social-economics will find in Mr. Hobson's *Problems of the New World* an original contribution to the literature of the world's war. His keen insight into the world of human affairs enables him to interpret the economic and social forces, which were instrumental in promoting the great international conflict, in a realistic way.

While economic forces were primarily responsible for the war they were idealized, unconsciously, in the terms of *culture* to the Germans, and *democracy* to their adversaries. The civilian mind, impregnated as it was with a national idealism, reflected at the same time those fundamental human instincts common to mankind. That they were stripped of that thin social veneering, called civilization, made them stand out with a distinctness characteristic of peoples who are still in a barbaric stage of culture.

The spirit of the herd, vainglory, and credulity, the hysteria of intolerance with submerged personalities were reflected against the war background. The idealization of the motives in the conflict alone saved the politicians and capitalists interested in the economic aspect of the conflict, from the sinister charge of being influenced by their individual selfish motives.

The sublimation of democracy was followed by a disillusionment when the "tragi-comedy of the world idealism was outraged at the international peace conference."

Mr. Hobson predicts a new industrial era in the near future of no less significance than the industrial revolution which ushered in machine processes. The owners of private property appreciate this fact, and their come-back to the challenge of the present order is taking the form of post-war suppressions.

The old order of monarchies has given way to a new world of republics—in fact if not in theory. In the same way the old economic world will give way to the new world—a world in which the human elements, in terms of production for consumption will supercede the prevalent policy of production for profits only.

The change is now in the process of formation in labor's aggressive demands for increasing control of industry. The technical transformation of the economic system is taking place "under the new scientific impulse," and in addition to these two forces the war "has put new stores of faith, audacity and self-sacrifice at the service of mankind for the reconstruction of the world."

Mr. Furness's book presents to us the labor theories of the English mercantilists of 1660 to 1775; a period when the welfare of the nation was accepted as synonymous with its financial dividend, and the latter depended entirely upon the extent of a favorable balance in trade.

To increase the exportation of goods and to minimize importations called for a modified national economy which would increase the home production of those materials imported from foreign lands; decrease the consumption of products which could not be produced within the national boundary, and stimulate production generally so as to widen the margin between national consumption and national production. This margin when exported represented the nation's wealth.

This was the handicraft period in industry, just preceding the widespread use of machinery. It was not strange, then, that labor should be considered the source of all value, and the difference between

the labor cost of production and the market value of the goods produced should be accepted as the source of the nation's wealth.

Hence it was important that all workers should be employed and that all workers should feel it their national duty to be employed. Idleness, therefore, on the part of the workers, was looked upon as a vice to be overcome by drastic legislation and public condemnation. Even holidays were looked upon as inimical to the nation's welfare as each work-day lost decreased the national dividend.

The problem of the economists, statesmen, and social reformers was to formulate a national plan of industry which would most effectively utilize the available labor supply. Poverty, it was held, stimulated the workmen to greater effort, and thereby increased their output. There was another argument in favor of the doctrine of the utility of poverty. Under a poverty regime the wages of the workers fell to subsistence minimum; lowered the cost of production and made possible an effective competition with the goods of other nations offered in the same market.

The labor theories of the mercantilists recognized the direct relationship between the growing population of a country and the wealth produced. Consequently immigration was encouraged as a means of increasing rapidly the number of workers and at the same time injecting an element of competition among workers stimulating them to a greater output.

It was generally recognized by the writers of the period in question that there existed great stores of unused energy within the country. Almshouses ought to be converted into factories where men, women and children could be employed and thus afford a lucrative source of national wealth. Children too were idle when really capable of taking part in work activities. Indeed, it was thought that children of four years of age could be advantageously employed, and at the same time trained in habits of work.

The twentieth century economic philosophies originating in the world of business, show a marked tendency to revert to the mercantilist philosophy of centuries earlier. The international scramble for foreign markets as a means of increasing a nation's wealth is concentrating the attention of the theorists on the efficiency of labor in terms of wage cost, and quantity of output.

Professor Furness's book was awarded the first prize in the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx contest of 1920 for the best essay in economics.

The second series of *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*, edited

by Professor John R. Commons, shows as little resemblance to the first series as the events in the labor world of 1914-1920 resemble the events of the labor world of 1885-1900. The second series, like the first, is a compilation of studies made of specific labor problems by men and women who have national and international reputations as experts in their respective fields of work. But the second series not only is an improvement over the first in respect to the data included, but offers a marked advantage in the arrangement of the materials. The first series was meant primarily as a case book; the second is organized with the main purpose of meeting the serious need for a text book in modern American labor problems. Briefly, the problem is stated by Professor Commons in his chapter on "Industrial Relations." Then follow in logical order chapters describing labor problems in a more detailed manner; the methods of their solution suggested by theorists, and attempted by employers and laborers.

The book is divided into five parts. The first deals with "Security." Men must feel secure against the vicissitudes of unemployment, accident, sickness and old age before that peace of mind can be attained which is conducive to the establishment of industrial good-will. Compensation laws are reviewed, and suggested programs offered for future legislative action.

The problem of unemployment, more serious than all the others because it is so thoroughly embedded in our present industrial system, can be mitigated, if not eliminated, according to Professor Commons, by the stabilizing of the dollar, and the adoption of a system of wage adjustments to meet the price fluctuations of commodities. The stabilizing of the dollar can be brought about by the adoption of Professor Irving Fisher's plan. The fluctuation of prices of commodities due to forces other than the monetary one should be met by a wage adjustment to the new price levels lest labor be compelled to go on strikes in order to retain the real wages won in earlier conflicts.

The problem of the unemployed is presented in Part II. First, the men tell their story in "autobiographies of floating laborers." The social scientist's reaction is presented in "the men we lodge."

Part III appropriately approaches the problem from the angle of shop control, scientific management, premium and bonus systems. Part IV is a resume of the status of collective bargaining with emphasis on types of labor organizations, and labor programs of amelioration and reform.

Part V deals with "The Law." Professor Roscoe Pound presents

the evolution of the law as expressed in court decisions.

The interpretation of recent labor events in terms of their social and economic importance will place *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems* among the leading labor text books in our universities and colleges.

—T. S. M.

AN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIER

Our Economic and Other Problems: A Financier's Point of View. By Otto H. Kahn, George H. Doran Co.

The volume before us contains four groups of papers. The first deals with Edward H. Harriman, "The Last Figure of an Epoch"; the second contains ten articles on business and economics; the third gives the writer's views on world war problems; and the last deals with art. Mr. Kahn occupies an international position in the world of finance and knew Mr. Harriman intimately. His essay is a long eulogy of Harriman which ignores or minimizes his defects and indicates nowhere any appreciation, on Mr. Kahn's part, of the social and moral implications involved in Harriman's work. That Mr. Harriman had certain great qualities of character no one who knew of that work will deny, but no adequate understanding of either the man or his work is to be had from Mr. Kahn's sixty-three pages. Take a single illustration. Mr. Harriman "had profound respect for the moral and ethical law," and under no circumstances would he do anything not "justified before the tribunal of his own conscience, his own honest conception of right and wrong," but "he chafed and fretted strenuously when the letter of some statute * * * stood in the way of what he considered absolutely proper and beneficial objects to accomplish. He was irritable and impatient at stupid laws, as he was at all stupidity." Let us turn to the discussion of the Chicago-Alton deal to illustrate. Mr. Kahn does not find the time nor place appropriate to discuss this. He notes, however, that Roosevelt's mind was poisoned by "gross misrepresentations," and that finally the Interstate Commerce Commission was brought into the attack by "The Harriman Extermination League." Professor Ripley characterizes the Alton affair as a conspiracy and Mr. Harriman as the "main conspirator," but Mr. Kahn is satisfied to find that the whole matter "was gone over with a fine-tooth comb" and no point was found in which *the law* was violated. When does Mr. Harriman's fine conception of "the moral and ethical law" function? When the law did not interfere with him it was satisfactory; when it interfered he sought

a conflicting legal interpretation; when this could not be had the law was evidence of the law maker's stupidity and he "winked at the infraction of certain provisions." In many respects it is well that he is "The Last Figure of an Epoch."

Mr. Kahn adds nothing to our knowledge of Harriman or of the economic problems discussed, but he throws considerable light on an international financier.

—E. M.

THE NEW WORLD

The New World—Problems in Political Geography. By Isaiah Bowman. World Book Co.

Dr. Bowman has had a highly distinguished career in connection with our foremost universities and in the service of the United States Government. At the Peace Conference in Paris he acted as Chief Territorial Adviser of the American Commission. He is now the Director of the American Geographical Society of New York. His book is worthy of his opportunities.

The New World is the most adequate and up-to-date handbook of post-war geography as yet available. Its fundamental plan, notwithstanding the vast complexities of the subject, is simple; its style is easy and lucid; its spirit is candid and impartial. It therefore fulfills admirably the purpose for which it was prepared: to provide for the average citizen the background of information that is necessary to understand the main international questions, world-wide, growing out of the war, and to follow their development. At the same time, because the work is the product of a highly-skilled technician, it gives to professional students of geography, economics, and history invaluable assistance in the solution of their scientific problems. From this point of view the most important feature of the work is doubtless the series of two hundred and fifteen maps, which give the latest boundary changes the world over and the fundamental physical, ethnic and economic conditions upon which they depend. Some of these maps have been engraved several times in order to include the more recent treaty decisions. In no other single publication are such authoritative maps and interpretations obtainable.

The text of the book deals with the "new world" and its problems: the new boundaries, concessions, colonies, mandataries, spheres of in-

fluence, and protectorates; the kind of people composing the new states and the chances of survival of such new democracies as have arisen, for example, in Poland, Jugo-Slavia and Austria; the elements of economic strength and weakness in each of the new states; and the new responsibilities which rest upon the world's great powers. Each of the thirty-four chapters deals with a national group or a national region and furnishes the political and geographic as well as the historic and economic setting of its more important problems. And so a sound basis is laid for the study of the present world-situation; for the evaluation of the present acts of statesmen and diplomats; and for the formation of an intelligent public opinion which is now more desirable and potentially powerful than ever before in world history.

—O. H. R.

"THE MEANING OF AMERICA"

The College and New America. By J. W. Hudson. D. Appleton & Co.

There is no doubt that the momentous character of the subjects discussed in Mr. Hudson's book justify the strong words spoken of it in President Suzzallo's "Foreword." It has long been recognized that educated leadership is the great hope and need of our democracy, and Dr. Hudson has said some things worth saying regarding the type of education for leadership.

The "immediate task" of the book is "to define" the "new obligation of our American colleges to America and to the world not only through their valuable contributions to knowledge, but through their everyday education of American youth."

Briefly, this obligation of the college is to throw over the pedantries of the "academic mind," a by-product of an age of specialization, and to train the eager youth of the country with reference to the American social order.

This "American social order," the kernel of the book, is found to mean five things, namely, (1) "that persons are social"; (2) "that persons are priceless"; (3) "that persons, being priceless, are absolutely equal as persons"; (4) that "persons" are to be considered "not in terms of what they are at any given moment, but in terms of what they may become"; (5) that "persons" are "free"; not in the sense of being able to do as they please, regardless of their fellows: but in the sense of having an opportunity "to seek the social goal, in accordance with the reason of each, but voluntarily and freely subject to the revision of all."

It is in view of this five-fold conception of the "meaning of America" that curricula should be adopted and educational machinery set in motion, and it is in the hope that they will be able to accomplish these reforms that the book is dedicated to the "American Association of College Professors or to Any Other Groups of Men that will get these things done."

Mr. Hudson has little patience with the pedantry of much contemporary teaching of natural science and deprecates the fact that laboratory science, the residuary legatee of the elective system, frequently prevents college students from cherishing moral enthusiasm or religious beliefs.

Dr. Hudson regards the imposition of the ideal of scholarship on the American undergraduate mind as a mistake and the cause of infinite collegiate trouble about systems of grades and over "student activities."

These troubles will disappear, he avers, if the new point of view is adopted and a new course of study arranged. In the latter, he regards "a good course in logic" indispensable; a course in "the American state" a fixed requirement. He demands "training in economic and industrial fundamentals"; and adds that a "course in at least one modern language [foreign] should be required, and required to the extent that it will lead to a reading knowledge of some of its literature." (These requirements are not listed in the Index, by the way, but were picked out of the text by the reviewer.)

One who finds anything to cavil at in the enthusiasm and force with which Dr. Hudson puts out his program lays himself open to the charge of possessing, or being possessed by, the "academic mind"; but we shall venture a few comments.

First, we note an absence of definition of the new order. We are told that the War has "hastened the *final* [italics are ours] break-down of the traditional standards of individuals, societies and governments." No evidence nor description of this "break-down" is given and this in view of a presidential request for return to "normalcy"—*status quo ante*.

Again, we regret to say that we can find nothing distinctly American in the five points of the meaning of America. Any society has aimed to fulfil the calling of the individual and to find its fulfilment in him. Christianity first taught the pricelessness of persons. British ideals have long implied freedom for the person to pursue the social goal, etc.

As to the freshness and novelty of Mr. Hudson's views, we seem to hear echoes in them all the way down from Emerson's "American Scholar" to the latest textbook for stimulation in Freshman Composition.

—A. R. B.

PLAYS FROM A WESTERN WORKSHOP

University of Washington Plays, (First Series.) Selected and Edited with an Introduction by Glenn Hughes. University of Washington Press.

This little volume of four one-act plays, written by students in the play-writing class at the University of Washington, is a beginning effort to offer creative literary work by the students for publication. The undertaking is in keeping with what has been done in other colleges and universities, and the contents of this issue waive all need for apologies.

"Jet," written by Esther Shepherd, is an artfully constructed satire, demonstrating the human inclination to be the imagined ideal instead of the intended reality. An exceptionally skillful melodrama called "Imposition," by Max Miller, contains strikingly well-adapted western episodes and colloquialisms. "These Wild Young People," by J. M. O'Connor, is a clever burlesque on the decadent modern Helen. Another burlesque, "Tweedledum," is written by Otis Richardson.

These plays will compare favorably with any others of like pretension.

—R. F. S.

THE TOP-FLOOR OF BOHEMIA

A Chair on the Boulevard. By Leonard Merrick. E.P. Dutton & Co.

Since our German friend Freud explored and exploited the cellars of the "House of Life," there has been a rush to that quarter on the part of many writers, who have done their eating, sleeping, and entertaining (especially their entertaining!) in what is, after all, but the basement of a great mansion.

We owe Mr. Merrick some thanks that in these days of dungeon-dwellers he has seen fit to move into the upper stories of our abiding place. With a grace that is *almost* French, he acknowledges the lower regions by what he avoids saying, and having so recognized their existence, invites us to dwell in the superstructure.

The people he portrays in *A Chair on the Boulevard* are the un-

known painters, writers, and musicians of Bohemia in Paris, the little actresses, coquettes, and shop girls. Poverty, hunger, lack of recognition all are there as constant comrades, but still the flames of fancy and wit, the light of great hopes and high ambitions are even more constant. Mr. Merrick jests over the tragedies of his puppets, but gaily and never bitterly; he displays their follies and absurdities though never unkindly: for through it all he truly evaluates that other side of the story which finally works the miracles.

—J.E.P.

RE-EXPLORING THE COLUMBIA

Down the Columbia. By Lewis R. Freeman. Dodd, Mead & Co.

While on a winter trip in the Yellowstone National Park, Mr. Freeman heard from his lone companion, a former trapper, some facts about the Columbia River. "She's sure some 'he' river," said the old man, "going somewhere all the time, tumbling over itself all the way trying to beat itself to the finish." Again the old philosopher of the woods spoke when asked if one might not boat it from the Great Divide to the sea. Surely; such travel was good, he said, because it was not opposed to Nature, like climbing mountains, for instance, where you were bucking the law of gravity all the way.

That inspiration, caught in the snows of Yellowstone, remained with Mr. Freeman for a dozen years, during which he had wild experiences with rivers in Asia, Africa, South America and elsewhere on the planet. He then sought the actual source of the river in the glaciers and snowfields of the Canadian Selkirks and made his way from there to the tidewater of the Pacific. The book is a record of the achievement and especially of the many adventures by the way.

As he approached the Pacific he said: "Robert Service has written something about

'Doing things just for the doing

Letting babblers tell the story.'

Shall I need to confess to my readers that the one cloud on the seaward horizon during all of my voyage down the Columbia was brooding there as a consequence of the presentiment that, sooner or later, I should have to do my own babbling?"

We must take him at his own valuation though his "babbling" is intensely interesting and his book is a valuable addition to the literature of the Pacific Northwest. He did not keep a log; he uses few or no

dates ; but he does show respect for David Thompson, Ross Cox, Lewis and Clark, Gabriel Franchere and others who had gone before. He shows that none of those "greater men" had gone the whole length of the river. Their exploits were far greater in those wilderness days. Mr. Freeman seems to be the first one to complete the entire journey, part of it alone in a skiff.

He says that his photographs will probably live longer than his written words. There are eighty-six illustrations in the volume. These, with the jolly narrative, certainly should win a cordial welcome for the book.

—E. S. M.

A LOOKING-GLASS FOR LONDON

Madam. By Ethel Sidgwick. Small, Maynard & Co.

To the casual reader, Ethel Sidgwick's new novel *Madam* does not reveal its theme or its purpose. One is tempted at first to think it has neither, and to set it aside as hasty, unconsidered work, dependent wholly for its charm upon the brilliantly clever dialogue and facile portraiture with which this author's name is deservedly associated. To this view the tenuity of the plot and the frequently ungraceful style lend support, but it is none the less unjust. The book merits rereading, and rewards it.

The critic accustomed to the subtlety of Miss Sidgwick's thought would hesitate to define precisely her theme, but it seems to be a social, or sociological essay on the results of the World War to London. Her purpose appears to be to state the case of idealistic youth whose hand, because of the war's ravages, is against the existing order, social perhaps more than political.

With considerable daring, the novelist has identified London with Caroline Astley, a superior typist in a superior surgeon's office. There can be no doubt that the theory of Henry Wicken (whose efforts to be the *deus ex machina* of the story, though Olympian and delightful, are consistently fruitless) is the theory of Miss Sidgwick. "He had a theory of London, passionately elaborated at intervals, that it was the sweetest, maddest, most elf-like and elusive little city that ever fairy-tale invented, or troubadour hymned. London, like Ys, was a kind of legend ; you could not always (in a fog) see that it was there. London, like Camelot, was a haunt of heroes. People, when Henry said this in war-time, agreed with him earnestly ; but he thought he meant a better sort of hero than that. Something more ancient—however, it was

not the least use to say so: so he smiled patriotically, and left those people alone." . . . "He loved policemen of all kinds, they were such gentle beings, he said: and were best to be seen taking a cup of tea, it suited them. To see a helmet bending over a cup of tea, the steam half-obscuring the august head-dress, flashed the feeling of London all through Henry, the feeling of Old England, it gave him, and the larger citizenship,—patriotism, probably." It was Henry who identified Miss Astley. "She was an awfully jolly girl,—and London personified," he thought.

Most charming of all the charming people in Miss Sidgwick's book is the beloved aristocrat Henry Wicken, *hors de combat* like his order, who is so anxious and so powerless to help. It is, perhaps, the delightful presentation of this character that misleads one at first reading; the temptation to linger over him is strong, and it would seem to have equally disturbed the author.

With such a theme and such splendidly conceived characters, *Madam* should have called forth Miss Sidgwick's best work; it does not seem to have done so. The style is lacking in the precision and grace that alone can make such elusive argument comprehensible. It is no credit to the author to have written cryptically, or to have allowed her individualism to run so violently riot. The reader is not helped by a "hop, skip, and jump" method of narration, and still less by a system of punctuation wonderful and fearful to behold. In spite of these defects, however, the novel is interesting and worth while. Had the courage of thought been matched by patience of craftsmanship, *Madam* might have achieved a permanent place in literature.

—J. L. E.

HOW NOT TO BE AN OLD MAID

The Lost Girl. By D. H. Lawrence. Thomas Seltzer.

Mr. Lawrence writes with a peculiar sense of the presence of his characters and his scene. His depiction of both looks effortless, as if he is seeing them here and now rather than reflecting upon them in tranquillity. And his circumstances have the same air of being unschematized as have the circumstances of life. We never feel that life outside of books is lacking in unity or coherence because its elements are assembled at random. It is personality that gives them form. And Alvina Houghton in *The Lost Girl* is so successfully a personality that she makes her own story. She won't be plotted, but goes her own impul-

sive, vagrant way because she finds life and herself so heterogeneous and baffling that vagrancy alone has sense. She settles it, not Mr. Lawrence.

So it seems. But of course Mr. Lawrence is quite aware of what he is doing. "I hate life, and faith, and such things," he puts into the mouth of Mrs. Tuke, who is at the moment suffering the pangs of childbirth. "Faith is only fear, and life is a mass of unintelligent forces to which intelligent beings are submitted. Prostituted. Oh-oh!—prostituted." To which Alvina quietly replies, "Perhaps life itself is something bigger than intelligence." Perhaps. But Alvina did not pretend to know. Miss Pinnegar could cry "Haberdashery shop!" in reply to the Sphinx of fate. "But every individual has his own, or her own fate, and her own Sphinx. Alvina's Sphinx was an old deep thoroughbred, she would take no mongrel answers. And her thoroughbred teeth were long and sharp. To Alvina, the last of the fantastic but purebred race of Houghton, the problem of her fate was terribly abstruse.

"The only thing to do was not to solve it: to stray on, and answer to fate with whatever came into one's head."

Alvina's Sphinx would take no mongrel answers. Life has plenty of refuges, for those who will seek them. But despite the killing dullness of her environment, in a small industrial town in the Midlands of England, there was an eagerness in Alvina that would not down: that would not be sublimated by "haberdashery shop," nor by "honourable engagement" to stifling respectability, to Dr. Mitchell, fifty-three years old. The alternative was Ciccio, strolling player, uprooted South Italian hillsman with much of the stupidity and cruelty and insensitiveness of the brute about him, but with mystery in him too, the only man who had ever uncovered the deep impulsiveness in Alvina, who had ever challenged the potential recklessness of her soul.

She followed across Europe, and he left her, with child, when war came, almost alone, a lost girl in the Italian hills. It was a desperate venture, but so is life. Alvina, at least, would satisfy her destiny. Perhaps she was lost, but it was by being grandly overwhelmed, not by dropping with the "Dead Sea fruit of odd women, unmarried, unmarried women, called old maids, of small-town industrial England."

Mr. Lawrence, of course, does all this. It doesn't do itself. He imagines it. But his narrative art is distinctive among that of contemporary writers for the success with which it combines a modern and quite self-conscious psychology with a disarming ease and objectivity.

The Lost Girl has a dozen convincing characters, a multitude of

convincing incidents and details. And its material seems clean and selected; not crowded, or random, or confused. Nor is it unduly clarified, interpreted, or complete. This, perhaps, is "the rhythm of life." *The Lost Girl* seems to the writer at this moment one of the most valid interpretations of life that the contemporary English school has produced.

—J. B. H.

BRIEFER MENTION

The Stairway. By Alice A. Chown. Cornhill Publishing Co. This so-called novel is a very slightly animated encyclopedia of social panaceas. The writer is released from family restraint at the age of forty and for the next thirteen years tastes all forms of freedom which the most ardent reformer of any school might conceive. She attains perfect freedom at last during a rainstorm, by stripping and dancing in an avenue of pine trees, thus becoming one with Nature. If this be, as it is hailed, the first venture of Canadian fiction into realism, one may hope that hereafter it will be content to follow in the footsteps of Kirby, E. W. Thomson, Mrs. Cotes and Roberts.

The Street of a Thousand Delights. By Jay Gelzer. Robert M. McBride & Co. Eight stories of the tragedy of the half-breed: they are laid in Melbourne, in the Chinese quarter which centers in this street "of a Thousand Delights." Mr. Gelzer tells his stories well, with knowledge of the finest traits of the Chinese life and character—(as well as the less admirable sides), and with a sensitive appreciation of the beauty and richness of the Oriental background and philosophy; but he is without illusions as to the difficulties of the mixed blood especially when it flows through the veins of a beautiful girl. The stories are a series of pictures, richly colored, and deeply shadowed, to be read for their pictorial appeal without a disputatious spirit, else the Occidental as well as the Oriental will miss the evidently sincere attempt to give a fair record of the impact of two widely divergent civilizations upon each other.

Carter and Other People. By Don Marquis. D. Appleton & Co. A volume of twelve short stories and a one-act play, dealing with a variety of subjects, suggesting a belated attempt to resurrect the ghost of O. Henry. They are representative of the average type of commonplace American magazine fiction, no better and no worse.

Hints to Pilgrims. By Charles S. Brooks. With pictures by Florence Minard. Yale University Press. Colorful, reminiscent, distinctive, consciously romantic, adroitly humorous, and above all charming in whimsical substructure—these, among others, are terms capable of being applied to this volume of collected essays, ranging in subject-matter from New York's Bohemia and pleasing biographical conjectures to a toy-shop window and a game of golf. The author frankly acknowledges a preference for the "richer things" of "agreeable gossip"; for the echoing stamping-ground of Macbeth and Merlin and Dick Turpin. "Let Wyoming go and hang itself in its muddy riding-boots and khaki shirt!" Quite likely the literary remains of Charles Lamb were in a way responsible for these essays, though they were in no manner marred by crude imitation. We wonder sometimes, however, whether the author is not over-proud of his whimsicality, as Thomas Hardy often is of his pessimism. Nevertheless, there is a novelty and a deliciousness about the work which would damper the noise of the subway or ignore the spooks of a study sanctum.

Autumn. By Robert Nathan. Robert M. McBride & Co. This book is a good antidote to *Main Street* because, unlike *Main Street*, it is true to reality, giving a picture of New England village life with lights and shades. The movement seems casual and the artistry free from effort, but in some elusive way Mr. Nathan makes us very intimate with his characters and with the whole village atmosphere. Much of the life of this village is vulgar and unfeeling, but yet there is heroism there, and a quaint old school master of much wisdom whose spirit shines brightly in a naughty world.

Opera Synopses. By J. Walter McSpadden. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. This "Guide to the Plots and Characters of the Standard Operas," a revised and greatly enlarged edition of the book first published in 1911, will be welcomed by the many who have found the earlier version a useful handbook of the opera. It presents one hundred and forty-three operas, from sixty-five composers. It is so arranged as to give the opera-goer at a glance, while he waits the rise of the curtain, a competent survey of the essential biographical facts, of the characters, locale, and argument. The book is well printed and interestingly illustrated.

Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Rendered into English verse by Edward Fitzgerald. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. The book presents every variant of the five original printings, and all save the fourth are re-

printed entire. The biological sketch of Fitzgerald, by Michael Kerney, the Life of Omar Khayyam by Fitzgerald, the Fitzgerald notes, the bibliography, and the four handsome illustrations by Frank Brangwyn combine to make this edition as "complete" as the publishers advertize it to be and as any ordinary reader could desire.

Problems of Today. By Moorfield Storey. Houghton Mifflin Co. This volume contains the Godkin Lectures for 1920, delivered at Harvard. They deal with such vital questions of current reconstruction as: The Use of Parties; Lawlessness; Race Prejudices; The Labor Question; Our Foreign Relations. The author believes among other things that "just laws enacted by honest men command respect and execute themselves"; that in dealing with labor we must recognize that we "cannot create a new world, though by kindness and patience we may improve the old"; and that in foreign relations "The policy of isolation, a very proper policy for five millions of people just recovering from war and by no means unified, is no longer possible or desirable."

The Imperial Orgy. By Edgar Saltus. Boni and Liveright. "The long illness that Russian history is" unfolds rapidly, frightfully, in this survey of the tsars from Ivan to Nicholas—the illness of delirium, of madness. Allusion after allusion recalls for comparison countless horrors out of all history, yet one feels that this horror chamber of Russian royalty has more than a match for them all. And in the background one senses a secondary portrayal, drab hangings that set in relief the barbaric show of the rulers—the primitive, stupid, inchoate mass of the Russian people. Written with the author's usual cleverness and realism, the account in a measure shocks, as naturally it must, but never to the point of disgust. Not least important in contributing to the total effect of the book is the series of portraits of the tsars and tsaritsas that accompanies the narrative.

The Line of Love. Dizain des Mariages. With an introduction by H. L. Mencken.—*Chivalry.* Dizain des Reines. With an introduction by Burton Rascoe. By James Branch Cabell. Robert M. McBride and Company. By virtues of the heaven-sent opportunity provided by the suppression of *Jurgen*, Mr. Cabell is riding bravely into his kingdom. He is being re-issued in a uniform edition, of which these two works of his literary youth are just from the press. The tales

have been revised with his usual craftsmanship, and an occasional "woolliness" which slipped from a less experienced pen, has been skilfully deleted or transmuted to silken phrase.

The New World. By Frank Comerford. D. Appleton & Co. Mr. Comerford analyzes the conditions which have given rise to the current discontents and decries the Bolshevism in which a part of the laboring class would seek a remedy. His conclusion is that the issue between capital and labor should be resolved "not by doing away with the strike but by doing away with the need of strikes by providing a peaceful method of settling the questions that are bound to arise between employers and employees." The program of President Wilson's Second Industrial Conference and of Secretary of Labor Wilson are accepted as hopeful.

The Band Wagon. By Franklin F. Ellsworth. Dorrance and Company. Representative Ellsworth, with six years service in Congress as a background, has written a political novel of Middle America which is interesting because of the author's shrewd knowledge of the men and forces with which he deals. Mr. Ellsworth has not mastered the technique of the novel. He is not a literary craftsman, but the story he tells is convincing. The hero, a man of ideals, confronts many difficulties in his attempt to serve the electorate. He fights stubbornly against the odds of organized graft and organized selfishness in party politics, and emerges the victor.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Trading With Asia. By Frank R. Eldredge, Jr. D. Appleton & Co. \$3.50.

The Truths We Live By. By Jay William Hudson. D. Appleton & Co. \$3.00.

Local Government in the United States. By Herman G. James. D. Appleton & Co. \$3.50.

Carter and Other People. By Don Marquis. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

Gold Shod. By Newton Fuessle. Boni and Liveright. \$2.00.

Dangerous Ages. By Rose Macaulay. Boni and Liveright. \$2.00.

Must We Fight Japan? By Walter B. Pitkin. Century Co. \$1.50.

Lost Ships and Lonely Seas. By Ralph D. Paine. Century Co. \$4.00.

Messer Marco Polo. By Donn Byrne. Century Co. \$2.00.

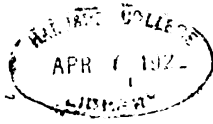
Working North from Patagonia. By Harry A. Franck. Century Co. \$5.00.

The Stairway. By Alice A. Chown. Cornhill Pub. Co. \$1.00.

Opera Synopses. By J. Walker McSpadden. Thomas Y. Crowell. \$3.00.

- The New World.* By G. Murray Atkin. Thomas Y. Crowell. \$1.75.
- Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam.* By Edward Fitzgerald. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$2.50.
- What Japan Wants.* By Yoshi S. Kuno. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$1.00.
- What is Socialism?* By James Edward LeRossignol. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$2.00.
- The Tree of Light.* By James A. B. Sherer. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$1.35.
- The Quimby Manuscripts.* Edited by Horatio W. Dresser. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$3.00.
- Down the Columbia.* By Lewis R. Freeman. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.00.
- China, Captive or Free?* By Gilbert Reid. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.
- Three Soldiers.* By John Dos Passos. Geo. H. Doran Co. \$1.50.
- Domestic Life in Scotland.* By John Warrack. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.50.
- Out of Their Own Mouths.* By Gompers and Walling. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.
- Manhood of Humanity.* By Alfred Korzybski. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.00.
- Brass.* By Charles G. Norris. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.
- Selected Poems of Yone Noguchi.* Four Seas Co. \$3.00.
- Trend of the Race.* By S. J. Holmes. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$4.00.
- Trailmakers of the Northwest.* By Paul Leland Haworth. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.50.
- Short History of English Drama.* By Benjamin Brawley. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$1.50.
- The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin.* By Frederick W. Roe. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.00.
- The Control of Life.* By J. Arthur Thompson. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.50.
- The Edge of the Jungle.* By William Beebe. Henry Holt & Co.
- The Beginning of Wisdom.* By Stephen Vincent Benet. Henry Holt & Co.
- Tired Radicals.* By Walter Weyl. B. W. Huebsch Co.
- Human Nature in Politics.* By Graham Wallas. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.
- The Briary Bush.* By Floyd Dell. Alfred A. Knopf. \$1.50.
- If Winter Comes.* By A. S. M. Hutchinson. Little, Brown & Co. \$2.00.

- The Wasted Generation.* By Owen Johnson. Little, Brown & Co. \$2.00.
- Chivalry.* By James Branch Cabell. Robt. M. McBride & Co. \$2.00.
- The Line of Love.* By James Branch Cabell. Robt. M. McBride & Co. \$2.00.
- The Threshold.* By Evelyn Campbell. Robt. M. McBride & Co.
- Modern English Statesmen.* By G. R. Sterling Taylor. Robt. M. McBride & Co. \$2.75.
- Autumn.* By Robert Nathan. Robt. M. McBride & Co. \$2.00.
- Dogtown Common.* By Percy Mackaye. Macmillan Co. \$1.50.
- Women Professional Workers.* By Elizabeth Camper Adams. Macmillan Co. \$2.50.
- Social History of the American Negro.* By Benjamin Brawley. Macmillan Co. \$4.00.
- A Daughter of the Middle Border.* By Hamlin Garland. Macmillan Co. \$2.00.
- Evolution of World Peace.* By F. S. Marvin. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.
- New World of Islam.* By Lothrop Stoddard. Scribner's. \$3.00.
- Bunch-Grass and Blue-Joint.* By Frank B. Linderman. Scribner's. \$1.00.
- The Man in the Street.* By Meredith Nicholson. Scribner's.
- The Making of a Man.* By Joseph H. Appel. Thomas Seltzer. \$2.50.
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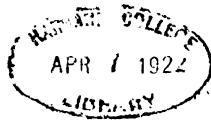
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A NATIONAL POLICY FOR LAND UTILIZATION*

By RICHARD T. ELY,

A national policy for land utilization means planning for desired ends with respect to the use of the land. It signifies that we ascertain what kinds of land we have and that we put each kind to its best use. The very fact that we use the term "land policy" signifies the inadequacy of *laissez-faire*. A land policy includes regulation for the present and the future of all those natural resources which we include under the term "land". This regulation means that we supplement individualism by social control and social control by land policy embraces, then, those relations among men which arise out of land utilization. Social control, as the experience of the world demonstrates, becomes more intensive as time goes on and that with an ever-increasing emphasis upon social welfare. But this control may proceed from private agencies as well as from public agencies.

In the United States we have never had a real land policy. Our course of action has been happy-go-lucky; in other words, such a plan as we have had has been partial, incomplete. Our land settlement has not been based upon any well thought out principles.

We have the present crisis which requires attention, but a land policy is fundamental and far-reaching. A land policy cannot be changed radically to fit any temporary emergency.

* This article contains the substance of an address delivered by Professor Ely before the National Agricultural Conference on January 26, 1922. The address was regarded as a keynote utterance for land utilization in the United States for a long time to come.

It must reach across this and succeeding emergencies and make them less acute and alarming.

The populations of European countries are strong and virile, and only the sheerest ignorance can think of Europe as decadent; but they are impoverished and discouraged. The trouble with our European customers is partly material, the result of the loss of life and the destruction of wealth, but of even more importance is that part of the trouble which is psychic—in other words, the state of mind. They feel disheartened. Hope seems to have abandoned them. In too many cases they feel that this greatest and richest country in the world is cold and indifferent to their fate.

In establishing a national policy for land utilization, at the present moment nothing is of more importance for the American farmer than revival of hope and courage upon the part of other nations of the world and particularly those in Europe. They have tremendous productive power and corresponding potential purchasing power. Let us lend them a helping hand; let them feel that we are friendly towards all—Austria and Germany as well as France. We shall see then a revival of demand for the products of our American farms.

Do not expect any panacea—there is none outside the disordered phantasies of cranks. If the program is complex, it is because life, individual and social, is complex. The kind of world we live in knows no short cut to general prosperity.

No land policy is worthy of a moment's consideration that is not based upon the classification of land. We hear a great deal about conservation, but not too much about conservation, so far as what we hear is sense and not nonsense. It must reach across this and succeeding emergencies and vation as applied to agricultural land does not apply to forest

land or mineral land. The taxation of land is vital in a national land policy, and a great deal of the trouble of the present time is due to faulty policies of taxation of land, but we must have separate measures of taxation for different kinds of land. This simply calls to mind what all experts on forestry are agreed upon.

Take the question of public ownership versus private ownership. One cannot say that land should be publicly owned or privately owned. It all depends upon the kind of land we are dealing with. The experience of the world shows that farm land should, in the main, be privately owned, but with equal clearness world experience shows that forest land must be largely publicly owned, if we are to have suitable areas of forest land suitably distributed over the country and to raise the forest crops that we need with the least expenditure of labor and capital on the smallest area of land.

We cannot consider one kind of land alone and reach satisfactory solutions of the problems involved in a national policy for land utilization. Here we come to something that is often overlooked. Forest land must be considered in its relations to agricultural land; forest land is, after all, one kind of agricultural land. A good deal of the timber land of the country is found on farms and the farmers use a very large proportion of the forest products. The forest is simply one kind of crop. It has its peculiarities as have other crops, one of the chief being the time it takes to plant, care for, and harvest a crop. With forests go certain by-products, in some cases game, in some cases pasturage, but the forests of a country should be handled in accordance with sound, agricultural principles; any one who has advanced even through his A B C's in land economics must condemn most vigorously the policy to separate out forest land from the United States Department of Agriculture and transfer it to another department.

From the point of view of agriculture, it is imperative to classify land with a view to determining what areas should be devoted to crops, to grazing, to forests, since we must have distinct policies for each one of these kinds of land. In so far as we depart from wise policies by putting one kind of land into use which is appropriate for another kind of land, we become involved in difficulty. This is illustrated by what has already been said regarding the trend of land utilization during and after the World War.

What we need is an economic survey, utilizing the results of land classification of the Geological Survey, of the Soils Survey, and the admirable work of the surveys conducted by the Division of Land Economics, and of any other surveys that may have been made—a survey which will be continuous, but which each year shall yield a crop, as it were; that is to say, increase our knowledge.

The suggestion of a continuous survey should alarm no one. We should use the knowledge we have gained, which is sufficient for many practical purposes, but on the other hand we should work along without end, expanding as time goes on and as the use of land becomes more and more intensive. It is to be hoped that in time through the cooperation of various agencies, a map of each section of the United States will be made, giving soils and all other features not only physical but economic. This survey would serve not only the purpose of providing adequate information for the most economical use of the land, but of making possible scientific valuation of the land as the basis for credit, taxation and sale.

Our country does not stand alone. American economic life has become a part of world economic life. Economic evolution has carried us beyond national isolation as a possibility. We need not argue this, because we are dealing with facts, and to the economist it must seem like denying

the rotation of the earth to dispute this proposition. Nothing that anyone can say will change this fact any more than the commands of Canute could change the rising of the tide.

More than this may be said. We are unworthy descendants of the Fathers of this Republic, if we do not advance beyond their knowledge and practice to correspond with economic evolution. They were progressives. They advanced beyond the knowledge and practice of their fathers. Shall we cease to be progressives and attempt to frame our policy upon conditions of George Washington's time? Credit has already received attention from other speakers. It becomes a land utilization problem in newer sections of the country where settlement is being developed, and the credit policy must be somewhat different from that which is suitable for regions of established farming.

No matter how low interest rates may ultimately fall, and it is recognized that suitable credit machinery may help in bringing about the result, the interest must ultimately be governed by the amount of capital and the demand for it. The issue of paper money and other similar schemes no matter how useful in certain political exigencies is but the beating of the tom-toms, as witness the results in Europe today. The continually recurring suggestion of the political charlatan that the interest rate may be lowered by putting the printing presses to work or otherwise inflating the currency, was sufficiently disproved by the experience of all countries during the recent war when the process of inflation resulted in continually mounting rates of interest. The slightest breath of suspicion, the very suggestion of repudiation or repayment in cheap money raises the rate of interest which farmers must pay.

A land policy must look towards the maintenance of peace in the world, not merely international peace but what

is even more essential, peace at home. The prosperity of war is temporary and illusory. War spells poverty. Our land policies must have relation to world land policies and be of such a nature as to provide the nations of the world with food and raw materials.

Price fixing will never bring prosperity. No price can be mentioned which would make all the farmers prosperous. It is quite conceivable that with the price of wheat at \$5 a bushel we should increase the number of those producing wheat at a loss. At the same time we would have a price which would spell poverty to the non-agricultural population.

Price fixing tends to stratification and to a stationary economic condition, and especially would this be the case if it took the form of price stabilization through the purchase of surpluses by government. Apart from possible national bankruptcy, the tendency, if carried far, would be, to use a phrase of the late Theodore Roosevelt, "to Chinafy" our country; but I do not like to use the word "Chinafy," because it does injustice to China. It would tend to prevent progress which is dependent upon ready transfers of labor and capital from pursuit to pursuit, so that all of our productive forces may be best employed. If there is a permanent and general tendency in agriculture to give unduly small returns, it signifies investment of labor and capital in agriculture and those producing under unfavorable conditions should seek other occupations.

Price stabilization is desirable in so far as it can be obtained through adjustment of production to demand, the full use of all obtainable information, and the better adjustment of marketing machinery.

All land policies must have as their aim general prosperity; otherwise they are doomed to failure. The farmer must have prosperity, which means prosperity for other economic groups in the country, and, indeed, in the world.

What we need is indicated in the formula of the three G's, namely good farming by good men on good land. We must put land into its proper use; we must continue the efforts already begun, for which our state departments of agriculture, our agricultural colleges and the splendid United States Department of Agriculture deserve our highest praise. We must do our best to lessen the number of submarginal men, and here reference is made merely to those measures which are agreed upon by substantially all eugenicists, to lessen the number of the absolutely unfit, while at the same time we do our best to cultivate all human powers, ethical and spiritual, as well as economical.

The taxation of land is a large problem in itself and can be treated now and here only in the very broadest terms. At the meeting of the National Tax Association held in Bretton Woods last September, it was the general consensus of opinion that the burden of taxation resting on land was becoming excessive; in fact, confiscatory. Already we find places like Michigan where the burden on land is forcing it back into the hands of the state and it is said on reliable authority that in Ohio special assessments on farm land are absorbing all the value of the land and threaten to force many farmers into hopeless bankruptcy. At the same time, we find agitation for the absorption through taxation of all land values. It is, therefore, a fundamental problem in land utilization whether or not we shall retain private property in land. It is our opinion that private property is beneficial alike to society and the individual. We take the position that methods of taxation should receive careful attention to the end that the tax burden should become more and more widely diffused, just as the benefits of government are more and more widely diffused. Property, whether in the form of improvements or of land should be taxed, otherwise this tax burden tends to become confiscatory.

Given needed legislation, land utilization requires satisfactory administration agencies, and let us remember that these problems of our time are, in the main, first of all administrative problems and only secondary legislative problems. It has already been suggested that we need land commissions, state and federal, to help bring about good settlement. We need these agencies for other aspects of land utilization. The policies grow more complex as wealth and population increase. The administrative agencies are to guide, to educate, to enforce, to exercise, various degrees of control. Laws establishing them must be broad in scope and of a kind to attract to this high service talent equal to any that the country affords; men who will regard their office as an opportunity to serve, putting their souls into the work.

We do not know enough about tenancy to decide what is a normal amount of tenancy in an old, settled country. It may be twenty or thirty per cent or even more. Certainly it must vary with the racial composition of the population. We do know that there is much bad tenancy. We do know poor tenants account for a part of this bad tenancy; we do know that there is much good tenancy. We do know that tenancy is very frequently a rung on the agricultural ladder. We find in some places that tenancy is merely a method of transferring property from generation to generation—the tenants being sons, sons-in-law, etc. We find farms on which every tenant becomes a farm owner, or 100 per cent owner producing farms. We need more light and we need to help the more capable tenants to become farm owners. In some cases additional credit may be needed, but we have inadequate data. We do not want incapable men to become farm owners and we do not want to encourage attempts to buy land with excessive grants of credit, leading only to ruin. To give a man 95 per cent of purchase price of land through

public grants of credit would be disastrously to encourage men to gamble in futures. We must emphasize the often overlooked fact that a modern farm is a large enterprise worthy of our best brains. Our agriculture needs men capable of big things. A great many in writing on agriculture seem to think of it as a small business for small men. They would so restrict the possibilities of land ownership that it would not attract the kind of farmers who helped to establish our independence and who framed our marvelous Constitution. In our early days our greatest statesmen lived on the land and were proud to be farmers. It was not necessary to legislate them into office. They were our natural, our voluntarily selected leaders. We think of men like Madison, Monroe, and Jefferson, and above all Washington. Our land policies, while giving every opportunity for capable young men to rise, must at the same time be of such a character as to keep up the breed of big men among our farmers.

LUDLOW

By JESSE HUGO FELDMAN

Arragh! Woman, look down
 From the top of the hill to the town,
 Your cot it is ashes, the sky is blood red,
 The child at your breast, will you look, it is dead.

O wild woman with black hair in the night,
 The bleak wind flurries charred fields to your right;
 What is it you see, that you heed not my call—
 Musha, woman, why is it you can't weep at all?

A STUDY OF JAPANESE CULTURE

By TSUNEYOSHI KOBAYASHI

The national traits of various peoples are, like our faces, similar in rough outline but infinitely different in the finer details. The people of Japan are in the larger characteristics not different from any other people; they are part of the aggregate of human beings and they possess all the instincts and desires which are common to humanity. But, as distinguished from other people, they display certain individual traits which are the product of an unique environment and history.

Perhaps the most prominent characteristics of the Japanese is their excitable, emotional nature, which among the ignorant is often expressed in turbulent and irascible action, and which among the cultured takes the form of a fine sentimentality and temperamental delicacy. This is rather the direct opposite of the American disposition, which is stable, blunt and big, hearty and generous. Such a difference is greatly responsible for mutual misunderstandings, such as the Japanese charge that the American is discourteous and inconsiderate, and the American impression that the Japanese is dissimulating, not to say tricky.

The emotional temper of the Japanese has played a large role in their history and constitutes a conspicuous factor in their national life. If the history of the Anglo-Saxons is primarily a story of competition and struggle for the control of power and the pursuit of material interest, that of the Japanese is a drama of sentimental entanglement largely removed from material issues. Without due regard to the role played by emotion, the history of the Japanese people is wholly incomprehensible. What, for instance, incited Hideyoshi to invade Korea in 1592? What made the Japanese accept so

readily the teaching of the Jesuit Fathers during the latter half of the sixteenth century? What more recently induced Japan to insist at the Paris Conference on recognition of racial equality by the League of Nations?

If the emotionalism of the race has been deeply influential in the historic drama, it has been no less persuasive in the political and social life of the present-day Japan. Compare the constitutions of America and Japan. If the outstanding features of the American Constitution are the safeguarding of the interests and rights of the individual, the States, and the nation, those of the Japanese Constitution are the expressions of the people's anxiety to recognize and perpetuate their beloved head, the Emperor, as the great, the divine ruler of their ideals. Although the onslaught of materialism has wrought some changes in recent years, there yet remains the ineradicable proof of Japanese emotionalism in the realm of marriage and love, where all earthly considerations are forgotten, if not tabooed, and in the realm of family and of society, where the relations between parents and children and between friends and neighbors are conducted with an assured sense of devotion, love, and good will. The same tendency is to be recognized in almost all Japanese institutions, educational, military, and political, while it is particularly true in the realm of aesthetics, including art, literature, and music—a realm that is ruled by sentiment.

In the common daily life of the Japanese their emotionalism expresses itself in almost infinitely diverse ways. Their peculiarly strong sense of pride and dignity, individual, family, and national, a sense for which the Japanese will make any sacrifice, comes from their highly strung nervous system. Their keen sense of pride gives rise to another marked Japanese peculiarity—an excessive susceptibility to the opinions and feelings of their fellow men. Social ostracism to the Jap-

anese is a punishment which is often more unbearable than the death penalty. The peculiarly high rate of suicides in Japan is explained by statisticians as being largely due to some mistake or sin for which the offender would rather die than be chastised by society. The cold-blooded Hara-kiri was an institution by which the Samurai could sustain his honor or save his face when involved in disgrace. High-spirited temper, suppressed by ethical teachings, social conventions, and rigorous discipline, result in a singular contrast between external physical expression and internal feelings. The placid faces, reserved manners, and reticence are but masks of the intense, burning spirit, whose spontaneous expression has been inhibited by centuries of stoic training. It is almost fortunate that this virtue in the oriental sense has frequently been a cause of misunderstanding, making the Japanese appear dissimulating, and, therefore, untrustworthy.

But at heart the Japanese are neither as inscrutable nor deceitful as some believe, nor are they as intriguing or profound as these terms would imply. They are kind and sympathetic, easily moved by the attitude of others, quite simple-minded and honest, lacking tenacity, audacity, iron-will, or cold deliberation. In these respects, as in many others, the Japanese possess some of the weaker traits of the South European peoples. They have proved heretofore not a great people but a little people "who are great in little things and little in great things."

The simple explanation of Japanese sentimentalism may be found in the character of one of the original race stocks which migrated from the southern islands in a tropical climate, where emotion rather than will guides the conduct of the people. Topographical and climatic conditions of Japan have also had their influence, and these, with the numerous volcanic eruptions, frequent earthquakes, recurrent typhoons, have disposed the people to restlessness and excitement. Per-

haps also the social system of the middle ages, which was unduly autocratic and despotic, irritated the lower classes, driving them to turbulent and "peppery" conduct.

The next characteristic of the Islander is one which is closely related to the preceding trait. It is an artistic temperament. Some scholars of archaeology attempted to trace this characteristic to the original settlers of the empire, but the resultant opinions are so diverse as to deny scientific validity. Some of them maintain that the Ainu, the earliest known settlers in Japan, a now dwindling race living in the northern Island called Hokkaido, were originally a very artistic people, contributing much to the aesthetic temperament of the Japanese. There are other scholars who insist that the Yamato race, and not the Ainu, was the most artistic, while there are still others who uphold the view that it was the vast horde of migrators coming from Korea, Tartary, and China who brought with them the love of beauty. But these are speculations on prehistoric conditions which are largely hidden from us by the veil of mythology. What we can be sure of is that the influence on the people of the exceptionally beautiful natural surroundings reflecting itself in their artistic productions generally through the patronage of aristocrats, who enjoyed from the earlier ages leisure and wealth, has also had much to do in making the Japanese artistic.

What influence has this aesthetic temperament exerted on the life of the Japanese? In the first place, it has rendered Japanese civilization markedly feminine. This is shown by the fact that the creative efforts of the people were mainly directed to personal and home decoration and to literary and artistic pursuit, instead of to masculine efforts to fight and conquer the forces of nature, from which alone the sciences are born. Particularly noticeable was the almost total absence of science in Japan, in striking contrast to the remark-

able wealth of art flourishing at the time, some half a century ago, when the country began a critical introspection of itself and a comparison with other nations.

In the second place, it had the effect of making the people inclined to underestimate the value of material things and to exaggerate the glory of the spiritual aspects of life. This is most clearly seen in the teachings of Bushido, which laid strong emphasis on the baseness of the conduct that has for its motive pecuniary or material interests, and which taught the subordination of the body to the soul as the most essential virtue of the Samurai. The traditional custom of sacrificing the material side of a question for the satisfaction and upholding of the emotional side still survives in present day Japan, and constitutes one of the marked characteristics of the Japanese. His strong inclination towards imagination, meditation, and religious belief is too well known a fact to require more than a mention here.

It seems true that people gifted aesthetically are most apt to turn hedonistic. While it remains doubtful whether the Japanese are more immoral than other people, as is so frequently charged, it is quite true that they take much delight in a leisurely comfortable mode of living, going to picnics, attending theatres, calling upon friends, and holding various ceremonies and feasts. Generally speaking, although not given to excesses, they show no puritanic hostility toward drink and are lavish spenders for luxuries. In the tea houses and other places of social amusement they spend money often beyond the reasonable proportion of their income. They are not a thrifty people.

Next to the artistic disposition must be mentioned their strong group consciousness. It is true that all people have a certain degree of group consciousness which emerges out of the facts of common biological and cultural heritage and experience. But in the case of the Japanese this group spirit is

markedly strong, expressing itself in loyalty and patriotism. Most strangely, the spirit of Yamato, or the Japanese group spirit, has had its source more than anywhere else in primitive myths. Two ancient books of mythology, *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, record the story of the Japanese ancestors who were originally born of the gods of heaven and earth, and who settled in Japan, and established there through their brave deeds the majesty of the Empire of Nippon. From these ancestors sprang the people of Japan. This myth is faithfully believed by the Japanese, and the people worship at the shrines where the spirits of their heroic ancestors are supposed still to reside and guard the country. So strong is this belief in the myths even to-day that, in spite of the anthropological discovery that the original settlers of the island were of diverse races and possessed no advanced culture, the people still cling to the idea that the Japanese are a pure and glorious race, having sprung from a line of ancestors which was divine and which is now represented by its direct descendant, the Emperor.

In addition to mythology, what bound the Japanese so close together was the natural environment and the lack of cosmopolitan associations. Marooned as they were on a little island, mutual association and inter-marriage of people took place freely, and in the course of time established a substantially complete homogeneity in population. The internal unity was further strengthened by the policy of national seclusion, which gave the common people the idea that Japan was the only universe and that the Japanese were the only people on earth. In modern times, this group spirit or patriotism has been skillfully encouraged and enkindled by utilizing the national experience of the wars with China and Russia, and by a system of education which aimed to impress on the minds of children the glory of their people and history, the absolute duty of being loyal to the Emperor, and the hostile attitude of foreign countries toward their own.

What the people gain by narrow patriotism in the maintenance of national integrity they lose in their failure to take a broad view of things. This stubbornly obstructs the Japanese in their efforts to view their country in its proper relation to other countries; it hinders them from being "Romans when in Rome"; it makes the idea of following the example of England, the policy of loose national expansion, wholly unthinkable—Japanesese colonies must be exclusively Japanese. The chief cause of the failure of Japanese colonization and emigration must be accounted to the strong consciousness of the Yamata Minzoku (Yamato Race). This has made the Japanese noticeably narrow-minded—quite awkward in their relations with different peoples, and more or less given to race prejudice. The reputation of the Japanese as poor mixers is well known. Their strong race prejudice has been exemplified by their attitude toward the Chinese, Koreans, and the outcast class of their fellow countrymen, called Eta, which has been nothing short of prejudicial discrimination.

In spite of the desperate efforts of the militants and bureaucrats to conserve narrow patriotism and racial pride, it has been increasingly difficult to do so, since the facts and thought of the West became accessible to the people. When the marvelous scientific achievement of the Occidental people, their advanced political and social systems, their profound philosophies of life and of the universe, together with their superior physique and formidable armament, were appreciated, it became all too apparent, even to the most conceited mind, that the culture and racial stock, in which the Japanese had taken so much pride, was sadly inferior, and that years of hard toil would be necessary before they could become the equals of the Occidentals. The pathetic cry for recognition of racial stock, in which the Japanese had taken so much pride, was denied, and years of hard toil would be necessary before they could become the equals of the Occidentals.

The outcome of this disillusionment has been the appearance of three currents of thought with reference to the national policy. One is the ultra-Occidentalism which sees nothing good in their own country and people and hence is extremely ruthless and outspoken in denunciation of things Japanese, but which admires even to the point of worship almost everything that is European and American. To this school belong many younger radicals who are more or less socialistically inclined and who would like to see Japan converted into a republic or Bolshevik communism. Categorically opposed to this thought is another school, which its adherents call "Japanism." This school sees nothing new or worth while in things Occidental, and advocates, after the reasoning of Rousseau, a return to natural Japan. Between their two extremes stand the majority of sane intellectuals, who clearly perceive both the limitations and the strength of Japan, and endeavor to benefit through learning and assimilating the valuable experience of other nations.

The discussion of Japanese traits would be very incomplete if we omitted one outstanding idiosyncrasy that has not yet been mentioned. So peculiar is this trait to the Japanese that there is no adequate word to designate it in other languages. The Japanese express it by such words as *kikotsu*, *otokodate*, and *gikyoshin*. The nearest English equivalents for these terms would be heroism and chivalry. It is a mixed sentiment of rebellion against bullying power, sympathy for the helpless, and willingness to sacrifice self for the sake of those who have done kind acts. This admirable sentiment must be strictly distinguished from the spirit of Bushido, because it has arisen among the plebeians in place of Bushido, which was "the way of the Samurai" or aristocrats, although it may have been, as some scholars claim, the source of inspiration for the growth of proletarian ideas as expressed by Dr. Nitobe. Under the Tokugawa regime the Samurai was the

flower and the rest were nothing. The Samurai often abused their privilege and oppressed the common people not a little, disregarding their rights and personality. Then a class of plebeians appeared who called themselves "men of men" and who made it their profession to defy the bullying Samurai and to defend the oppressed people. It was the virtue of this class always to help the weak and crush the strong, and to be ready to lay down their lives at any moment. The story of Sakura Sogoro, who fell a martyr to the cause of oppressed peasants, has become a classic.

Thus originating in defiance of despotism, the spirit of proletarian chivalry permeated the lower classes of people, and to this day it forms the bulwark of the rights and freedom of the common people. Refined and enriched by the embodiment in it of enlightened knowledge and ideals, the sentiment came to be on one side keen appreciation of kindness and sympathy, and on the other a strong hatred of oppression and injustice. The present proletarian movement in Japan, a movement which is destined soon to become a mighty social force, owes its source and guidance to "the ways of the common people."

If Dr. Nitobe is right in predicting that Bushido, "the way of the Samurai," will eventually enjoy the glory of "blessing mankind with the perfume with which it will enrich life," we may reasonably hope that proletarian chivalry will succeed in bringing about general freedom and democracy in Nippon, in defiance of military and imperialistic domination.

The understanding of this trait of the common people of Japan goes far to explain what has puzzled those Americans who wonder why the Japanese immigrants in this country are so unsubmissive and rebellious. In his letters to the Legislature of Nevada, the late Senator Newlands stated: "The presence of the Chinese, who are patient and submissive,

would not create as many complications as the presence of Japanese, whose strong and virile qualities would constitute additional factors of difficulty." Governor Stephens of California, too, observes in his letter to the Secretary of State: "The Japanese, be it said to their credit, are not a servile or docile stock." Acquired by centuries of opposition to arbitrary power, the trait has become almost instinctive, and expresses itself even under democracy whenever the people think they are unjustly treated.

In discussing the features of Japanese character thus far, we have taken care to state the known causes which gave rise to each trait. This has been done with a view to preparing ourselves to answer the question: to what extent are these characteristics of the Japanese inherent in the race and to what extent acquired? The answer which the foregoing discussion suggests is that they are both inherent and acquired, biological and social. While racial stock is responsible to an extent, other factors, such as natural environment and social conditions, have helped to develop the characteristics of the Japanese. Perhaps the best criterion by which we can determine the relative strength of heredity and environment in this case is to observe how and in what respects the Japanese born and reared in other countries undergo transformation in their mentality and characteristics.

It is but natural that the philosophy of a nation developed from the life and experience of people should be deeply colored by their temperament. After having discussed the essential features of the Japanese disposition, it may be easy to anticipate the character of the philosophy which rests on it. We shall now consider the outstanding features of Japanese thought, with a view to interpreting and evaluating the spiritual side of Japan's civilization.

Characteristic of the Japanese, who lack initiative, the

thought of the people also manifests a marked absence of originality. Until Buddhism and Confucianism came into the country, in the early part of the sixth century, the Japanese seem to have had no system of religion or philosophy save fetichism and mythology. The advent of new doctrines of ethics and religion caused a rapid transformation of the life and ideas of the people, elevating them by one stroke from barbarian obscurity to civilized enlightenment. From this time on a childish admiration of mythological characters and stories began to be superseded by an earnest effort for the perfection of the individual character and the realization of social ideals; and crude superstitions were gradually replaced by the profound teachings of Gautama. Out of the religious zeal were developed admirable art and literature, and from the moral effort were born elaborate ethical codes, social order, and social etiquette. Thus, with raw materials imported, the Japanese worked diligently and carefully to turn out finished products well adapted to their tastes and needs. If the Japanese were people endowed with great originality, they would surely have given evidence of it during nearly three hundred years of national seclusion (1570-1868), when almost all conditions requisite for a creative impulse were present, including peace, prosperity, need and encouragement. In fact, however, the people were interested and absorbed in stamping out the feeble hold of Christian influence, in assimilating the teaching of Wang Yang Ming, and in recasting the doctrines of Confucius and Buddha. When the flood gates of Japan were thrown open and the tides of Occidental learning swept in, the Japanese were almost overwhelmed, and found themselves too busy in coping with this phenomenon to think of the original contribution.

Lack of ability to start new things is generally compensated by the capacity to borrow new things. In the point of borrowing new ideas and then of working these to suit their own

tastes, the Japanese are probably second to no nation on earth. Japan first borrowed Confucianism and Buddhism, and within a short time remodeled them in ways peculiar to her, rendering their identity with the original almost unrecognizable. Thus the stoic, pessimistic character of Buddhism was greatly modified, becoming more or less epicurean and optimistic in the hands of the Japanese. The casuistic, practical, individualistic ethics of Confucius were radically changed to general principles of ideal conduct, with the addition of aesthetic elements, and a strong emphasis laid on the group loyalty rather than on filial piety. It is to this ability of the Japanese to assimilate new thought and new belief that the unexpected success of early Catholic propaganda was chiefly due. To this capacity of assimilation is also due the origin of Bushido, which is essentially an eclectic of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist doctrines. The later-day Shintoism, the so-called cult of ancestor worship, is also a product of the skillful combination of native mythology, Taoism, and Confucianism, with an infusion of certain of the Buddhist doctrines. That the present Japanese civilization is largely a product of assimilation by native genius of American, French, German, and English ideas and institutions is an established fact. It may be that therein lies the hope that many Japanese thinkers cherish of making Japan a modern Alexandria where centuries of human achievements in Asia and Europe may be harmoniously woven together for the realization of a more perfect fabric of civilization.

In literature it is asserted that the creative period is uncritical and the critical period is barren. It seems that the critical tendency is the antithesis of creative effort. This applies to the Japanese, who do not create but who are keenly critical. Instinctively bent on absorbing new ideas, they immediately react to any new schools of thought—turning from

Eucken to Bergson, again to Russel, now to Einstein—but they soon begin to analyze their doctrines and to find faults and fallacies here and there, and finally are ready to depreciate them wholesale. In so doing, of course, they assimilate some of the good points involved in various systems. The chief obstacle which Christianity, as interpreted by healthy-minded missionaries, encounters in Nippon, is the sceptical temper of the Japanese intellectuals.

A strong appeal to emotionalism and to the sense of beauty rather than to cold reason and unpleasant realities is another common characteristic of Japanese philosophy. The Japanese have always taken pride in expressing great truth in a short verse form called Uta, with choice words and exquisite phrasing. Until the advent of European learning, poetry and philosophy were never clearly distinguished in Japan. Love of emotionalism naturally leads Japanese thought to humanism rather than to metaphysical speculation.

From this it may be thought that English positivism would find great vogue in Japan. In fact, the influence of Adam Smith, Bentham, Mill, Malthus, and others was a considerable factor in shaping modern Japanese thought. But at bottom the Japanese are not utilitarians. They are by temper idealists. The magical power by which German idealism as propounded by Kant, Hegel, and Fichte, and more recently by Lotze and Eucken, controls the Japanese mind is astounding. Nearly all the prominent philosophers of the Meiji era may be classed under some branch of German idealism. The fact that of American thinkers Emerson is more widely read than any other, and that Royce is more popular than James, is no accident. If pragmatism appeals to the Japanese mind, it is not in the logical form of Professor Dewey but rather in the aesthetic presentation of Santayana.

Recently, however, or more particularly since the war, the

trend of Japanese thought has begun to follow a somewhat different path. Industrial revolution, which has been rapidly advancing during the past twenty-five years, reached its culmination during the war, when various forces accidentally combined in bringing about universal recognition of the need for radical social reorganization. Capitalism, which had in the course of time grown to be a gigantic power, proved unable to adapt itself to the changing conditions of the day, and it thus obstructed the onward march of liberalism and democracy. Labor, however, shook off the dust of long subjection, and began with united front to demand recognition of its right and of its humanity. The struggle naturally forced the attention of the people to the actual condition of society where the poor majority are sadly left in destitution, where sins and crime are sapping the very vitality of the people, where the rich are abusing their fortunes for deplorable ends. Then came the European downfall of autocracy and the triumph (at least for a short time) of democracy. Liberty, equality, and fraternity became once more the slogan of the time. All forces united and started a reform movement, upsetting to a certain degree the age-long social system of Nippon.

The three years of confusion did a lasting good. The German system of government, diplomacy, education, military affairs, and philosophy to which the Japanese had hitherto adhered too blindly, were, one after another, filtrated and purified, thereby removing much of the scum that was in them. It is of course, impossible for hardened militarists and bureaucrats to get rid of the beliefs in which they were born and brought up and which have become endeared to them; but the old generations are gradually dying off, carrying with them to the grave the skeleton of systems which are now dead. In open rebellion against these falling autocrats there arose a great number of brilliant young people, bred and trained in

the new school of liberty and democracy, with courage and foresight to complete the second Restoration—that of the rights of humanity belonging to the common masses. Already the status of the working classes is greatly improved through a persistent costly struggle against the misused power of capital; wages have been increased, hours shortened, and, in the near future, we may expect the triumph of industrial democracy, a triumph which will secure for labor the deserved right of industrial copartnership. Already the status of the women has been greatly improved by their emancipation from the traditional and social bondage under which they suffered so long. Political rights have been greatly enlarged, and universal manhood suffrage is now within view. The educational system, too, has just been revised, and rendered a great deal more liberal than ever before. In this way, though the road is yet long and uncertain, true liberalism in Nippon at last stands firmly on its ground, ready to march towards its ordained goal.

So great a social innovation is but a concrete expression of changes that are taking place in the underlying currents of thought. It indicates the breaking up of classic systems of moral and political philosophy, which by dint of age-long prestige had never ceased to exercise a strong influence upon the mind of the people. It discloses the bankruptcy of that German idealism which so precisely fitted in with the *a priori*, passive, spiritual temper of the people but which proved helpless in the face of vital problems of life and society. It means the exposure of the inadequacy of English utilitarianism, with its over-emphasis on individualism, to help the people effectually to solve many difficulties of society. The changes now taking place in Japanese thought imply the failure of those philosophies which belittle the value of the material, slight the position of mankind in the universe, and fail to sat-

isfy man's inherent craving for ceaseless progress. The new direction of Japanese thought is decidedly towards pragmatic humanism at its best, with due emphasis on the importance of the practical and social phases of life, enriched with the spirit of a sentimental delicacy and an aesthetic proclivity singularly characteristic of the people.

THE FASCISTI

By JULIA BOYNTON GREEN

Out on the old track wheels "Planet."
 Youth up, a confident jockey,
 Rather too confident—cocky!
 Bored with the race as They ran it,
 Granddads, with notions of granite.
 Time!—and gay youth in the saddle:
 Smiling and spurred and unsparing,
 Fiery, vigorous, daring.
 "Planet's a tough brute to straddle,
 'Ware wits that wobble and addle!"
 Grave, on the platform, the Judges,
 Sober Maturity watching,
 Charged with long bungling and botching.
 Youth jeers, "The reins he begrudges.
 Give him a plough-horse, that trudges."
 "Youth! you rank fool, you beginner—
 What if she bolts, if she stumbles?"
 "Age! you've had your share of tumbles,
 Give us the seat—we are thinner!"
 They're off!—And here's to the winner!

A LIFE

By J. T.

Intimacy

Though others wonder at the sapphire sky,
These brimming poppies and the sea beyond,
We only know their magic, you and I.

Some day when we are grey let us return,
You and I, grown old but not less fond,

To hear again the surf assault this beach,
To see afar great fields of poppies burn,
To speak once more love's kind, familiar speech.

Faith

Now is the resurrection of the year
Made manifest in verdure and in gold;
The poppies and the lupines reappear,

And all their winters vanish like a dream.
So you and I, beloved, shall unfold

An ampler beauty on a larger day,
Our love refreshed at the living stream
When these dead rags of flesh have fallen away.

Certainty

Some day you shall be
What most you love: a wavelet of the sea,
A swallow's wing, a spray of rosemary.

Some day shall you know
What most you long to learn: where lovers go,
And on what hills forgotten sunsets glow.

Youth Revisited

Where is she who walked this windy shore,
The brown-eyed girl with sunlight in her hair?
Would she remember should we meet once more,
And would she care?

The rushing pebbles follow down the wave;
Their everlasting music is not strange
To one who sleeps forever in her grave,
Immune to change.

Nature

There was no beauty like her smile,
Unless the sun's;
There was no music like her laugh,
Unless the lark's.

Her sweet last song is muted. Still
The lark must sing,
And she is blind forever. Yet
The sun must shine.

A Faded Flower

These things last, all others pass away:
The flawless blue of yonder wind-flawed bay,
The yellow poppies burning on this plain,
This April noon, eternal, change what may,
This living light that seems to die each day,
This grass that freshens with each vernal rain,
The faded hope that we shall live again.

Before Sleep

Before sleep visits me
In one white flash I see
Myself when four years old.

Again I live in him
Whom life shall never dim
Nor any change unmake.

Through him I read aright
Those mysteries of light
That, changing, never change.

Beneath a tree I stand,
A bluebell in my hand,
And far away the hills.

So still is all the air
I hear time everywhere
Flowing, but at rest.

All beauty is my own,
The hills are mine alone,
Infinity is mine.

The bluebell never fades,
Its present blue prevades
The bluer hills beyond.

Before death visits me
May sudden time flow back
To immortality.

The Moth

Tonight you return again
In the still, incredible time,
With a whirr of wings on the pane:
I will turn the lamp down low,
Dim as the stars we know,
Or your wings' cold rime.

What is the dust on your wings,
Whence their remembered sheen—
Their hint of eternal things
Beyond your brief, swift flight,
Dusty with infinite light
Under suns unseen?

Oh, to read what you trace
On the window's frosty dew;
Cold as uttermost space
This room that shuts you out,
And blacker than night this doubt—
Would that I knew!

Free

There comes a sudden splendor on the sea,
A glory on the air;
Open wide the window, fling it wide!
The light, the light shines everywhere,
And night with all its misery
Ebbs with the falling tide.

Put out my spirit with the morning star,
Quench utterly my spark,
My body, and the wearied mind of me;
Let who will outsing the lark
Up to morning's gates ajar,
I shall not hear; I'm free!

COUNTRY LIFE FOR AMERICA

By REXFORD G. TUGWELL

I

The Country Home

1. The Meaning to us of Home.

Dean Priest of the University of Washington said to me one time as we came upon a typical Parisian courtyard: "What further evidence do you need that the French are at heart a bucolic race?" Here within four walls in the midst of the city were a bit of greenery and a vine grown with infinite loving care in the most difficult circumstances. The observation colored my whole estimate of the French achievement; and I cannot discover that we have any more here in America the same close, common ties to the soil.

Yet to most Americans "home" must carry countryside connotations, and this is true of a great many naturalized citizens too; the picture of the bit of soil may not always be American, but it must be there. And it probably affects our aspirations more than at once appears. Not many of us who were born here and are now adult can have been children of the cities; for the greatness of our cities is recent. Rather a large proportion of us were bred in the knowledge of the land and cannot live otherwise than with the love of it deep within us. It is unthinkable that the impressionable years of a childhood spent in the fields and on New England hillsides, Mid-West plains, or in the Far-West valleys should not have left a deep impress. The wind across a field of clover, the gold of ripening wheat, the scattered red of Baldwin apple trees in fall, must then still touch common responses and reawaken common motives in great numbers of us who are living out of sight of fall-ploughed land, out of hearing of the whispers of the ripening corn.

There are evidences of it. The desire to picnic perhaps comes out of a nomadic past, but it is surely more than a racial memory that on fine Sundays fills villages, farms and ranches with the town people who wander about and make acute observations on the state of the crops and the problems of proper tillage. And do not rich men turn back to the soil in age, becoming what sophisticated farm people call, half in envy of their fine estates, "agriculturalists"? There are evidences; not such telling ones as the courtyard gardens of Paris; still there must be something of all this complex of the sights and sounds and smells of childhood in our concept of home; it may not lie close to the surface but the little rural touches of the cities and the fine country accent of much city speech, indicate there is something common underneath to build on.

It is undeniable however that there are those who have no training in the tradition. There are some who show the most astonishing ineptness in their understanding of the countryside. I have in mind an alert university undergraduate who to my mortification asked a farmer friend of mine: "How is the ploughing going today?" when the farmer was drilling beans. Another could not understand the preconditions of a cow's giving milk. If the many instances of this sort of thing that occur to any person familiar with rural life are thought over it is clear that they point to a serious drift. I cannot imagine a French lad similarly equipped; and in France city and country people, ultimate producer and ultimate consumer, have not drifted so perilously far apart. Such evidences show all too plainly our present heterogeneous training and our lack of common tradition. We are beginning to have diverse ideas of the relative importance of things; differences which arise from a failure latterly to keep alive a valuable inherited tradition. Someway we shall have to reduce the psychic dis-

tance from producer to consumer. But we cannot be far gone on the path of misunderstanding; we must still have a quite general likeness in associations, one of them the picture of the home that is in the country.

2. Change.

Brick, stone or frame as the house might be, the picture included grass and trees, big barns and wide fields, the peculiar scents of the country wind and the intimate fact of the crickets' singing. Home meant an effort of upbuilding and a creation of morale in which all joined and in which all had a part; it was a lasting institution, something that always might be come back to, something to compare with, to care deeply about. The homestead lived in the hearts of its children: America loses a precious thing in losing this.

It is important to consider whether something as good is growing into its place. I think not. This is, of course, especially a transition stage; the old is passing and the new has not yet taken definite form; but largely the characteristics of the city home seem to be make-shift. It is dominated by the necessity of economy of space and of home-keeping effort: and these are negative: true home creation admits these only as limiting factors.

I have never been able to make up my mind that an advance was made when we took away from women their gardens and their kitchens; perhaps it would have been better to have improved them instead of abolishing them. Factory-made foods are cheaper in a way; I am not sure they are cheaper in every way. The hewing of wood, the drawing of water, the long exhausting days above the old kind of wood-range are entirely unnecessary now and fast passing in the country: and past conditions, as they sometimes are, ought not to be used as arguments against the country home. The kitchen has changed, as the old fashioned factory changed, to something

more aesthetic as well as more efficient, but it is still the place for laying up stores against the winter, for canning and drying and preserving. There are permanent qualities about the operations of the kitchen that satisfy and bring content. It is now a place of infinite possibilities as it was once the center of the American home life of tradition. Then it was woman's stronghold and her creative opportunity; it tied girls and boys to the home; it was their schoolroom as it was the source of their bodily strength. To me it seems clear that women who have lost the opportunities for expression through the household arts have sacrificed much content, much real feeling of achievement, and gained on the whole, little but frustration and an impotence that torments them immeasurably. The world is busy but there is no place for dispossessed woman; she has even lost a great part of the opportunity to be her children's teacher.

The country home is not entirely as it was; it is not difficult to discern general changes. There was one good reason why the broad-shouldered, wide-winged house that dominates the picture of home to many of us had to go; it acquired a very bad reputation as a woman-killer. When families were big there were many girls to help and more were added as the boys grew up and brought home wives. Both these conditions have changed. Families are shrinking in size in the country as in the city; boys are less apt to bring home wives, largely because the wives will not come. The big house has become for the most part an anachronism.

It will be a good while before all the people are dead who were born in those big houses, but the time is coming. The new houses are smaller and it is better so; but they can—and in the country they do—still manage some tranquility as they sit far back from the road beneath the wide green breasts of elm and maple trees; and they still retain some of the spac-

iousness and dignity that, just as much as homely furniture and friendly rooms, helped to shape the picture of the homes of our past.

3. The Difference Tradition Makes.

It is a process of self-justification that makes us regard the city as a hope of democracy—that and a lack of any acute appreciation of the best in a passing time. We make much of the country's failures, its monotony, its drudgery and the even flow of its recurring climaxes so different from the fevered activity, the constant change and the varied experience of city life; and we are apt to forget its real satisfactions. The best of these center in the whole group of home associations. The great failure of the city is the failure of its home life.

It is the homeless people who create our most serious problems. It may not necessarily be true that the causal relationship runs one way and not the other; perhaps there are homeless people because they are that kind of people, but it seems hardly likely; no man, however poor in spirit, however atrophied in social sense, is entirely without the home building impulse. Any ordinary observation of any human group supports this belief. And how poor the opportunities are for the satisfactory meeting of this human demand is plain from the shortest walk in a city's streets. How proud a city is of its title "The City of Homes" and how fantastic is any American city's claim to such a title!

The compulsion is upon us to recreate the home life of a nation; all our careful schemes of adjustment will fail if we fail in this. The old tradition is dying; let it die. But we need not get into the way of thinking there was no purpose and no good in it; and we must not imagine we can safely leave a human void unfilled. There are dangers that way.

The bucolicism, the dominating influence of the soil in the

lives of French people is a force in their civilization we have never understood; but their strong ties with the earth and with a poor peasant house of stone lie at the very root of that vigor and stamina we so puzzled over in 1914. This is the kind of strength we can have or can lose now as we choose.

Economists have been saying this past decade that industrialism, with its typical manifestation, the factory, is the central fact in our American system. Doubtless it is; but that is not to admit that it ought to be or that the study of its phenomena and the creation of meliorative schemes to mitigate its consequences in our lives ought to absorb the whole of our finest effort. We ought to be able to spare some consideration for such necessary reconstructive activities as this of planning for a new home to take the place of the old. It will at once be seen that any such planning involves a partial reordering of industry; this is perhaps why the problem of the home has been assumed to be relatively unimportant and glossed over as secondary. In reality very few of the matters that ordinarily provoke discussion involve directly so great a quantity of happiness and such infinite possibilities of relief from intolerable social pressures as the planning of a homelife that shall be a reality, instead of a sham, a positive force instead of a make-shift.

Our greatest advance toward the national firmness, soundness, goodness we now lack can be attained by the reconstitution of the tradition and the reality of the home standing four-square to the winds and with the irreducible potentialities of an elm tree and a garden. And it hasn't to be created anew out of nothing; most of us still live with some sort of common memory of it.

II

City and Country Living

1. By Way of Contrast.

City observers remark how many middle-class people there

are, getting along toward old age, who live in the family hotel. When the children were young there was a home, perhaps even with a front porch, but children have a way of going out into their new institutions of flats and apartments, and the old generation is left to its memories. Empty rooms have an ache in them. Servants these days come and go and there is no tie of common service through the years to bind close the lives of mistress and maids. There is nothing to bind its elements and the home disintegrates.

The woman who for twenty or more years has given her best to the children and seen them grow up into the new world she is not fitted to understand, has no resources of the spirit; she has restlessly created women's clubs, aimless, indefinite releases for suddenly unused energies. But it does not answer; and the unhappy state of the once-crowded house is an irritation without compensation. Her husband sees her grow stout and impotent and sour. Finally the home is sold and they retreat to the family hotel.

Country people live better and end life better. In youth there is ambition and work together—this the city couple seldom has and it is an inestimable privilege that has its consequences. There is scarcely a farmer will turn a business deal offhand. He does not always say so, but try to buy his crop of apples; he puts you off until next day. What he is feeling he must do is to get the woman's judgment. Marriage is a true partnership.

There is a piece of land; certain things done to it make it produce astonishingly; fruits grow right up out of the earth and all that is necessary to consummate this recurring miracle is to help; nature does the main part. The problem is two-fold: what to grow and how to grow it: counsel is taken together and a plan emerges that is the joint work of man and woman. This is potentially very nearly a complete life.

Time was when isolation counted—not so much any more. There is the automobile and much cheap reading matter, schools and churches not far off. And farms are smaller and neighbors closer than they used to be. All these have made farm life wider and fuller. Yet the cities grow enormously. Days have been long in the past, cows monotonously insistent, work the back-breaking sort, amusement and excitement scarce; and the drift to the cities became a phenomenon of importance.

It is the woman who loses most in the move to the city and I think it was the man in most cases who revolted from the work and monotony and went in search of the gregarious elbow-touch of city work-life. But in many ways the satisfactions he found there were spurious and there were other and more painful frustrations in the urban workshops. These are not so easily perceived at first but soon felt and the farm family moved to the city undergoes subtle degradations that scar the lives of man and woman and child.

2. Some Rewards in Country Life.

It never would have been true to say that farm life in America was anything like perfect; but it has always offered certain valuable rewards found nowhere else, chief among them, man and woman partnership and the complete supervision of the industrial process. Both these count more than we are usually willing to admit; and the reason for their counting so much lies deep in human nature among the motives to activity.

If we are to keep permanently our monogamous relationship we have got to tie it to the job. Man's impulses turn from sex to creation and the manipulation of materials and ideas. The modern factory goes a long way toward the separation of jobs and homes; perhaps we can live two lives, on the job and off, but experience seems to show we cannot. Cer-

tainly city women in their apartment homes, depending as they do upon the corner grocer for all those providences that were once their work in life, are either useless or with jobs of their own in factory or office. The schools are bringing up their children, the factories providing the winter's food supply and the textile mills supplying entire the clothing for the family. If the city woman does not work outside the home she does not work at all at any task worthy of her intelligence. This separation of the sexes which is inevitable in city life is dangerous; a union of male and female on a basis of sex alone is in a constantly precarious state if we value at all the permanence of the marriage relationship. The sexes are finely complementary and it seems too bad to waste this adaptation: it can be turned to such good account. Yet life is rapidly forcing more and more men and women into separate jobs and creating a situation in which their only meeting ground is sex.

The reform of the country and village social life has always seemed so important to me for some such basic reasons as these. The readjustments to be made are minor. The city problems, men and women being as they are, seem so impossible of accomplishment. The necessary readjustments are major. Better schools, more automobiles, financing made as easy as it is for the urban business man, more home conveniences such as modern plumbing and electric power bring, these are the kind of improvements the farm needs. But to make city life full such formidable social operations must be performed as stagger the imagination. What to do about the fact of the complete separation of home and work, with its loss of the partnership incentive, its sagging of interest, its lack of understanding, perhaps its feeling of inferiority of one of the partners, requires almost unthinkable changes in a crowded modern city.

Then there is old age and the time when the new generation is creating its homes and doing the things it does to old established order. The farmer boy grows up with his job and when he is fit and trained the old couple moves off to the village and leaves the job to his new wife and him. This is to speak generally; there may of course be more sons than the one, and other complications may upset this simple norm. Yet it is the norm that the men are trained to their jobs and that there is a piece of land to be had when the training is complete.

There is no family hotel for the retired farm couple. True the farmer forms a pretty village problem. He is wholly untrained for social administration and yet his years of independence will not allow him to admit himself incompetent. But this problem aside, for himself and for the wife there is an easy, on the whole a rather happy, drift into the days of sitting in the sun and sifting over the achievements of past years.

3. Alternatives.

Discerning persons will perceive, I think, outside forces have determined Europe shall go back to some sort of country living. Observers agree that the cities of Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, Russia and the Balkans are literally starving out. The death rate seems to be at least twice as large as the birth rate. In contrast the peasants were never so well off; they have stopped paying a tribute of rent and interest and professional fees to the urban livers; and they are consuming the unexpected surplus. They have simply to do without machinery and to improvise their own tools; to eat what they grow or can get by barter; and to recall the old home methods for making clothing. The cities offer them money, but the money represents no commodities they want and so they refuse it. Thus the balance has suddenly shifted and the

part of the urban population that cannot find a piece of land seems likely to go cold and hungry until emaciation, exposure and disease carries it off.

American cities are still growing but there are signs that the farmer has nearly reached the limit of patience. Europe was forced by her peasantry to go back to the soil; America by taking thought might escape the terrible punishment of the cities of the old world by going forward into some sort of country life—it need not be a backward movement. Large cities have no basic economic or psychologic reason for existence. Climates favorable to industry are not restricted to so few square miles that we need pile up populations as we have done in New York or Philadelphia or Boston; and the industrial worker need not become farmer as we know him now to obtain the complete benefits of the country way of living.

Looking at the disaster of Europe, the conclusion might be arrived at that America must either plan ahead or allow the crumbling, disintegrating process to begin. It will begin with food shortages and end in starvation and pestilence until a balance has been somewhere near restored. The only basis upon which we can continue to maintain a relatively increasing urban population without some such disaster is to suddenly and enormously increase farm production per man and per acre and there seems to be no immediate hope of that. When our cities were growing most rapidly we were perfecting the reaper and binder, the mowing machine, the thresher and all our complicated tillage tools. We have made no such advances in recent years. The tractor was hailed with delight, but the tractor and the application of the power of internal combustion engines and electricity to farm operations have not increased production by anything like the anticipated rate and it is well enough known now that even

their complete utilization will allow us to go but very little further in the present way. Yet our systems of economics, sociology and politics in that part of them which looks toward the future, have but very little to say by way of warning; and American liberal and radical movements seem all of them to have accepted as a fundamental premise the present arrangements of population and seem never to question the desirability and permanency of the urban agglomeration of great masses of people.

It is true that there is literally no limit to the agricultural possibilities of our nation. In but few tiny spots have we reached the stage where the land is tilled by hand in small gardens; other nations support far more people per acre than we. We have undrained swamp-lands and unused irrigation tracts; we practice a large inefficient tillage over the whole of the South where we might have two crops instead of one; we are discovering new and cheap ways of making fertilizers that offer unimagined resources of plant food. All these are facts well known to the economist; but it is nevertheless true that food is scarcer than we have ever known it and it seems probable that although we cannot support a much larger population, we cannot support a larger one of the present proportion of division between city dwellers and country dwellers. We are asking each farmer to support too many persons who produce no food at all, no clothing, no shelter in original ways. Too many people are finishing, re-finishing, packaging, insuring, financing, and distributing goods; not enough helping to coax the original materials out of the earth.

It is because more Americans will have to go out on to the land sometime, probably soon, that a correction of minor rural deficiencies seems important. Living has always been more complete in the country than in the city; but that is not sufficient; to say that is to say nothing. We have a right to

use an ideal standard and to say that country life shall be made as full and happy as our intelligence and ingenuity will permit. The spread of artistic ideas, the betterment of educational facilities, the adoption of mechanical contrivances, have been slow in the past. The comparative rural prosperity of the war years accelerated the movement. The country is improving as rapidly as the city is deteriorating in the matter of equipment for human happiness. We may all of us look forward with some tranquility to a less citified future.

III

The Village

1. Rejuvenescence.

It looked for a time at the end of the old and the beginning of the new century as though the day of the village might be past, as though there might no more be the little town which is neither city nor country (of course it was much more country than city really). That was the day of the abandoned house. As New England farms once abandoned now flourish again, the village is having a reawakening. Houses once empty are full, stores once closed are open and the cracker barrel philosopher is again vocal (though the cracker barrel is gone). It was a sad sight for some of us to see the friendly old houses empty, the lawns uncut and the lilacs wasting their bloom in the dooryards. And such of us as were sad are now glad for the change.

Very recently there has been an acute housing crisis in the cities and more recently still a great increase in unemployment. People have found that they could get houses in the villages when they were not to be had in the cities. And many of the villagers who went to the city in the past few years of high wages for factory work are finding it more profitable to come back to the small town to live, especially if they were among the ones who lost their jobs.

There are other reasons for the change in the situation of the village. The automobile is an important one. The retired farmer had just discovered how much more fun he could have in the city than he had been having in the village when the automobile came in, turned the village into a suburb of the city and left it nearer than ever to the farm. Nearness to the old farm is an advantage; it may have been left to the children or to tenants, but after all the best of the old people's lives had gone into the soil and abandonment would hurt.

Then during the war years and immediately after there were unusual profits in the business of farming. This last is not freely admitted in agricultural circles. Farm journals for instance devote a good deal of space to proving it is not so. Their emphasis betrays them. And it needs no extensive study to show how much prosperity came to the farmer because of the war and high prices. Mortgages have been reduced, equipment restocked, houses and barns improved and automobiles become as universal as they are indispensable. All these are apparent in the briefest contact with rural affairs.

This has meant prosperity for the village too, because almost all the life of the village is in some way supplementary to that of its surrounding farms. Grocery, hardware shop, clothing, furniture and drug stores have renewed their prosperity and employ more people; and more farmers have been able to retire. The houses have filled up and in many villages more are being built. Astonishing quantities of bright new paint have been spread about; the grass of the common has been cut; a village band once more plays on Thursday nights and local pride once more concerns itself in a baseball team.

I am aware that it is peculiarly unsafe to generalize just now; to say that all the villages are being rejuvenated would certainly not be true. But it is equally certain that many of

them are; and the elements in the situation that seem to govern prosperity are somewhat changed from older times, though careful analysis would show, I think, that they are very nearly the same. Their effects on individual towns is different, however; and some four-corners are becoming sizeable towns under the new conditions, and some large towns are shrivelling.

The determinants may perhaps be selected from some such list as this: (1) the extent to which the resources of the village favor small manufactures; (2) the state of the demand for the agricultural specialty of the region (as fruit, corn, wheat, nuts, dairy products, beef, pork, mutton, garden truck or other); (3) the transport facilities (some small towns have rail, electric and water connections with the outside and these are bound to be important factors in the town's future as city living conditions drive more and more manufactures into the country; water transport will probably be increasingly important as rail rates are raised and villages on a canal or navigable stream will be favorably located); (4) the situation with reference to metropolitan centres (suburbs will probably move out greater distances); (5) and aesthetic and healthful advantages.

Other influences could be named but these seem important at present. The older determinants were of the same order. It is conditions that have changed. The market has widened both for the goods and services the village must buy and for those it must sell; the little community as the centre of a largely self-supporting area in which there was relatively little communication with the outer world is being replaced by one not so independent, not so isolated, not so immune to economic influences from the outside.

2. Administration.

The Board of Village Trustees in my town, and some similar organization in most villages, serves as a government.

Sometimes, but by no means always, it becomes by custom a board of elders; usually the offices—and this is very curious—are held in no great esteem and go to anyone with some qualifications of dignity who is willing to electioneer a bit and take some trouble to get his name on the ticket. The result is logical; the able, busy merchant or banker seldom serves; the boards are composed of more opinionated, less respected and less busy merchants, retired farmers and the like. It would be hard to find a group of men less fitted for social administration of any sort. They seem to be motivated in the conduct of public affairs by the strangest mixtures of inherited and outworn customs, a tradition of extreme economy and a frightened suspicion of innovation; and it thus happens that when progress is made it is made by other than the political entity.

This lack of participation in local politics by the abler sort of men has its like in wider political fields; it is one of the serious criticisms of parliamentary rule and there is no more favorable place than a village for observing the futilities and failures of representative government in which the abler citizens lack the interest to participate. This is perhaps because most political affairs seem extraneous to business life; but the only alternative seems to be the basing of representation on the industrial unit; the ablest of the business men have to participate then. As we manage affairs business men unquestionably show a preference for getting out of continual difficulties with the political organization—usually by underhand methods—to using the foresight to organize controls by the legitimate method.

It is the lack of esteem for the office, the lack of any sense of being honored in holding it that is so discouraging. It should never be surprising that men do not see their economic interest around several turns in the road; the grossest mis-

judgment and general carelessness are characteristic of business men's dealings with the political machinery of all kinds. But it has been a matter of great surprise to many commentators that political office in the little towns should not be greatly desired and held a high honor.

The character of government follows; it is what might be expected. Board meetings are mostly taken up with fault-finding about some irrelevant or minor matter. Real problems are not envisaged. Progress is forced upon the Board; it never creates progress.

3. School, Church and Press.

The school and church ought to be important; they seldom are in the sense of helping to make progress; they are stabilizing, almost reactionary influences. What an opportunity the small town minister or priest has; and the teacher has an even greater one! Such a very few of the qualities of moral authority and social leadership make a minister or a teacher the radiant center of a town's activities; but it is a rare happening when such a man finds such work. The ministers are either the younger men on the first step of the ladder of preferment or those failures who gravitate to the poorest economic situations in any profession. The teachers are girls in the first year out of college; it is very seldom they stay more than a year or two and that only for the sake of the experience that qualifies them for appointments in the better schools of larger towns. The school head is usually a man—the kind of a man who can be hired for a bare living wage and who will tolerate the domination of a few old and usually ignorant men, bend all his energies toward cutting down the school tax rate and teach history, mathematics, civics, chemistry, physics, drawing, and sometimes Latin and Greek.

I can still remember a congregational minister who was a leader in the village of the Chautauqua Hills where I was

born and spent my boyhood. His church was full on Sunday; he interpreted life from a rich and widely interested nature and his hold on the admiration and affection of his people brought them to him in every individual or civic crisis. He gave all he had and it is certain he would feel extravagantly paid if he could know how often even yet his name is on the lips of people whose lives he touched.

There was a principal of the High School too, who, though not so finely endowed was well equipped and responsive to the opportunities of his situation. There were a few years then that bore fruit. Whenever men and women of that old group gather the talk turns to that time and those men.

But that is the only time I have known it to happen. Usually something prevents; there is first an economic reason—niggardly pay; then there is the suspicious and determined domination of the elders of the community. The school Board and the Church Trustees are of much the same make-up as the governing board of the village itself and there is consequent rigid suppression of innovation and a pinching of pennies that no man of spirit and intelligence will tolerate. Again and again men of insight and training, fired with enthusiasm for the peculiar small town opportunity, are either broken or leave in a sudden storm.

Gradually, however, these matters are being changed. Outside standards for school and church must be met. The state quite usually interferes to better the schools; and the churches have their similar regional directions. Too much local autonomy is not always a good thing. This seems particularly true in affairs, the benefit of which, however great, is indirect and consequently hard to see.

The press is in similar state. Its domination by the small merchants of the village is far more real than the much talked of merchant domination of the urban press with the difference

that its pretensions to freedom are not sufficient to inveigle even the blindest reader into believing he is getting an honest opinion or complete representation of facts. But after all its sins are usually the sins of omission, arising from weakness; it offends no one. It contains little or no discussion of civic problems and it champions no contentious cause. Except for its potentialities it scarcely deserves mention as a force in village life; it really amounts to little more than a record keeper of vital statistics and a medium of advertising for merchants.

4. For the Future

In spite of poor government, antiquated schools, a fossilized church and a stupid press, a village is a good place to live, getting to be a better place and has stirring possibilities.

The government is perhaps no worse than governments have always been and in spite of themselves, old men cannot forever resist the combined pressure and temptation to go forward. Concrete and electric power are so obviously better than mud and kerosene that these two are gradually remaking the villages as really as unhappy cities and the automobile made the remaking possible. Schools and churches, physically and spiritually are periodically enlivened by contact with a wider horizoned world than the old one; somewhere within knowing distance there is sure to be an exceptional school or a vital church that sets the standard for a wide territory around.

The press seems to show a possible development in chains and groups of local papers. This will measurably free it from merely local merchants domination and enable it to become something of a force in the community; this a single rural paper cannot do, and so has lost the traditional place of the press in the community as the public forum.

There is always the home that in the village is really a

home in the American meaning; and there is the close relationship between the small town and the soil. There is a strength, a vigor, a permanent sweetness in the home and in the soil that may save America as they once saved France. It is a good thing to remember too that we cannot possibly have become urbanized as yet, not clear through; and that given certain of the city's drawing qualities, the village may become progressively a more important part of our national organization.

These attributes of the city which make it so humanly desirable seem relatively simple. The growth of the city has been explained as largely a result of gregarious impulses. But our gregarious instinct can scarcely be said to find more virtue in a hundred thousand people than in one thousand; and the village can supply what seems to me a sufficient crowd to gratify pure longing for company. When the farmer went in search of gratifications for his starved gregarious impulses he did not choose the village because it was in the city that the economic opportunities lay and I think largely the decline of the village and the growth of the city have this economic explanation. The psychologic plays a part but it was not particularly gregariousness that carried people to the cities; rather the opportunities for the exercise of anti-social impulses seem to me to have drawn many. But it is not necessary to stress the drawing power of opportunities for vice. There are other attractions: more constant and more varied amusement and greater opportunity to shift from one occupation to another without moving the residence, as well as the absolute lack of factory occupations in small towns, have been powerful forces.

Both these latter are remediable and are being bettered now. Stiff-necked disapproval of amusements for young people is pretty well broken down; there is even Sunday base-

ball now almost universally in the villages. Many small manufacturers are finding they can profitably operate outside the cities.

With these changes, the village may perhaps be finding its *metier* and creating its future. It needs revitalized institutions, it needs to learn many lessons from the cities in the wider and more specialized gratifications of human wants, and it needs the kind of men for social organization that the cities have been able to persuade away or that graceless provincialism has till now driven out.

(Mr. Tugwell will continue his discussion of Country Life for America in the June number of the Pacific Review.)

STAR-WORDS

By PHILIP GRAY

Up sprang the storm like sudden armies, and
Flung its foreboding and its whirl of war
Into the westering sun; its driving hoar
Proud crimson quenched . . . As suddenly a band
Of stars the rain dispersed, re-lit the land:
A troupe of stars illuminate before
The stars were due; and always more and more
Stars shone, whose peace—could a mere storm withstand?

Stars are your sudden quiet words to reach
My poor unquiet ears, exile my storms,
Re-light my rain-drenched heaven, comprise my trove
Of treasures—starriest magic words; and each,
Transmuting storm-winds to lush breezes, warms
My world and harbinges a dawn for love.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

The American idea of limitation of armaments was first conceived by Alexander Hamilton. Fine-combed as have been the life and times of that great American statesman, his final biography has not yet been written. When this is done, his connection with one of the greatest diplomatic achievements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may stand out in proper relief. Not only the incident of Hamilton's statesmanship to be narrated in these pages but various other unrecorded features of his foreign policy so vitally important to the perpetuation of American nationality will be placed before the eyes of the English-reading world. The unused material on the life of Hamilton is to be found in the archives of the British Public Record Office, in the Canada archives at Ottawa, and among the unpublished papers of Baron Grenville, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain at one of the most critical periods of the Empire's international relations, namely the first years of the great war with France that began in 1793.

Without exception, so far as the writer is aware, the origin of the principle of limitation of armaments on the frontier between the United States and British North America is attributed by historical writers to the negotiations between the two Governments which ended in the Treaty of 1818. That treaty, it will be remembered, established the international boundary along the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains and adopted the principle of the abolition of naval armaments on the Great Lakes and of any kind of armament along the land frontier throughout its length. For over a hundred years it has testified to the possibility of international

peace founded on good will and mutual understanding. A great and beneficent precedent, the Anglo-American Treaty of 1818 has had that tonic effect on the war-weary generations of the old world which comes to one who breathes the clear free air of those lofty ranges whose summits the treaty line itself climbed.

The principle adopted in 1818 runs back as far as the year 1794 and into the brain of Alexander Hamilton. It was expressed in the negotiations of that year with England which resulted in the famous Jay's Treaty, the first treaty ever submitted to the United States Senate. That the principle, thus as old as American foreign policy itself, was not then adopted was not the fault of the United States.

Hamilton's principle was proposed by John Jay to the British Government in the summer of 1794. To place in its proper setting the negotiation of Jay it is necessary to recall certain features of the international relations between Great Britain and the United States in the years intervening between the Treaty of Independence and the Treaty of 1794. The reader is asked to tolerate this digression because it is necessary to explain why the American proposal was refused by Great Britain.

The Treaty of Peace of 1783 was an acknowledgment by England of independence but by no means of American nationality. There was no American nation in 1783. We read in Article I of the Treaty that His Britannic Majesty recognizes the Independence of "the United States; viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia." During the weak government under the Articles of Confederation, from 1781 to 1789, the pitiful ineptitude of the American Confederacy impressed foreign as well as domestic observers with

the certainty of imminent dissolution. We remember how the sovereign powers of the thirteen states and their jealousies one of the other and of the central government made it impossible for the Congress to collect taxes, execute laws or compel the observance of treaties. The national spirit which had been successful in war could not cope with the tasks and problems of peace. Bankrupt and disunited the American people stood face to face with domestic chaos and foreign contumely.

Two articles of the Treaty of Peace which became the subject of much dispute during these years of state rights anarchy should be recalled. Article II stipulated that British troops should evacuate American territory "with all convenient speed." Article IV guaranteed to British creditors full payment of debts contracted by Americans before the war. Neither of these articles was fully complied with. It is true that the troops located at New York City and a few other places along the Atlantic Coast were speedily embarked for Europe after the preliminaries of peace had been signed, for it was expected that they would be badly needed there. But British garrisons continued to occupy, after final ratification of the treaty, the military posts along the Canadian frontier. These were on the American side of the boundary, at the northern end of Lake Champlain, on the shore of Lake Ontario, on the Niagara River, and at Detroit and Michilimackinack, Michigan. These strategic points dominated the Great Lakes, as well as the Champlain water route to Canada, and constituted so many *points d'appui* from which British influence could be extended over the hinterlands of the American West. On April 8, 1784, the day before King George III proclaimed ratification of the treaty and publicly commanded his subjects to observe its terms all and singular, secret orders were sent from London to the Governor-General of Canada to postpone indefinitely the evacuation of these

posts. For the next thirteen years British red-coats made daily parade on drill grounds on American soil and the world grew used to the astonishing spectacle of a power which had been defeated in war continuing to occupy the territory of the victor as security, it was asserted, for the proper fulfilment of the treaty terms by the United States.

The real reasons for this continued occupation of the American back-country are apparent to him who reads the official correspondence between the Canadian Governor-General and the Home Office in London. The territory lying between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River and between the Mississippi and Western Pennsylvania was yielding to the merchants of Montreal and London at the time the treaty was ratified a fur trade worth half a million dollars annually in values of those days. It was the most profitable single commercial industry in North America and to deliver over into the hands of the Americans the western posts would mean the loss of the business. This was one reason for the retention of the posts. The other was that in the peace treaty the British Commissioners had been unable to secure any protection for the interests of their Indian allies, who lived in this same western country, which the American Congress in 1787 organized as the Northwest Territory. The treaty ceded over to the United States all the land south of the boundary without reservation or mention of any rights of the natives. These people, attracted first to the posts as the bases of military operations during the war, continued to flock about them after the peace. Thousands depended for their daily victuals on the bounty of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs, which maintained its supply houses under the protecting guns of the garrisons. These posts, too, had become the marts of the fur trade. To desert them suddenly, to cut off the supplies to which the savages had been accustomed, to deliver the tribal lands of the Indians over to

their enemies meant the end of all control over the native nations. It threatened not only to destroy British trade with them but, as one English officer pointed out, to force them to bite the hand that had fed. Officers who had led Indian raids on the outposts of American backwoods settlements during the war knew all too intimately the horrors of savage warfare to care to see it repeated on Canadian soil.

No reference to any failure on the part of the United States to adhere to the treaty terms was made when the orders were first despatched from England to hold the posts. In fact, none could be made, for the treaty that day was still formally unratified. But it soon became evident that Congress was not able to prevent the several States from putting legal impediments in the way of the collection of debts by British creditors. It was useless to appeal to the States to carry out the treaty punctiliously. The interests of property within the State were stronger than the power of Congress outside the state and legislatures were irritated at the continued presence of British troops on American soil. Thus was the armory of British diplomacy furnished with a plausible and convenient excuse for keeping the posts—these positions would be held until the debts were paid. The onus of infraction of the treaty was neatly handed over to the American Government, and the valuable furs of the Northwest Territory continued to be shipped down the St. Lawrence instead of being diverted to the Potomac or the Hudson.

It was impossible for Congress to prevent this humiliating situation. John Adams was dispatched to London as American Minister. George III received him politely and coldly, but no British Minister was sent to the United States. American ships were shut out, as foreigners, from the prosperous trade with the British West Indies. Exasperated at the English Navigation Laws, humiliated by the continued occupation

of American territory, some of the States adopted a policy of commercial discrimination against British trade only to find that other States then let it come in free. The trade laws of individual States as well as the protests of the American Minister were complacently ignored by the British Government. "It will not be an easy matter to bring the American States to act as a nation," wrote the most widely-read publicist in England, Lord Sheffield. "They are not to be feared by us. It must be a long time before they can engage, or will concur, in any material expense. We might as reasonably dread the effects of combinations among the Germans as among the American States and deprecate the resolves of the Diet as those of Congress." And so the posts were held, in defiance of the treaty. In disgust John Adams withdrew from the Court of St. James.

Peace with England was not accompanied by any peace between the United States and the Western Indians who had fought at the side of British regiments. Most of the Six Nations came to terms but the numerous tribes of the Northwest Territory refused to treat with the peace commissioners sent out by Congress. Minority representatives, indeed, signed peace treaties, but the majority of the Indians, united in a loose confederacy under the leadership of the shrewd half-breed Mohawk, Joseph Brant, repudiated these treaties and stood out for the line of the Ohio River as the rightful boundary of their lands. This Congress refused to recognize. Brant made a trip to England to get the active alliance of British forces for the support of his confederacy. Though he received a big grant of money in the form of compensation for the property losses sustained by the Mohawks during the war, he was refused any open aid. But he was encouraged by Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for Home Affairs (a portfolio which then included the administration of Colonial Affairs) to "stick to his rights" as respected the

"encroachments" of the Americans. As Brant left London Sydney instructed Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General at Quebec, not to give the Indians any "open" assistance. Nevertheless it would not be consistent with justice, he was reminded, to leave them to "the mercy of the Americans." "To afford them (the Indians) active assistance would be a measure extremely imprudent, but at the same time it would not become us to refuse them such supplies of ammunition as might enable them to defend themselves."

The effect of such instructions on the commandants of the frontier garrisons may easily be imagined. During their desultory conflict with the levies of frontier militia and their raids on exposed settlements the savages depended on the British posts for munitions and supplies, which though not "openly" given were none the less valuable and effective for their bloody purposes. There was no means of preventing this as long as only the Articles of Confederation continued to bind the Government of the United States, nor was any headway made in the task of pacifying the savages by force.

Meanwhile paid informants of the British Government, whose reports may now be read in the archives of the Foreign Office, were prophesying the dissolution of the American Union. Intrigues were already underway with prominent citizens of Kentucky, Tennessee and Vermont, which aimed at detaching the whole American West, including Vermont, from the United States in the event of dissolution, and attaching them to Canada. The posts became breeding-places of insidious political intrigue as well as of murderous savage warfare. Such was the situation when the notable political revolution of 1788 resulted in the adoption of the United States Constitution and the creation of a strong national government with George Washington as President and Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury and Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State.

Washington's first motion in the field of foreign affairs was to sound England as to her attitude toward the new administration. Gouverneur Morris, literary author of the Constitution, was the "personal agent" who served in this capacity. He had instructions from Washington to inquire whether there were any objections now to fulfilling the articles of the treaty, and whether there were any inclinations for a treaty of commerce with the United States. The American agent was courteously received, and had conferences with both the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, at that time the Duke of Leeds, and with William Pitt, Prime Minister. Morris found that his overtures were listened to more graciously during the Nootka Crisis of 1790, when war between Great Britain and Spain seemed certain, than after the passing of that affair. He concluded that there was no real inclination either to negotiate a treaty of commerce nor to evacuate the frontier, except in case England should be embarrassed in such a war as to make it desirable for her to extend favors to the United States.

The Morris mission elicited no adequate response from the Pitt Ministry, but the passage of tariff and navigation laws by the first American Congress under the new national government aroused attention as nothing else could. These laws gave a tariff rebate of ten per cent on goods imported in American ships distinguished from foreign vessels and levied much lower tonnage duties on native than on foreign ships. Not specifically aimed at British shipping they hit it heavily, because British vessels far outnumbered all other foreign craft entering American harbors. The laws started a gradual shift of Anglo-American commerce to American bottoms, to the detriment of English shipowners and British seapower. Moreover, a strong movement in Congress had been manifested from the first for specific discrimination against British as distinguished from other foreign shipping.

By 1791 this tendency had become so threatening that a Minister-Resident was at last established at Philadelphia for the purpose of heading it off. Of all foreign countries the United States was the biggest market for English manufactures. No Government of England in the days of the Industrial Revolution could afford to lose the nation's biggest customer. The navigation laws of Congress thus forced a recognition of American nationality which England had until then been loathe to give.

At Downing Street it was well realized that even the presence of a Minister at the American Capital could not prevent the passage of laws discriminating against British commerce, if the Government refused to discuss infractions of the treaty. George Hammond, the new Minister, therefore was empowered to discuss *ad referendum* an adjustment of the frontier situation which might involve the evacuation of the posts in exchange for a guaranty by the United States Government of the payment to British creditors of private ante-bellum debts. The Ministry conceived an ambitious project by which the evacuation, when finally arranged, should not injure British control of the fur-trade of the Northwest Territory and of the Indians there. A formal mediation by His Majesty's Governor-General in Canada was to be proposed between the United States and the hostile Indians, under cover of which was to be erected a "neutral barrier state," nominally independent and under Indian sovereignty and outside the dominion of either the United States or Great Britain. This state was to be composed of a broad belt of territory between the Mississippi and Vermont and north of the Ohio. Under the guise of this "independent" native state the whole Northwest Territory and part of the State of Pennsylvania and New York was to be separated from the sovereignty of the United States. The Americans would be absolutely excluded from the Great Lakes which would remain under exclusively

British control. To complete the scheme, rectifications of the boundary of 1783 were to be proposed in the northwest and northeast so as to give Great Britain control respectively of the upper navigable waters of the Mississippi and of the navigation of Lake Champlain. Thus would a scientific frontier be established for British North America. Thus would the fur-trade be secure as long as it should last. Thus would England continue to dominate the Indians of the American West and check American expansion north of the Ohio River and west of the Alleghany.

It is needless to say that this design to partition the United States under the pretense of friendly mediation had no chance of succeeding as long as the Government should be able to protect its territory by physical resistance, nor as long as a man of General Washington's experience with Indian warfare remained President. Hammond became so persuaded of the impossibility of the mediation project that he never ventured to propose it officially. Even his informal suggestions in that direction to Jefferson and Hamilton were most emphatically repelled. Meanwhile the British Minister had been severely worsted by Jefferson in the long written controversy over the priority of infraction of the treaty. Jefferson's well reasoned demonstration of the good faith of the American Government as to the fulfilment of the treaty had been unanswered for eighteen months when in 1793 war broke out between England and France.

During the long series of campaigns of the United States against the western Indians the tribes had received political tutelage and covert material support from the British authorities in Canada. It was a nightmare of those officials that should the Indians finally be conquered the victorious American troops would next be employed forcibly to take possession of the posts. For this reason it was expedient to stiffen the Indian resistance. It was hoped, too, that a succession of

disastrous campaigns, like St. Clair's defeat of 1791, against the confederated tribes, would finally make the mediation project acceptable and the neutral Indian barrier state possible. It consequently became the policy of the British Government to delay as long as possible a settlement of the question of the posts, until the final outcome of the American military exertions against the natives should be certain.

The declaration of war by France in 1793 prevented this delay and increased the nervousness of the commanders of the occupied posts. Technically the United States was an ally of France, and even Washington's proclamation of neutrality did not remove the fear that this Government would take advantage of England's being involved in an European war to possess itself of its own posts by force. So excited did the Governor of Upper Canada and the Governor-General of British North America become at this prospect that Dorchester secretly made a speech to the Indians in February, 1794, predicting war and declaring that soon the King's warriors would unite with their own to draw a new boundary line to the complete satisfaction of both. News of this speech leaked out and was published in Philadelphia simultaneously with that of the notorious Caribbean captures of January, 1794. British cruisers, armed with an unpublished Order-in-Council, had swooped down on the unsuspecting American West Indian traffic and brought into prize courts over three hundred Yankee vessels which had been trading with the French Islands. The atrocious interpretation of international law which covered these captures was no more justifiable than Dorchester's bellicose speech to the western savages. Coming as they did at the same time these two incidents produced a crisis in Anglo-American relations.

Into the motives and intrigues of the Federalist Party which led to the mission of John Jay to England as the last means of averting war we cannot go here. Nor have we space

to consider the terms of the treaty which bears his name. Suffice it to remark that over ninety-two percent of the revenue of the United States at that time depended on tariffs levied on imports from England. It was this tariff revenue which enabled Hamilton to establish national credit. And credit was an indispensable support to American nationality in 1794. War with Great Britain meant the destruction of credit and of nationality. Jay's Treaty, which was a written acquiescence in British sea-power as the fountain-head of international law for the duration of the war with France, was the necessary price paid for the perpetuation of American nationality at a time when it was vitally imperiled.

Now it is an interesting feature of Jay's instructions that though written by Randolph, Jefferson's successor as Secretary of State, the principles on which they were based had already been outlined in a memorandum by Alexander Hamilton written for the President and entitled "Points to be considered in Mr. Jay's instructions." Hamilton at this time dominated the whole policy of the Administration of President Washington." The instructions of Randolph in general follow the principles laid down by the Federalist leader, disagreeable as that task of copying may have been for the Virginian Secretary of State. Jay's negotiation throughout was dominated by Hamilton, and the treaty might much more properly be called "Hamilton's Treaty." Only so far as his instructions represented the ideas of Hamilton did the envoy pay much attention to them.

Manifestly one of the indispensable conditions of the United States to any friendly settlement with Great Britain at this critical time was the evacuation of the posts. Lord Grenville speedily acceded to that demand, and they were relinquished, according to the terms of Jay's Treaty, in 1796. England was not anxious to complicate the European situation by adding the United States to her enemies. Hamilton in outlining Jay's instructions, which were to demand among

other things the evacuation of the posts, appears to have kept in mind the possibility that these posts could be removed just across the international water-boundary and still fulfil all strategical demands. From bases on British soil it would be equally easy to intrigue with the Indians in American territory. This, in fact, is precisely what did happen after the evacuation. It must have been with the idea of preventing such a situation that Hamilton laid down the following principles:

"A stipulation that in case of war with any Indian tribe, the other party shall furnish no supplies whatever to that tribe, except such, and in such quantity only, as it was accustomed to furnish previous to the war; and the party at war to have the right to keep an agent or agents at posts or settlements of the other party nearest to such Indians, to ascertain the faithful execution of this *stipulation*."

"It may be desired, and would it not be for our interest to agree, that neither party shall in time of peace keep up any armed force upon the lakes, nor any fortified places nearer than ——— miles to the lakes, except for small guards (the number to be defined) stationed for the security of trading houses."

In effect what Hamilton here proposed was a guaranty that if the Americans should conquer the natives, rendered helpless without British support, the United States would not compete with Great Britain for control of the Great Lakes but would be willing to accept the principle of an absolute limitation of armaments there. This is the origin of the American principle of the limitation of armaments as it later found expression in the Treaty of 1818.

These points outlined in Hamilton's memorandum are thus worded by Randolph in Jay's official instructions:

"One of the consequences of holding the post has been much bloodshed on our frontiers by the Indians, and much expense. The British Government having denied their abetting of the Indians we must of course acquit them. But we have satisfactory proofs (some of which, however, cannot, as you will discover, be used in public (that British agents are guilty of stirring up, and of assisting with arms, ammunition, and warlike instruments, the different tribes of Indians against us. It is incumbent on that Government to restrain those agents; or the forbearance to restrain them cannot be interpreted

otherwise than a determination to discountenance them. It is a principle from which the United States will not easily depart, either in their conduct towards other nations, or what they may expect from them, that the Indians dwelling within the territories of one shall not be interfered with by the other."

Having laid down this principle of non-interference with each other's Indians as the basis of adjustment of the frontier question, the instructions proceeded to outline *seriatim* a number of provisions which it was desirable to incorporate in any treaty. The sixteenth of these desirabilities reads:

"In case of an Indian war none but the usual supplies in peace shall be furnished."

The seventeenth reads:

"In peace, no troops to be kept within a limited distance from the Lakes."

Another interesting feature of the Jay negotiation is that all the papers dealing with it were not submitted to Senate when that body met to consider ratification. There is, for example, a very important draft of a treaty which John Jay submitted to Lord Grenville on September 30, 1794. This was not given to the Senate. More than that, so far as the writer's investigations have enabled him to determine, it was not even enclosed in Jay's official despatches to his government and no copy of it is now to be found in the archives of the Department of State. But a copy does exist in the British Public Record Office, and another copy, slightly modified, may be seen among the private unprinted papers of Lord Grenville preserved at the estate of Mr. J. B. Fortescue at Dropmore, England. A perusal of the draft suggests that it was never sent home because it testified to such a diplomatic defeat for Jay; for in the draft Jay had incorporated a lot of desirable provisions which Grenville promptly declared "insurmountable obstacles" to a treaty. Jay was forced to abandon them all. Most of the points relinquished were those of neutral rights as conceived by the United States. But the proposals which concern us

here are those which deal with the principle of the limitation of armaments, which Hamilton had outlined in the points for Jay's instructions.

Article II of Jay's draft of September 30 contains the following stipulation:

"Neither of the contracting parties will form any political connections, nor hold any Treaties with Indian dwelling within the boundaries of the other. They will in good faith endeavor to restrain their respective Indians from war, and the better to prevent it, they will make every future Indian war a common cause so far as to prohibit and prevent any supplies of ammunition or arms being given or sold even by Indian traders to the belligerent tribe or tribes or to any individuals of them.

"In case it should happen (which God forbid), that war should exist between the said parties, they mutually engage to abstain not only from inviting but also from permitting any Indians to join in it; but on the contrary will reject their offers of aid and receive no assistance from them; nor shall they be allowed in any capacity to attend or resort to the armies or detachments of either of the said parties.

"No armed vessels shall be kept by either of the parties on the lakes and waters through which the boundary line between them passes. *It being their earnest desire to render mutual justice, confidence, and goodwill, a sufficient barrier against encroachment and aggression.**

"Under influence of these motives they will as soon as circumstances shall render it seasonable enter into arrangements for diminishing or wholly withdrawing all military force from the Borders."

This proposal here and now, after one hundred and twenty-seven years, is made public for the first time.

Lord Grenville would accept none of the above propositions and Jay thought himself obliged to sign the treaty without them. The motive of Grenville in rejecting such beneficent principles is apparent when one discovers that three days after the signature he instructed Hammond to bring forward again the mediation proposal, if necessary to make it a secret arrangement between himself and Hamilton. "It is particularly desirable," he wrote, "for reasons with which you are not unacquainted that this matter should be adjusted in the manner I have mentioned before the evacuation of the posts." But this despatch was intercepted by a French cruiser and before

*Italics are the author's.

duplicates reached Hammond General Wayne's crushing defeat of the Indians had dashed all immediate hopes of any mediation.

The neutral Indian barrier state project, however, did not die the early death which its chances for success would have augured. It recurred in the plans and maps of the Foreign Office at various intervals until the negotiations at Ghent which ended the war of 1812 marked its disappearance. Tecumseh's confederation of 1811 and his notorious relations with the British frontier forts; the alliance of the British military forces with the United States Indians during the War of 1812; the vital importance of the naval control of the Lakes during that conflict; the resurrection at Ghent of the rectification proposal to bring Canada south to the navigable waters of the Mississippi; all these facts testify that British ambitions in the West did not cease until the end of the War of 1812.

Only in the West can the War of 1812 be called a victory for the United States. For it removed forever the sinister intrigues with American Indians by powers outside the United States and did away with the bitter territorial rivalry which marked the period 1783-1815. The peace of Ghent paved the way for the century of peaceful boundary settlements which have since been such a distinguishing characteristic of Anglo-American diplomacy. It led soon to the ratification of the principle enunciated by Hamilton and elaborated by Jay in 1794, the "earnest desire to render mutual justice, confidence and goodwill a sufficient Barrier against encroachment and aggression."

Between the Treaty of 1818 and the Washington Conference of 1921 there is a distinct historical connection. And the student of American history must recognize that the germ of that idea sprang from the brain of Alexander Hamilton.

OUR NEW ECONOMIC LEVELS

By J. GEORGE FREDERICK

On an evening in the epic life of Buffalo, at the height of the war boom, I was toastmaster of a "reconstruction" dinner given by the prominent commercial clubs of eight middle-western cities. At the speaker's table we were all aware—editor, government official, research man, *et al.*—that a powerful economic shift was due within a year or two. But our audience, flush with prosperity and seeing no cloud on the horizon, was not aware of it. It could not see; and many, because they had no vision later perished. The banquet—a veritable feast of Belshazzar, except that the "hand-writing on the wall" was in the speeches—did not succeed in pricking very deeply the well-cushioned hides of the old-time easy optimists of American business, so typically assembled.

But today is another day. The most cataclysmic disturbance of business the country has ever known has moved its finger over the land. Nor has it been a mere surface quake. It is the culmination of much impending change, and as such is epochal, and is indeed but begun.

It is epochal because it has changed economic levels and is in process of reajusting fundamentally the outlook of people to all things economic. We have re-arranged standards of living; we have new levels of income; we have a new popular education in economics, in thrift, in cooperation, in conservatism, balance, world-outlook and mutual interdependence, in the psychological life which lies back of all economics. We have awakened suddenly to find that we are the economic and financial center of the world, and new responsibilities and opportunities attaching thereto awe us into closer study; to a casting aside of provincialism insofar as we are able.

To the intelligent and the responsible the call to remake their minds is a great enough problem; but it is nothing compared to the problem of the millions and their adjustment to the new economic levels in their sheer physical and immediate emotional aspect. After all, men with minds to think cannot be harmed by situations, however drastic, which compel them to use brains. They have the machinery of emotional and intellectual elasticity. The problem of the masses who live like the herd, on emotion and instinct, and follow the flock as best they can, is a very different one. The new levels act upon some of them like the coming of ice and snow to the stamping grounds of herds of ancient mastodons; their skin cannot stand it and they suffer and die—spiritually, if not physically, unless they move to adjust themselves; unless they develop resistance and balance.

II

What are these new economic levels, and what do they mean for the future? A 134 per cent rise in the price of foods, and a 138 per cent rise in the prices of general commodities (according to the U. S. Labor Bureau) within a few years was of course an unprecedented phenomenon, as was the more precipitate decline. But although some laboring classes did not receive this rate of increase in wages, others exceeded it; while in all cases at the flood-tide of inflation the high pressure demand for labor and for overtime, together with the higher family earnings, through scarcity of labor and ready jobs for all hands at high wages, operated for a considerable period in an immense number of cases, to treble and quadruple the total family income. Viewing the family as a unit, a week's united labor produced during the peak period a sum of money which in numerous cases brought two or often three times as much merchandise as the family ever before conjointly enjoyed.

At the same time, the casual laborer, the seasonal laborer and the semi-incompetent laborer, or the untrained worker found new levels because of great labor demand, out of all former ratio to their abler and more steady fellow workers; and thus families which before the war were penalized because of the man's low level of economic worth in a just comparison, moved onto a new level. So did those classes who have enjoyed a partially sheltered economic position—the servant class, for instance, which has its food and shelter “found.” The new higher wages lifted them to new levels and they have been slow in moving back again.

There were other classes who were reduced to a lower level. Conspicuous among these classes were and still are the salaried business and professional classes. Their average level of income increase was barely 50 per cent—in contrast to 138 per cent increase in commodity prices. Certain rich classes also had to move to other levels wherein their merchandise purchases had to be bent downward decidedly. The men who went to France at a financial sacrifice and found themselves pushed downward by the economic drift, are still a serious national obligation. Still other classes were left untouched in their relative position.

And then came the deluge! The year 1921 sank to unbelievably low levels of price, and brought in its wake the same plethora of unemployment as there once was of work. The gaseous structure of war-values burst; and now the upset of economic levels is an even more serious problem than would have been a continuation of their previous high level. The serious thing to all classes, both rich and poor, is the moving economic levels; the teetering. Contractors and manufacturers who made money during the war years—or thought they did—now face an awakening, or a sudden contraction of income if not bankruptcy. The laboring classes who were

shifted and who were suddenly left without jobs at any wage, or the necessity of changing occupations or location, are now in a confusing, even dangerous situation. They have still to find their new economic level, at a psychological time when they are least able or willing to do so.

The relative permanence of the new economic levels also requires attention. It is important to realize the special temporary character of some of the levels of those with increased or decreased incomes. Some of it was realized as temporary at the time; much was not realized. It is reported in all lines of business that the exuberance and unlimited extravagance of purchase remarked at the peak period disappeared almost over-night. The unreasonable rush for silk stockings and silk shirts abated rapidly. Cotton and lisle returned to favor. The seeking after ostentation, careless of price, gave way to greater familiarity with values and soberness of selection. The psychology behind this is very simple: The first purchases of luxuries by those unaccustomed to them were what might be termed *libido* purchases—an expression of unrestrained and unconditional desire—the nuptials and the celebrated honeymoon, so to speak, of the wanter and the wanted. The honeymoon is over, and new desires must displace those now slaked; normal levels must take the place of peaks.

This is ever difficult, for it is human to want honeymoons to run on forever. But life is permanently upon an altered plane, just as surely for the person who has tasted the realization of his merchandise dreams, as for those who have been belled and booked, and the honeymoon is over. Close investigations by merchandisers reveal that there is every sign that the merchandise habits of millions of people are permanently altered; and in many cases with great gain to aesthetic, social, hygienic as well as to economic aspects of life. It is fairly apparent that a return to old standards would be, not a welcome return to an equilibrium of established value, but to a

disorder and disbalance which our new light makes undesirable. *In fact, as our topsy turvey economic world becomes more familiar to the bewildered eye, it becomes a very serious and significant question whether the great cataclysm has not accomplished with brutal brusqueness what the slow and haphazard work of time might have taken generations more to accomplish, in the adjustment of economic balances.*

III

Perhaps it is a great clear gain that standards are now made fluid and economic levels reset; that the hard crust of habit was upheaved and new adjustments made possible.

To appear to justify in this manner the "unconscionable," "confiscatory" and "profiteering" prices of the peak period; or the ruinous drop in prices and the unemployment characteristic of the downward return to earth, seems at first blush treacherous to social welfare. But let us see: Price is after all but a sum in addition, an extension and a total of other figures representing certain valuations of labor, materials, costs of service and distribution, of doing business, and of profit. Merchandisers have long known how iron-clad in many fields were price standards before the war. People had fairly rigidly fixed ideas as to what they wished to pay, would or could pay for shoes, hats, shirts, gloves, etc. The price was different with people on different economic levels. Out of 1,000 men, let us say, 787 could rarely be induced to buy shirts at a price higher than \$1.50; 85 would never pay less and rarely more than \$2.00; 45 would pay \$3.00. It was the same with shoes, and other staples; your price automatically spelled the width of your market. This tendency was encouraged by the widespread tendency of manufacturers to advertise a set price; a tendency which caused immense losses when materials went up and manufacturers, out of pride, clung to their set price, hoping for cost reductions that never came. It applied also to retailers and others who clung to a set

ratio of profit which war prosperity had made possible, and which deflation made impossible. A box of biscuits for a nickel was before the war a fixed thing like a north star in the firmament of merchandise, but it had to move at last. The reverse was equally true of those who, during the inflation, set their hearts on a permanent high price or profit.

Such rigidity of ideas as to what they would or would not spend for a given article or what rates of profit they wanted, was habit pure and simple; also the iron necessities of expense ratio to income. But the evil of this set price level situation was just as vicious a circle in stillness and inertia as the circle of increase has been vicious in action once it started to move. Under a situation in which shirts costing over \$1.50 could not be sold in quantity, the human labor involved could not be paid adequately, or working conditions made better, or workmanship and materials made more lasting and aesthetic and worthy, or the distributors more justly paid. Likewise, under a situation where maker and distributor during the peak period set their hearts on more profit than was wise, the populace balked and could or would not pay. Apparently nothing could be done about the former, until the war—at least, not in many industries in which labor and materials account for more than 50 per cent of the purchase price. Much poverty, many industrial strikes, discontent and disease, and other disfigurements of the body politic were traceable to the price levels which were so bolted and locked in the minds of the public that there was literally nothing to do about it. It was an unconscious reaction that could not be reasoned with. Civic-duty appeals to pay more for merchandise in order that there might be no sweatshops fell upon deaf ears. Persuasive advertisements for merchandise of higher quality, for better working conditions, for guaranteed service and standardized profit were eminently successful, but naturally only with that minority which responds intelligently to any mental appeal. The great million-masses were herding together immovably—

and to some extent through hard necessity. A man who is himself underpaid is not going to see first that the man who makes his shirts is adequately paid. The economic world was lock-stepped in its own miserable misfit levels, and enchained with the fatal weakness of human selfishness which doesn't want to make the first sacrifice to break the spell. And the same blight came when small manufacturers and retailers made money for the first time, during the peak period, and resolved to continue to do so by means of the high prices and high profits.

But all are humbled now! Economic levels and old price fixations and habits of mind are blown out one after the other like window panes when great dynamite charges are set off nearby. How often had we heard in the war period the poignant exclamations of human beings suffering as they saw old price expectations torn to shreds and gone! "I *never* paid more than \$4.00 for a pair of shoes—now I'm paying \$12.00!" "For the very same thing I *always* paid \$3.00 for, I'm paying \$8.00! Isn't it *awful*!" Yet they bought—until suddenly—almost over night—the wheels jammed. And then the price cataclysm came, only to shift anew the already distorted levels, and add anew to the tortuous confusion.

IV

When we study the situation psychologically we find a very significant state of affairs. All hands are engaged in readjusting human values as expressed in merchandise. Machine production had done its splendid work in business for forty years, but it left two great gaps in the cycle of progress—the workingman and the distributor (one should add the distributive system). The workingman had not got all out of life for which as a human being he could rightly look, nor had the distributor; while the distributive system had scarcely changed in a century. And here we might pause to say that

of all the neglected social units, the little retailer is the most conspicuous and pathetic. Ninety-five out of 100 of those who enter the retail business fail, and it is astonishing but true that a large proportion of the retailers who remain in business are either insolvent or working for a pittance, or both. And yet it is the fact that distribution costs too much money today. Selling costs range from 50 per cent to 500 per cent over costs of production, and the fault is not the seller's in most cases. The cost of persuading the public for its own gain, is phenomenal. It took Herculean effort, a decade of time, and great expense, incredible as it seems today, to persuade the public to substitute typewriters for handwriting in business. At the Philadelphia Centennial, the telephone was neglected—the crowds preferred the butter statue! Were it not for the printing press, the picture and the advertisement—high-powered instruments of labor saving in public persuasion—we would still, most of us, be without bath tubs, clean shaven faces, and a hundred articles and services contributing toward greater health, sound living and swift accomplishment. The living standards of any country in the world today are in fairly precise ratio to the advertising volume, for this volume means manufacturing volume, which can only rest on popular readiness and demand.

For these things we must pay, and be willing, democratically, that all shall share, for greater quantity means, almost invariably, lower prices and more centralized responsibility. Old prices and old economic levels were often built over the very pits of hell and degradation—they were made possible only by the sinister grinding down of human flesh. We bought hosiery at ten cents a pair because over in Pennsylvania, stupid, guileless Pennsylvania-Dutch girls, brought up like sheep, worked for little money in small factories eaten alive by overhead. We bought many other things at low prices because

workers, whether in this country or another country worked many hours to earn a few dollars plus a short life.

The humanization of industry and labor costs money. The making efficient of retailers so that they can sell at a low cost per dollar of sales will cost a lot of money. It was perfectly natural that in the inflated period the retailers endeavored to earn as good a living as others by taking advantage of mixed values, high profits and fluctuating prices. They are entitled to their new economic level; but not to increased percentage of profit. Here is their own peculiar, mistaken complex; they haven't yet grasped the turnover idea. We were paying an extra premium both to labor and to distributors because they were in a position to exact it; but while we have now forced prices and profits down, there is no hope of changing the basic situation except by substituting more economical distribution, either by the willing cooperation of retailers in making them more efficient, or forcibly (as has already been happening) by the coming of new distribution methods. Labor scarcity and arrogance simply placed a premium on invention of more direct and more automatic processes, which have been operating to curb any continued demand for new and unreasonable economic levels. The self-service and chain store, the direct-selling manufacturer, the mail order house, the cooperative buying and selling idea, are all correctives of this sort.

All business factors are breaking up old habits and striking new levels. Yet the real call of the times is not to lamentation but rejoicing over the establishment of these new economic levels. The principal concern should be that, during such a period of flux and readjustment, the best available expert care be given to setting these levels with a minimum of possible mal-adjustment. The present state of flux will no doubt again be followed by a period of more fixed habits; therefore the time for change and action is now.

V.

A hundred men standing in a circle closely placed, pass along a rude shove given one man, simply because they cannot help themselves. Nor will they pass the shove along gracefully—it is more than humanly likely that the shove will gather compound interest on the way! The shove will spend itself somewhere, sometime; the interesting question is not what caused the shove or how far the shove will go, but the significant thing is, in what permanently disrupted state will it leave the units in the circle? The interesting question is not who did it or whether the circle will be changed into an elliptic or twisted form, but what new attitudes and states of mind the people in the circle will have as a result.

Now this is precisely the most interesting economic question of the day. Not, as so many callow minds would have it, whether we will have some “new form of society,” for society is now impregably what, in basic form, it must always hereafter be—a chain of mutually very inter-dependent individuals. The details of that form are, after all, comparatively unimportant. The real question takes the shape of new outlooks and new points of view among the individuals of that circle; not political outlooks or even politico-economic outlooks, for as ever such matters are abstract to the average man. The change will be psychological and only unconsciously economic;—very preponderantly psychological in the sense of man’s individual changed relation to merchandise and the work he does to win that merchandise, and his changed relation to what that merchandise means.

The words “will be” are erroneous in this connection. Great changes have already taken place. The entire country—and we can accurately include also many other countries—is in the seething blast furnace of change in this vital aspect of human nature. In man’s new relation to money, merchandise,

and what they mean, lie both the hopes and the dangers of the new time.

The new world will not, the doctrinaires and sentimentalists to the contrary notwithstanding, be built out of abstractions, however noble; but will proceed somewhat materialistically upon its belly as always. Nor need this fact produce any aesthetic or spiritual jar to healthy sensibilities, for those who are keenest and most hopeful for human progress should not disdain to love humanity as it is, down at the very core of its heart, nor fail to use its strongest instincts as levers for the greatest good.

Bluntly speaking, the war has not "spiritualized" humanity appreciably up to the expectations of many good people, despite the successful conduct of the most spiritually-motivated war in history. Alfred Russell Wallace seems thoroughly to be vindicated in his thesis that humanity does not change or advance to any very appreciable degree in fundamentals, for many of our most intellectual and humane have been the last in sympathy with the war purposes.

And again bluntly speaking, humanity (in all but denuded countries) both during the war and now, used the inflation of currency and credit, production and wages resulting from war, to engage upon a materialistic orgy of merchandise! It refused to realize that the inflation was a mirage, that it was eating next Sunday's cake today. It refused any longer to wear medium or lower grades of clothing or shoes; shied disdainfully from the cheaper and even superior winter wheat flour that its own government earnestly told about in advertising paid for by taxpayers' money. It reveled in its silk hosiery and shirts which are durable as spider webs; it gaudified itself with all the jewelry and the near-jewelry that night-shift factories could produce (using gold for jewelry baubles which the world most seriously needed as a monetary base). It worked only long enough to earn the merchandise it want-

ed; then it "knocked off." It had no thought of rainy days or savings banks, and was blithely indifferent to the monstrosly grim fact that some millions of children, women, and men in Europe are literally condemned to die of starvation for want of the food we have in fair plenty. It knew—nor seemingly cared to know—practically nothing except that it had access to more merchandise than it had ever had access to before. This fact obliterated nearly everything else, even prudent thought for its own morrow. At this particular period in history there are more people in straitened circumstances who were extravagant a year or two ago, than ever perhaps before.

VI.

Why not, for possible significance, let the merchandiser—he who is responsible for the deft psychology of the advertisement, the shop window and the sales campaign—lend us his binoculars with which he sees humanity's motives and has noted the new economic relativities following the war? Through his glasses one may observe in fine detail how the human impulse disports itself when an unusual number of green-backs is in its wallet.

The relation between money and time and merchandise has always been fairly fixed for the average human being: a week's time at labor produced approximately so much money, which in turn commanded about so much merchandise. There has been no great sudden disparity between these elements for an uncounted number of years; certainly not so great or so sudden a disparity as the great war produced.

In a cyclonic manner this disparity tore the roofs from over the inner sanctums of individual economic units and exposed them in their nakedness to all who wished to see. In a real and widespread measure it applied the test frequently propounded by wiseacres—what would you do if you were sud-

denly given a million dollars? For to all effects and purposes, the sudden trebling and quadrupling of income—even after higher cost of living allowances—was psychologically like the gift of a million dollars. In later years, achievement of an actual million dollars will not produce the psychic disturbance that was produced in, let us say, an Italian laborer earning before the war \$2.50 per day, but who for a time earned \$60 or more per week (not at all a rare case). The same was true of the small, struggling manufacturer, always before 1914 on the edge of insolvency, always drawing out of the business only his living expenses, who suddenly made \$100,000 for himself.

But what is even more important is the effect on the entire families of these men. Certain merchandise desire-complexes have for years been rooting themselves in the minds of millions. These desires may have been, for father, an automobile; for daughter, silk underwear aplenty; for son, silk shirts, or sport outfits; for mother, cut glass, circassian walnut bedroom suite, or what not. And such is the fatuity and perversity of human desire—alike apparent to philosopher and merchandiser—that these merchandise desire-complexes are invariably extravagant, fanciful and impractical. They also invariably have the strength of a mania. Price is no barrier; there is no sacrifice limitation; the desire is tremendous and instinctive. The retail tradesmen of the country relate innumerable incidents of workingmen who during the inflation years bought shoes or articles of personal wear or adornment calling for the best with an almost contemptuous disregard of price. There was a gleam almost of fanaticism in the eyes of those who had this merchandise desire-complex. It is common to the newly rich, whether these riches be reckoned in millions, in thousands or merely in hundreds, or even in tens of dollars. They are riches, relatively speaking, in any

case, when measured by the previous economic level and by their psychologic effect of dazzlement.

We are all familiar with the feeling of childhood when a whole silver dollar seemed as big as a million dollars, and when a certain toy or other object seemed worth any money anyone might ask. And the world was never again quite the same to us after acquiring such riches. That is the vital thing to note. The newly made millionaire who will not be dissuaded from having a huge pipe organ built into his house in the country, though it hardly be played three dozen times a year; who determinedly manufactures a lake on his estate, though the water seeps out constantly and will not stay, is twin brother to the "flush" laborer's wife who purchases a huge and expensive cut glass punch bowl set for her small tenement apartment in which everything else is grossly out of harmony. She will rarely if ever use the punch bowl, but he is a bold man who will dispute that she got her money's worth. Psychic values are very real values, if not indeed, the only true values.

Resentment and envy are some of the emotions which have helped fix this merchandise desire-complex in many people. The suppression of merchandise desires has been one of those numerous causes which Carleton H. Parker so ably analyzed as lying at the bottom of unrest and radicalism in the casual laboring classes. The closer and closer proximity in modern life between all classes of people and the merchandise they use; together with the great multiplication during the past thirty years of all types of merchandise available, has produced a mental and spiritual pressure too great for many to resist: Result, envy, unrest, radicalism—all with the sub-conscious objective of desire for the same merchandise as those on higher economic levels are seen to enjoy. In many millions of other human beings these merchandise desires merely registered themselves shortly and

clearly, and remained hidden and effectively suppressed by the sense of order and logic until the surplus funds necessary to gratify some of them became available.

Then the chief barrier was removed, and the gates of the merchandise Paradise, through whose inexorably locked bars they had peered long and often in years past, swung inward with invitation upon a great fairyland of delight. Into this fairyland of delight many naive and adventurous spirits have made forages and raids in violation of all laws of logic and economy. It is a familiar psychological *impasse* for a luxuriously be-furred social worker to visit a fairly poor family, and with accents aristocratic and with finishing school gestures by be-jewelled hands, exclaim at the inappropriateness, considering the family income, of the frequent purchase of Porterhouse or of a "birdseye maple" bedroom suite. The social worker's criticism of the expenditure ratio is right, but the human instinct of the woman and her family is also right—they want savory food and they want ostentation, too—a million years of common human heritage has deeply inbedded it in their souls.

A hard-working colored widow, supporting a large family by her kitchen labors was telling her mistress a year or more ago—with satisfaction illuminating her ebony countenance—that she had chicken for her dinner on her Sunday off at home. The mistress raised her eyebrows. "Chicken, Mandy!" she exclaimed, "why it's so high just now I haven't dared to buy any myself!" Mandy sighed nonchalantly. "Oh, Ah didn't care," she said, "I'd a bought it no matter *what* it mighta' cost!" What chicken is to Mandy's race, so cut glass is to a certain economic and psychologic level; and so an automobile is to another level.

Every level has its counterpart in objects of desire. Even the most spiritual of us have our merchandise complexes in

some form or degree—there is no use seeking refuge in any Pharisaic mantle of superiority. I know a stenographer whose authentic dream of perfection is a personal maid and a trip around the world. I know a rich man whose authentic dream of happiness is to buy a big newspaper; another who wants to found a university. I know many “in-betweens” whose dreams crystallize in a variety of merchandise ranging from a steam yacht down to gold slippers. I have met one who yearned most to be able to lunch daily at the Ritz instead of at Childs. A few, a very few indeed, want to go to Tahiti, à la Gauguin, with only moon and sixpence, and paint or write or compose—immured from all merchandise! All, all are merchandise yearnings, nevertheless, for all cost money and are primarily things—even the university!

And the war inflation and prosperity provided the money, and thus became the open sesame to the realizations and transformations of *libido* which money bought! It is impossible not to note the individual, social and national significance of this transformation, interfused and obscured though it may have been with the war aims, and only now emerging into our consciousness. Our very aims and purposes are affected; our deepest selves; for, after attaining long-cherished desires and objectives we naturally are ready to substitute others. Thus, as a nation at large, it may accurately be said that we are re-valuing merchandise and other desires and are in the immediate process of establishing new levels and standards of wants and aims for our population. It would be a narrow and cynical view to say that these aims and wants, even if so largely expressed in terms of merchandise, will not represent healthy growth, or have any spiritual significance.

The relation between money, time, merchandise and progress of every kind is bending and changing, because of the war, as fundamentally as the relation between time and space has changed in our view through Einstein and his coadjutors!

INDIAN SONGS AND LEGENDS*

By EDA LOU WALTON

The Story of Creation

First there was water,
Water alone,
No mountain, no canyon, no tree,
No stone.
Then the Person sent for the Otter
And Duck,
And the bright-eyed Beaver
Too, for luck.
"Dive down to the bottom
Under the sea
And bring up some mud-dirt
Here to me,"
The Person said angrily
To these three.
Duck went in quickly,
Badly he choked,
The Otter sank head-long,
He was soaked.
The Beaver went down
Until he saw
A piece of red mud
Which he brought in his paw
To the Person who took it
In his hand,
Let it run through his fingers
Into mountains of sand.
That Person, who was he
That did this so?

*Of this group of Indian poems Miss Walton writes: "They are, in a sense, interpretations. This is especially true of the Navaho poems. But in treating the Blackfeet material I have used great freedom, taking only the idea usually."

Perhaps it was "Nixat,"
I don't know.

How Nixat Made Animals

After the mountains were made,
Nixat wished to hunt for bear,
But there were no animals yet,
Anywhere.
So Nixat took his pipe,
He sang three times,
He shouted three lines,
And he blew three puffs of smoke,
And after that he shook
His pipe until it broke.
Then all the animals fell out,
The deer, the turkey, the wolf, the bear,
Animals of earth, of sea, of air.

When Summer Was Lost

Summer was lost,
The ground was white,
Snow fell all day,
Wind blew all night,
Indians were cold.
Nixat came home
From the sheeted trail,
His black hair gleamed
With twinkling hail,
Nixat was bold.
"I'll find Summer," he said
And went out to track
Wild buffalo herds
Through the snow.
He soon found the sack

Where summer was tied
On a buffalo's back
Tangled up in its hair,
He tumbled her out
And the ground became bare,
No more snow.

Communion Supper

Life pollen
Mixed with healing waters
I feed to you.
Mask-of-a-god,
You stir,
You are awake!
Eat blue-bird pollen of his body,
My brothers,
From healing waters
Drink his spirit,
Breathe deep the eagles-down
Of his life-feather
And be lifted up to beauty!
We have eaten with you,
Mask-of-a-god,
You stir
You wake from death
And go out among men.

Love Songs

I

As you laid your hands upon me
I was no more,
Nor you, no more.

Melting together we slipped through a sea
Of sun-rise mist to the Great Spirit Soul.
We touched him, we touched him
And with him made a whole!

II

With beads I paid for you
And now I wear
Your cold, thin words like beads
About my neck. I tear
Them off and break the chain,
But there is pain, is pain!

Man Song

Tail feathers tie on me,
I am a man today!
No longer will I run with the women.
With men I'll stay.
Bright shall glow my tail feathers
When I dance this way—
(I wish I could see
Behind me.)
I am a man today!

Song of the Sun-Bearer

I grow weary,
So would you,
Of traveling over a path of blue,
But in the west she waits for me
Where my path runs down to the golden sea.

Lit by rain-bows,
Shaded by clouds,
Blowing where ever the west-wind goes

Our house floats out on the golden sea
Where Estsanatlehi waits for me.

Estsanatlehi, Woman-who-changes,
Dances all day on the mountain ranges,
But when my path meets the golden sea
She is there to rest with me.

These are Indeed My Children!

Rolled in a robe of dawn,
In a robe of blue sky,
A robe of yellow evening light,
And one of darkness,
We visited gods.
A god threw us
Against the white shell spikes of east,
We bounded back, back too
From western haliotis blades
And the black rock spikes of the north,
Yet unhurt,
Holding our life-feathers.
Then said the Chieftain-god
To the other gods,
"Depart from me, you divine weaklings,
These are indeed my children!"

CROCE AND CRITICISM*

By EDWARD GODFREY COX

A pedantic critic like old Polonius could talk of "tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scenes indivisible or poem unlimited." He knew no better; he had never heard of Benedetto Croce. But we of today have learned from this modern troubler of esthetic pools that such divisions into literary kinds are futile, being "fallacious in their theoretical terms." In other words, literary genres own to no existence at all. Indeed if we follow out the implications of his esthetic theory we can lay the ghosts of innumerable literary quarrels. To borrow from J. E. Spingarn—we have done with rules and genres, the terms tragic, comic, sublime, with theories of style, metaphors, similes, with moral judgements of literature, with such scholastic debates as does poetry aim to please or instruct, with the confusion between drama and the theatre, with technic as separate from art. Furthermore we are done with the history and criticism of poetic themes, with the influence of national and racial traditions, of period and environment, with the old rupture between genius and taste, with the "life and times" of an artist's work. The "Battle of the Books" need not have been fought; the boundaries between poetry and painting can be razed; the "Evolution of Genres" can be thrown into the rubbish heap. Both Lessing and Brunetiere can go by the board, for all such labors are the figments of theorists. Even the distinctions between poetry and prose can be discarded, since these two divisions exhibit no difference in esthetic quality. The war cries of realists, romanticists, and classicists are but the hissings of ghosts. The misty shapes of imagism, futurism, cubism, orphicism, and vorticism are

**Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille.* By Benedetto Croce. Henry Holt & Co.

only phantoms conjured up by fussy minds. All such terms are man-made categories which in no wise penetrate to the heart of the work nor to any degree express its esthetic apprehension. For art is expression to be identified with intuition, and as a corollary all expression is art. Thus it is apparent that the acceptance of Croce's system of philosophy and criticism makes a severe call for sacrifice of critical vanities from converts. In its way it involves a holocaust of no less proportions, though probably of infinitely less worth, than is affirmed of that mass of earthly vanities which went up in smoke at Savonarola's behest in the public square at Florence.

Truly such a drastic demand leaves the average critic but a poor, naked, shivering soul. Take away from him his time honored prescription to write on Shakespeare and the Theater, Shakespeare and his Times, Shakespeare and his Stage, Shakespeare and the Dark Lady, Shakespeare and his Predecessors, and what have we left him? Deny him, for instance, the validity of proving that humor and satire are incompatible with the lyrical spirit; deny him the value of demonstrating that the octave of Milton's sonnets overflows into the sestet to unify doubt and assurance; deny him the use of analogy, eulogy, description by effect, exclamatory enthusiasms, which are never equivalent to the intrinsic qualities of the work itself—deny him all this and he is like a bird clipped of its wings and bereft of its power to soar.

What then shall I write about asks the critic who by this time has a right to be bewildered. Do not such relations exist if my mind perceives them, are they not legitimate subjects for intellectual inquiry? Write on these matters if you wish, we may answer for Croce, but do not call your work literary criticism or regard it as contributing by one mite to an understanding of the artist and his intuitions, for such

relations have nothing to do with "the living form which is the living content of his work." To study a man in his "living form which is the living content of his work" is the valid aim of criticism, as Croce well illustrates in his book on Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille. So he advises us in his essay on Dante, whom we are to seek to know in his fundamental role and concrete reality as poet rather than as moralist, philosopher, medievalist, Florentine, and what not. A great man is what he is, a trite but needed observation, and yields up his meaning only when we study him as a part of humanity to which we belong and his work as an expression of the human spirit of which we are cosharers. Hence despite innumerable commemorative addresses to the contrary, to which this past year has been a patient listener, Dante has no "message for us today." Plato, he tells us again, does not help refute modern materialism; nor does he in any necessity confirm the teachings of communism. His use to present day readers abides in his remaining solely and uniquely Plato. In fact, no author of the past is a substitute for or an essential support of things as they are today. Great men are elements of our soul and this alone constitutes their eternal utility and immortality.

It is a great service that Croce has rendered criticism, that of diverting its energies from a consideration of the poetic stuff in its separateness before it has been passed through the alembic of the poet's mind to that of the vitality and integrity dwelling at the heart of a work, which is expressed esthetically and is meant to be apprehended esthetically. At the same time it is a heavy wicrd that he has laid upon the critic, that of becoming artist in his turn and, by insinuating himself into the imagination and spirit of the work, of reproducing or translating the original intent into terms equally comprehensive and significant. Hence it is readily apparent that to a mind like Brunetiere's with his "Evolution of Genres" Croce

is diametrically opposed—the one a legislator, a scientist, applying scientific method to literature, and the other an interpreter seeking in the work itself the laws of its being. Where one by a mechanical process draws up the rules by which a genre is born, grows, reaches its maturity, declines, and then dies, the other maintains that every artist is an individual case, that even every draft of a given work is a form of art distinct from its successors.

At the outset the critic must come to realize that the materials of a poet are not the books he has read, the stories he has heard, the forms he has studied, or the experiences he has met, but rather these things all fused together in his mind as *sentiments*, that is, the way he feels about things, his way of taking the universe. These again may all be subordinated to one dominant kind, which is found in Ariosto to be Harmony tinged with irony and holding in a whole all the component parts which flowed together to produce the “Furioso”; a “sensible Harmony,” which did not arise from a loss of his humanity and an abandonment of all particular sentiments, a religious mounting up to the world of ideas, but existed for him as sentiment among sentiments, a dominant sentiment, surrounding all the others and assigning each to its place. This sentiment, which forms the material of the poet when disaggregated into its particularities, explains why and what the poet was, and whatever sentiment is found dominating in the work is there because it dominated in the heart of the creator. The poet used the form that he did because it proved to be the most adequate symbol or vehicle for his feeling, which was one of affection for the past as being venerable and glorious. The content was not literary form itself but love for that past, for an historical age of art.

The controlling sentiment in Shakespeare was a profound sense of life, of strife in vital unity, which prevented the vision from becoming simplified into antithesis of good and

evil, an awareness of mystery brooding over the course of events, which never "discovers the reposeful term, peace after war, the acceptance of war as a means to a loftier peace." And in Corneille it was the "deliberative will," which formed the real living passion of a man said to be devoid of passions.

It follows then that a poet does not aim at art but at a particular content, which is often difficult to define. Dryden says that "Love and Valor ought to be the subject of an heroic poem." But did any great poet ever find in such a concept the spring which released his imagination into form? Did Dryden himself when truly creative? Surely the impulse was a sentiment, an emotional attitude toward certain characters which sought to find an adequacy and equivalence in the world of external facts, such as a series of incidents, and arrangement of time and place, a group of human beings, which, combined and ordered, developed into a formula for that particular emotion. If then an artist never starts from an intellectual conception of form or subject matter or relation or philosophy, why should the critic? To illustrate from the classic example of Hamlet—it has become the fashion to solve the problem by referring its difficulties to the facts of its historic processes. J. G. Robertson, for instance, finds that critics have heretofore erred in their interpretation of this play by failing to take account of the relevant historical facts that Hamlet is a "stratification, that it represents the efforts of a series of men, each making out what he could of the work of his predecessors"; that Shakespeare built upon the work of Kyd, the tale of Belforest and various adaptations of the play whose core was simply a revenge motive. Other stubborn matter, such as the Polonius episode and the Reynaldo scenes, may have been provided by Chapman. Accordingly then that which Shakespeare may be said to have "intuited" was the effect of a mother's guilt upon her son," and his inability to impose this upon the intractable material left

him by his predecessors makes up the problem of Hamlet. Likewise Elmar Edgar Stoll, seeks for the answer in matter extraneous to the play, namely, in how the audience of Shakespeare's day understood the tragedy so far as may be discovered from "contemporary revenge plays and from comments of critics nearest to his time." Would not Croce insist, however, that revenge plays have nothing to do with Hamlet once all these separable elements had been worked over in the poet's mind into an intuition of life whose formula became the play we know by the name of *Hamlet*?

These and many other conjectures on fact and fancy, "the weight of erroneous philology," are all made to vanish like a morning mist before the searching light of Croce's critical method. None of these affect the artistic problem of Hamlet "because that drama always remains the same." Even if Bacon were found to be the author of Shakespeare's plays, we should still be faced with the same enigmas: "Lear laments and imprecates in the same manner, Othello struggles furiously, Hamlet meditates and wavers before the problem of humanity and the action that he is called upon to take, and in the same manner all are enwrapped in the veil of Eternity." Equally sound in reasoning is the assertion that "it is necessary to forget biographical details concerning the poets, in those cases where they abound, if we wish to enjoy their art, in what it possess of ideality, which is truth." To this Matthew Arnold should cry Amen! The preliminary necessity in the study of a poet such as Shakespeare is the effort to catch the characteristic spiritual attitude of Shakespeare, his poetic sentiment, which Croce differentiates from concepts or modes of thought. Other questions concern his biography rather than his artistic history.

What is most worth preserving is not the "processes of the formation of the individual which for the most part escape the observation of others and frequently even the

memory of him in whom they have actually occurred, but their results." It is not the practical personality of Shakespeare that should serve as the object of artistic criticism "but his poetic personality; not the character and development of his life, but the character and development of his art." Other questions concern his biography rather than his artistic history. However the knowledge of the facts of his life, the order of composition, the recastings and collaborations might prove to be of interest, the critic's final judgment would rest upon "intrinsic reasons of an artistic nature arising from an examination of the works before him." The confusion of the identity and unity of the practical and poetical history "is the hidden source of the vast and to a large extent useless labors, which form the great body of Shakespeare philology."

A simplification of critical problems on so large a scale has not met with unanimous approval from critics. Some reject it from a fear perhaps of seeing their means of livelihood curtailed; others from a fear of being cast adrift with no other guide for their course but their dead reckoning which they must work out for themselves. Compartmental minds will cling to the notion of genres because they find such terms indispensable to their dialect; being unable to conceive of a given work as content, they must needs refer to it as a novel, a drama, or a lyric. Then there is the host of future Doctors of Philosophy who, finding their inheritance taken away from them, will cry, "What is our iniquity that the Lord hath pronounced this great evil upon us?" and they shall curse the day that this man was born.

Even so the misgiving will not down that the universal solvent is yet to be found. Still, though the field seems to have been sown with Cadmus teeth, though for every question laid low another has arisen in its stead, the impartial critic will welcome the revaluations and new estimates, the shakings and stirrings demanded by the publication of this and like books.

STANDARDIZED HOT AIR

By H. F. ANGUS

The universities of the Western States and the universities of Western Canada are in the habit of holding competitive inter-university debates. The system of debating is highly organized and constitutes a social phenomenon peculiar to the North American continent. The conditions under which the debates are held are not the same in all cases, but there is a general resemblance that makes it possible to treat any one debating agreement as fairly typical. An examination of the terms of the agreement obtaining between the University of British Columbia and the University of Washington will give us a good general idea of the nature of the institution.

A dual debating league was created between these two universities by an agreement in writing made on the 24th day of November 1915 by their accredited representatives. The agreement provides that on or before a certain date in each year one university shall submit to the other three general questions for debate. Within ten days a choice must be made of one of these general questions. Within three weeks the university which submitted the general questions must submit three wordings of the question selected for debate. The other university must choose between these three wordings within ten days of the last day for their submission. The duty of propounding questions is assigned to each university in alternate years. An interval of six weeks is contemplated between the date on which the subject for debate is determined, and the resolution worded, and the date of the actual contest. It should be noticed that the general nature of the question to be debated is known some ten weeks before the contest.

Each university selects two debating teams of two debaters each. The debaters must be *bona fide* undergraduates, and in practice male undergraduates have invariably been chosen. One team maintains the affirmative, the other the negative of the resolution. The debates are held on the same date at both universities. The affirmative team always debates before its own university while the negative team visits the foreign institution.

Each debater is allowed to speak twice. His main speech may be of twenty minutes duration, while he is allowed five minutes in which to rebut the arguments of his opponents. The order in which the speeches are to be made is: First Affirmative, First Negative, Second Affirmative, Second Negative. The rebuttal speeches follow. An order is suggested in the agreement but is not rigidly imposed on the speakers. Each team is allowed a timekeeper "who is to enforce the time limits, and give such further signals as each team may direct."

One is tempted to add to the precise wording of the agreement that the debate may be carried on by words in any language or languages, or by gestures, or partly by words and partly by gestures. Nothing is said on this point, though it is expressly provided that "the use of charts, or of personal correspondence on the platform is prohibited."

The selection of the judges, who are to be three in number, is governed by elaborate rules. Each judge must be "a disinterested person, not known to be prejudiced on the question under discussion, nor in any way related to the contestants, and not holding a degree from either institution or connected therewith in any relation." A month before the debate takes place each university must submit to the other at least ten names of men to act as judges. The other university must without further correspondence choose from the

list three men to act as judges "at the debate it has in charge." This wording of the agreement suggests that it is the visiting university which puts forward the list of ten suitable men and the home university which chooses three names from the list; but such a system would be cumbersome, and, whatever the exact meaning of the agreement may be, the practice is for the home university to propose the judges subject to the selection to be made by the visitors.

It is further provided that, "A card shall be handed to each judge by the presiding officer with the following information and instruction, in typewritten form, 'The judges shall consider both thought and delivery; but it is agreed that matter is more important than form. Each judge shall decide in his own way what constitutes effective debating. The award shall be made upon the merits of the argument as presented in debate, and not upon the merits of the question itself. Each judge shall vote "affirmative" or "negative" without consultation. The votes shall be signed, sealed [*sic*], and delivered to the presiding officer, who shall open them and announce the decision.'"

II

We have examined the legal theory (if we may call it that) of inter-university debates. Let us turn to the actual working of the institution. How is debating regarded by the students? It is not clear whether debating is looked on as a form of university sport, or as something to be undertaken, like any part of the university curriculum, for the sake of the training involved, or as a minor distraction mainly of personal interest to the participants. The first view is suggested by the language of the agreement which we have considered, the second is sometimes maintained by students who argue that they should be given credits, (i. e. should be excused some part of the work otherwise required of them before

they are qualified for the university degree which they seek, in consideration for work done as members of a debating team) while the third view has very little to support it beyond the fact that it appears natural and reasonable to a disinterested third party 'not known to be prejudiced.'

One feature of university debating is clear beyond the possibility of doubt. Not the slightest importance is attached to the general merits of the issue to be discussed. The writer is very doubtful whether the debaters themselves often form clear opinions as to the truth or falsehood, the wisdom or folly, of the propositions which they are called on to defend. Not only is the issue framed in such a way as to give equal scope to the speakers on both sides, but the judges are expected to choose the winners, not according to what they think the effect likely to be produced on an uninformed but fair minded listener but according to their idea of who has made the most of his case by the careful preparation and systematic arrangement of material, and by the presentation of the results to the audience. It follows that a decision by popular vote would be treated as nearly valueless, because (1) it would be influenced by the sympathies and prejudices of the public, and (2) it might reflect any balance of reasonableness on the merits of the resolution.

The competition, then, is to involve good debating and nothing else. The judges are free to decide as they please what constitutes good debating, subject to the caution that thought is considered more important than form. While there seems to be no generally accepted standards of good debating, the long period of preparation suggests that the makers of the agreement had in mind intensive and carefully worded argument. The allowance to each speaker of a special period for rebuttal seems to be designed to permit him to deliver a set speech on his first appearance without

being concerned with meeting the case which has been developed against him. The style of preparation which is in favor with the contestants is in keeping with these suggestions. Set speeches are prepared and firmly fixed in the memory of the debaters. The speeches often suggest a careful rehearsal, sentence by sentence and word by word. There seems to be no objection to any amount of help being received from outside sources, though, of course, a debater must employ his own voice on the evening of the debate. If a member of the teaching staff of a university is asked for advice by the debating team he is apt to be led by imperceptible degrees from suggesting possible courses of reading or sources of information, to sketching lines of argument, suggesting answers to particular arguments, to criticizing the arrangement of material, not in general terms but paragraph by paragraph, to criticizing the English sentence by sentence, and the pronunciation word by word. To carry this process to its logical conclusion would mean treating the debater as one would treat a singer. No one demands that a singer should write his own songs or compose his own music; why should one require a debater to construct his own arguments? Why need he understand a word of what he says? After all, singers often enough sing in languages which they do not understand, or utter words whose subtle meaning they would find it very tiresome to be compelled to analyze.

This attitude towards debating probably results from a bad analogy with outdoor sports. In the case of hockey or football any amount of training or coaching is allowed so long as it takes place before the game begins. In the same way, it is perhaps felt that any help is fair in debating so long as it precedes the moment when the debaters face one another on the platform. The analogy is fundamentally bad, because,

in a game of football the effort which is being judged is that put forth in the course of the play, while in the case of debating it is largely the previous preparation which is being considered under the heading of 'thought.' Surely by the thought which it is agreed to treat as more important than form ought to be understood the debaters' own thought. And it is expressly provided that the debaters must be undergraduates. The bad analogy which might lead to the idea that a debate can fairly be coached is supported by a technical consideration. It is possible to enforce rules which aim at preventing a debater from receiving help in the course of the debate, but rules limiting the extent to which advice could be sought beforehand could not be enforced. Nor are we sufficiently civilized or trustful of one another to develop an adequate etiquette on the subject: e. g. an etiquette permitting advice to be given in general terms and even with illustrations, but precluding help in the actual arrangement or wording of the argument.

So much for a description of the present attitude towards debating. Whatever our standpoint we must condemn the results. If debating is considered primarily as a university sport we must admit that it does not attract the best talent in the university, that the 'thought' which is more important than the form is not always the independent thought of *bona fide* undergraduates, that the debate has often the fatal defect of being deadly dull, that a good attendance is secured largely by heavy draughts of that intoxicating liquid, College Spirit. If we consider the training which debating affords we find that, under present conditions, it does not succeed in interesting the debaters in the subject matter of their debate, that it often induces students to embark on the discussion of subjects which their general training and 'background' give them little aptitude for comprehending, that in the consideration

of historical or political evidence a false emphasis is imported and a balanced judgement discouraged, that the time devoted to debating is excessive so that third and fourth year students are often precluded from participating in the debates. If debating is considered as a mere amusement the objections to the present system are even greater. It does not amuse; or if indeed it gives pleasure the debaters take their pleasure sadly. The time spent is often grudged. Much of the time is devoted to mastering the intricacies of a question which is dull because the student, frequently in his first or second year, has not enough general knowledge to appreciate its nature. There is such a thing as the joy of debating, the keen pleasure of outwitting an opponent and unmasking his fallacies, ridiculing his heroics, evading his repartee. Our type of debating minimizes this pleasure.

III

The simple truth is that the type of debating at present in vogue serves no useful purpose. If any reform is to be undertaken it must be based upon a clear idea of what a good debate ought to be. To the writer the ideal to be kept before a debater is the presentation of his case to his audience in the most persuasive form. The presentation should consist of clear precise reasoning, supported by such facts and quotations as may be strictly essential to the establishment of the thesis to be proved. The use of a greater wealth of facts or statistics gives an impression of learning and of careful research which is generally false, and which, though it may impress a simple audience, is often frankly tiresome. If a debater is to hold the attention of his audience he must be interesting, and the best way to be interesting is to be spontaneous. People who go to hear a debate generally look forward to a fight with plenty of give and take. It is the form in which the arguments are put and the way in which they are

countered which interests an audience. If the subject is one of general interest there should be little possibility of finding arguments which are essentially new to a well informed public, or facts which come as a surprise. The debater wins or loses on the manner of his presentation, not on the depth of his research, or on the novelty of his intellectual combinations. Why not recognize frankly that debating is the art of handling facts and arguments neatly and attractively? that one brilliant repartee is worth half a dozen prearranged arguments? The advantages offered by university debating are training and practice in agility of thought and speech. Research work can be better taught in connection with other studies, for its aim is to ascertain the truth and not to produce conviction regardless of the truth or falsity of the thesis.

For good debating the essentials are a logical and trained mind, a good general groundwork of knowledge, some specialized knowledge, but not necessarily very much, of the subject matter of the debate, a clear style of speaking, and readiness in repartee. If students are to be taught to debate, the problem is how to develop these essentials. The best test of teaching is its result, i. e. the conduct of the debater when confronted with unexpected situations. A debater should come to his debate as he would come to any other game, prepared for any situation which may arise. He should be able to feel confident that his general alertness, on the one hand, his general knowledge, on the other, are such that he can meet any arguments which his opponents may advance, in an effective manner—that is, by throwing the appropriate counter argument into its most telling form. A debater's material should always be highly flexible so that it may be readily adapted to suit any turn which the debate may take. The first speaker has an opportunity of imposing on the others his will as to the method in which the subject should be approached. The

second speaker must either follow the lead which has been given, or convince the audience that there is good reason for departing from the method indicated, or run a very considerable risk of appearing to side-step a line of argument which he dare not face. Every speaker, after the first, must be on the watch for any unexpected difficulty which may arise or any unhoped for opportunity which may present itself.

If the ideal of debating has been fairly described, if the essentials of the good debater have been accurately ascertained, we are in a position to discuss how the present style of inter-university debating can best be improved. None of our university courses give precisely the type of training which should develop the best debater; nor is this a matter for regret as the courses have been planned with other objectives in view. I find it hard to believe that a course on public speaking would give much training in the essentials of debating. Such courses are given at many of the Western universities, but prior to the current year nothing of the sort has been attempted at the University of British Columbia. The result has been that there has been a very noticeable inferiority on the part of the debaters from the University of British Columbia in the actual technique of speaking, and in ease on the platform. Victories and defeats, however, have alternated in approximately equal proportions, so that one is led to believe that the balance of reasoning is ordinarily somewhat in favor of the institution which offers no courses in speaking, and that its speakers more than hold their own in ready rebuttal. While it is probably as difficult to teach debating as to teach conversation, a great deal can be learnt by practice. It is only when a speaker can forget himself entirely in the interest of what he is doing, when he speaks directly to the people whom he is endeavoring to convince, when he thinks only of the effect of his speech and not of its

technique, that he achieves the highest success. The only preparation which counts is preparation which has led to habits of thought, of speech, and of gesture; which gives confidence and assurance; but which in the act of performance is completely forgotten. However, if debating can be taught, the supreme test of the adequacy of the teaching is to be found in the stern arbitrament of impromptu debating, in the type of debate which we have set up as an ideal. If, on the other hand, debating can only be learnt from practice, can only be perfected by actual debate, we must develop that type of debate which affords the best training. It is not every type of debate which is a help to good debating. That type should be encouraged which demands general preparation in contrast with the intensive study of a particular issue, which demands training in logical thought and correct and fluent expression, rather than the careful rehearsal and studied delivery of a set speech.

Is it possible to put a premium on this sort of debating? and if so, how? To the writer there seem to be two possible measures of reform. First, the resolution for debate should be chosen not more than one week before the actual contest. The debaters would be unable to prepare great masses of material and would be forced to rely upon their general knowledge, and their own powers of reasoning, that is on exactly the intellectual baggage which they are to carry through life. The set speech would have to be sacrificed and replaced by some more natural and more spontaneous form of argument. The give and take in the course of the actual debate would increase in importance, for the opportunity for surprise would be greater, and the necessity for dealing with unforeseen arguments more apparent. A debate of this kind is often interesting to hear; it gives more scope to the personalities of the debaters, i. e. to the *bona fide* undergraduates,

and less to the personalities of their advisers. Finally if the preparation of a debate could not require more than a week there would be no serious conflict between debating and other university pursuits. Indeed debating would test, in the very best way, under the strain of unforeseen situations, the results of a university course. It would not be an amusement open only to those making a systematic study of public speaking, but would offer to the historian, the economist, and the political scientist, opportunities of applying knowledge gained, of testing in rapid competition with one another the readiness of their wits. Under these conditions debating should attract the best talent in the university, and should offer exceptional opportunities to students in their third and fourth years.

The second proposed reform consists in the suppression of the rebuttal speech of every debater except the first speaker of the evening. The fact that each speaker is allotted five minutes in which to answer the arguments of the other side, at present operates so as to encourage the preparation of a set speech for the first period of twenty minutes, and the relegation to the rebuttal period of the attempt to meet the hostile case. In practice the result is often detestable. The arguments of the speakers may have little or no relation to one another, and it sometimes happens that the final period of five minutes is devoted to answering a case which has not been made, or to refuting arguments to which little weight has been attached. The aim of a debater should be to concentrate his criticism on the main position of his opponents. His whole time can be profitably devoted to such an enterprise. If he is successful he has no need of the five minute period at the end, if he fails the five minutes will not be of much use. In debating as in every other enterprise one must look to the main chance: a separate rebuttal period (except, of course, for the first speaker, who has no other opportunity of answering

his opponents) is a standing temptation to waste time on sideshows.

IV

An attempt has been made to suggest profitable reforms in inter-university debating. At present debating does not rank high as an amusement nor does it afford the highest type of mental training. It ought not to be beyond the range of possibility to make this pastime one of the most entertaining and one of the most profitable parts of a university career. We all enjoy a good argument. We all know that argument alone does not achieve much in ascertaining the truth, and that argument rarely, if ever, convinces an obstinate opponent. Debate is argument in public, and argument with a referee. We get most fun, and most profit, out of debate if we recognize its limitations from the outset, and make it in form what it is essentially, a battle of wits, in which the victory goes to the men who can combine the careful preparation of a constructive argument with the power to destroy in the minds of their hearers any effect which hostile eloquence may have produced. For the audience and for the contestants the most amusement is obtained when the debate is a straight conflict of opposing personalities, one in which the best men win.

Some Problems of the Pacific

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND THE FAR EAST

By PAUL S. REINSCH

A stage humorist has remarked that if Mr. Hughes had proposed that hereafter all wars must be made on a cash basis and no credits would be given, he would have come very near to actually getting rid of war. Nobody, of course, expected of the Washington Conference that it would succeed in protecting the world against the recurrence of wars. The situation of the world is still too full of unsettled elements to make it possible for world-wide assurance of peace to be actually established. In an international conference there are always two dangers present. The public expects too much and in its optimism is liable to be deceived by general declarations which do not change the actual situation very much; on the other hand, the cabinets and their representatives are too much concerned in maintaining every element of their position in detail. Between these two extremes the work of international conferences often oscillates without succeeding in accomplishing anything of very specific value.

The Washington Conference was undoubtedly the busiest gathering of its kind that has ever met. Day by day its entire personnel from the chief delegates down to the youngest attache were kept busy in plenary sessions, committee meetings, sub-committee meetings and incidental conferences. Together with the inevitable accompaniment of social duties this certainly made the diplomats at Washington as busy as a land office on a filing day.

The specific achievements of the Conference involve details

which required the most careful attention of all these delegations for months; and even then it can hardly be said that there were any complete solutions. Nor would such have been possible even in a longer time. The Four-Power treaty sanctions the existing distribution of the Islands in the Pacific; it relieves each of the Powers of any immediate danger of having to use armed force for the protection of its holdings. The treaty for the reduction of naval armament is primarily important for the psychological effect which specific action, such as the scrapping of existing ships, will have on the public mind in impressing it with the seriousness of the purpose of the powers to limit their war preparation.

With respect to the Far East perhaps the most important achievement of the Conference lies in the agreement whereby the Powers engage themselves not to seek for their nationals any special rights or privileges in any parts of China. The board of reference which is provided for will under favorable circumstances constitute an effective instrument for preventing discrimination and making the gradual growth of local spheres of influence in China impossible. To this is added the provision for the publicity of all treaties and agreements dealing with China. It should therefore in the future be difficult to carry out successfully an attempt, on the part of any one nation, to establish a special sphere of interest in any region of China. This is of great importance, as the chief cause of international suspicion and friction with respect to China has lain in the attempts made, openly and secretly, to secure preferences and special interests.

The Shantung arrangement works to the same end. Any special position, which Germany might have claimed has been specifically abandoned by Japan. The solution in this case is, however, not as yet completely carried out, so long as a Japanese traffic manager remains on the Shantung railway. It

will be dependent on the efficiency of Chinese management and on the watchfulness of the other nations with respect to their commercial rights and freedom from all discrimination, whether this remaining connection between Japanese influence and affairs in Shantung will be kept within the bound of an ordinary traffic managership, itself to expire upon complete payment of the railroad indemnity by China, or whether occasion will be found to expand it into something more far-reaching.

In Manchuria too, Japan has abandoned those special privileges with respect to local loans and provincial advisers which she secured in connection with the Twenty-one Demands. In Manchuria she still holds the railway and the concession of Dairen; but if properly utilized, the arrangements created for the protection of equal opportunity will give foreign, non-Japanese commerce in Manchuria a better chance than it has recently enjoyed. Her nearness to this market will always favor Japan, and no one will begrudge her that advantage.

When we come to the remainder of the conference program with respect to China, no important achievements are to be reported. The withdrawal of the foreign post offices is indeed a step in the right direction, particularly when we consider to what extent the Japanese post offices in China, for instance, interfere with Chinese affairs in many undesirable ways. The conference in withdrawing the post offices, however, incidentally called upon China not to change the arrangement by which a French co-director of the Chinese post office system is employed. All observers of the Chinese service have testified to its promptness, reliability and general excellence. The Chinese may indeed wish to continue to retain some foreign employees in their service. But should that be made a means for seeking to exercise outside influence the Chinese would put up a strong fight to get rid of it.

The arrangements with respect to the Chinese tariff cannot be said to do full justice to the often declared political independence of China. Under existing treaties China has retained the liberty to levy a duty of five per cent. In making this effective, the Conference is only carrying out the already existing obligation of the powers. The least satisfactory of the resolutions adopted is that relating to the presence of foreign troops in certain parts of China without warrant or treaty. This refers particularly to Japanese troops, as the troops of other powers are in China under treaty provisions. The resolution of the powers begins, "Whereas there are at present stationed in China foreign troops, without warrant of treaty." . . . At this point one would expect a declaration that such troops should be withdrawn. But far from it. The resolution gives the Chinese Government opportunity to appeal to the Powers, who may then instruct their representatives in Peking to make a report as to whether it is necessary to withdraw such troops; this report will be submitted to the Powers, but need not be acted upon. This dilatory procedure and unnecessary investigation, it is to be feared, will make it more easy than heretofore to keep foreign troops in China, without warrant of treaty.

Political conflicts in China together with a persistent propaganda designed to give the impression that China is in a condition verging on chaos, plainly had a certain effect on the Conference. Well disposed to China as most of the delegations were, they were worried by such reports; especially that the Central Government in China was not very strong, and that there were one or two opposition centers. It was not realized sufficiently how unimportant all questions of politics and of Central Government are in China, compared with the provincial life and the economic activities of the people. The soundness of Chinese popular life was not given full consid-

eration and weight at the Conference, which judged China too much according to the preconceived notions of a highly centralized Western government. The idea that it is incumbent upon the Western Powers to provide a central organization for China is almost grotesque to anyone who knows the true strength of Chinese popular life and organization and who knows how far the people have already progressed in reconstructing their affairs from within, in their own way.

We should particularly guard against misunderstanding the Chinese situation by giving undue weight to reports of political unrest. The Chinese Government may be weak and embarrassed by money difficulties, but the country and people are at present as sound as any nation in the world.

Look at the amount of their public debt! The total debt of this vast country is slightly over Nine Hundred Millions—it has not even gone into the first billion—that means a per capita of \$2.50. The per capita debt of France and of the United Kingdom approach \$900.00. The total debt is in each case nearly forty times as much as that of China. The per capita debt of the United States is \$260.00. The Chinese public debt under present conditions of world finance seems almost infinitesimal.

Of all Asiatic countries, too, China has by far the smallest public debt. The per capita for Japan is \$14.00; for India \$7.00—for China, to repeat, this remarkably low figure, \$2.50.

But in China it is not an easy matter to increase the public debt. The people of China have been deeply dissatisfied with the loan agreements made with Japan during the war; they have made it understood unmistakably to their Government that they want no more foreign loans at this time. The Ministry of Finance has therefore been most reluctant to make

any new commitments. This is one of the reasons why there has been delay about repaying the American loan.

But why, if China is not in a bad financial situation, does she not pay off this loan? The answer is that while the Chinese public debt is small, it is on the other hand very difficult for the Chinese Government to get a larger income. It is hemmed in between two forces. By treaty the Powers hold down the Chinese Government to a customs duty of 5 per cent—this is the chief source of income of the Central Government. While the revenue has increased from year to year with the development of commerce, the increase has not kept pace with the modern needs of the Chinese Government.

On the other side the Government is hampered by the fact that China is governed by custom, and that it is very difficult to introduce new taxes. The greater part of the governing is done by the Provinces, which retain the local taxes for that purpose. To that is added the evil of provincial militarism. The military governors have in many cases not only retained local taxes for their military establishment, but have drawn heavily on the Central Government in return for giving their support.

There has been a great national uprising in China. The people, the merchants, the scholars—who have hitherto been unpolitical, who have minded their business and social affairs and given little thought to government—are now beginning to assert themselves. They have created a strong public opinion which expresses itself powerfully and which restrains the Government.

But it may be asked do they not realize that the Government must receive a larger income? Are they not ready to make financial sacrifices for their country? They undoubtedly are. The recent famine relief has shown that millions can be readily raised in China for an urgent public purpose. But the

people want to be true of the ground under their feet before they go ahead with new financing.

The world does not yet realize what the Chinese people are doing. When we see that the Central Government is weak and that opposition governments are set up, we are apt to conclude that chaos is impending. A week in China would totally correct such an impression. The people are doing work everywhere, thinking, planning, organizing. New enterprises are being developed. New contacts are being established between the merchants, the professional men, and men in the Government. These classes, which have been hitherto so distinct, are now beginning to work together.

If the great transformation in China were being worked by authority from above as was the case in Japan, everything would seem orderly and cut and dried; but this is a far vaster movement, it is a whole people learning, investigating, weighing, adjusting its methods of life and business, forming a new idea of public action. They are working from the bottom up; in every village, town and province constructive ideas are at work. Many provinces already have secured their civilian government against military interference. Chambers of Commerce, educational associations, groups of industrial men, are cooperating to give to provincial public action a representative character.

What comes out of this will not be superficial. There will not be a mere Western varnish over an old civilization. Chinese civilization is weighing the new. There is a deep transformation going on.

What are the Chinese people actually doing? Their business life is active and sound. In China business rests on a metallic currency—there are no paper issues resting on narrow reserves—every deal is settled in silver. Bank notes pass only on their actual silver value.

New enterprises abound. During the last three years sixty large cotton mills have been established in China. Mines are being developed in all of the provinces. Thousands of miles of new roads are being built and surveyed. The automobile is coming into its own. Educational societies are everywhere active establishing new schools, including commercial and trade institutions.

Of great moment is the creation of a new written language—a simple notation to take the place of the complicated writing on which the Chinese youth had to spend the best energy of ten years of training. The new writing is so simple that a man may learn it in four weeks. The newspaper press has an enormous development as it now reaches all the people. The style of the language has been modified too, so as to make the written language like that which is spoken, no longer a literary dialect of the few.

You see the great Chinese people at work in every community establishing new ideas, improving their methods of work and organization. It is fortunate that they cling to the old traditions which have held Chinese society together so many ages. It is fortunate that they do not cast aside the wisdom and experience of the past. They also keep a high expertship in the arts and crafts unique in the world at the present time.

The Chinese people are busy—they are preparing for taking care of their political affairs. Politics are new to them—they don't care much for politics or politicians. They care more for work, industry, agriculture, business, art, education, social life. But they have been taught that they must also make themselves politically strong and well organized. They are approaching this task as a vast people, from below, organizing the local units where they can control. They are building up towards the Central Government. The men there are striving to meet the popular movement and to do

nothing which to the people may seem dangerous or premature.

The political embarrassment of China is the result of a great transformation. The people demand that their future shall not be beclouded by any more ill considered commitments. They have not yet established fully a representative contact between the people and the Central Government. They pray that at this time, so critical, so fraught with vast national problems, they shall not be made the hunting ground of foreign influences and concessions.

We hear from London that Baron Hayashi, the Japanese Ambassador there, approves in the most ardent terms of the Four-Power agreement, which he calls "but an enlargement and endorsement of the old friendship between Great Britain and Japan." "The spirit of the old alliance" he says "will continue and the cooperation of the United States will enable us to face the future with calm assurance." He adds that this applies also to China.

Those who run may read in this enthusiastic endorsement a certain warning which may not have been in the mind of the Ambassador. Unfortunately the spirit of the Anglo-Japanese alliance as far as China was concerned, and the Far East in general, was for each of the partners to hold what it had and to get more. If the accession of the United States should be interpreted to mean that we who desire no territorial rights or special interests were to be allowed to share the incidental benefits—certain crumbs that would fall from the table—of this amiable combination to control the Far East, the American people would fail to see much in it. For it would plainly mean that the old exploitation of the Asiatic continent would continue until its populations were finally driven into a war of self-defense. It has to be made plain that the Four-Power agreement does not involve on our part

an easy compliance with what has been going on in China and Siberia.

The spirit of monopoly and of international syndication is abroad and it will seek to carry away advantages from this and other conferences if it can. Back of it all lies the control and exploitation of the vast economic resources of China and Siberia. There lies the master motive. When we have finished talking about all political rivalries and devices we then only come to the main subject. There is one thing to be most watchful of. The attempt will be made to find some way by which the development of these vast resources can be controlled by political influence and military power. The talk will be all about economic rights. Here we must hold fast to the simple principle that the best any nation can ask within the territory of another, the utmost extent of hospitality, is a free opportunity to deal with other men in industry and commerce on a fair and open basis. Who asks more is attempting to use political influence at the cost of others.

Looking to the future, we are at present most interested in the use which will be made of the arrangements provided by the Conference. The unfinished business of the world is always far more important than that which has been settled. The Four-Power treaty and the navy pact should have a calming effect on the public mind; but it will be a regrettable mistake if we should assume that a new era has been established and that we can safely now go to work, on our own account, to scrap our army and navy. These institutions are a necessary part of our national life and our main thought should be not to weaken them, nor yet to make them entirely secondary to our desire for economy, but to strengthen and improve their morale and efficiency. If we should decide to send an entire class of Annapolis graduates back to civil life, if we should make officers feel that their expectation of a life career of devotion to the public service may be disappointed

at any time by Congress, which in a fit of unusual economy might fail to appropriate for retirement allowances or other items necessary to maintain the spirit of a life-service, we should be destroying that which could not be improvised and restored when we most needed it, if our nation should suddenly find itself in danger.

With respect to China and the Far East we shall indeed give Japan and the other powers credit for honest intention in carrying out the new agreements; but it is only by continuance of watchfulness over our own activities and interests, built up in the course of more than a hundred years, and a readiness to give support to the rights of our people at any time, that we can be assured of full force being given to the agreements which now have been signed.

At one point the unfinished business, left over by the Conference, is of enormous importance. Nothing was done to settle the abnormal situation in Eastern Siberia, where Japanese troops, entering four years ago in concert with the Americans and other associates, have lingered on, and have thus caused in the occupied regions an abnormal state of conflict and unrest. The American Government has indeed now made of record its insistent protest that the Japanese troops should be withdrawn without delay in accordance with previous agreements, but the Japanese have only reiterated their statement that the troops will be withdrawn "when settled conditions are restored." Meanwhile new Japanese troops are landed in Siberia, reactionary elements are encouraged to make war on the Far Eastern Republic, and the commerce of all the nations is obstructed and blockaded at Vladivostok. The first step towards the settlement of this unfinished business would be the recognition on the part of the United States of the Far Eastern Republic. This peasant community, governed in an orderly manner by a regularly elected representative government under a constitution resembling that of one

of the United States, is certainly entitled to the minimum of encouragement involved in our recognizing the undoubted fact that it is in orderly control of its territories, excepting the area under foreign occupation. The people of Siberia, having modelled their government on our own, look to America for guidance and sympathy; we cannot be indifferent to their friendship.

THE OPEN DOOR AND MANCHURIA

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

The Washington Conference, and particularly the injection of the so-called twenty-one demands into its deliberation, has once again placed Manchuria more or less in the limelight. When the Chinese speak of the twenty-one demands nowadays, they mean, to all intents and purposes, Japanese rights in South Manchuria. Of the original Japanese demands presented in January, 1915, only fourteen were accepted by China in two treaties and a dozen notes. Of these, the treaty and notes concerning Shantung have been discarded by the voluntary act of Japan, for the Japanese have adjusted the Shantung controversy quite independently of the agreement of 1915. What remains of the agreements, which resulted from the twenty-one demands, concerns Japan's rights in Manchuria.

Quite apart from the pro and con of the historic demands, it is essential for the public to keep clearly in view the real status of Japan in Manchuria. Without entering into the controversial aspect of the question, we shall try to set forth plainly what Japan has done and is doing in Manchuria.

Let us first of all take a glance at Japanese holdings in

Manchuria. The Japanese government holds under a 99 year lease Port Arthur and the adjacent territory (commonly known as the Kwantung peninsula) about 1,203 square miles in area, that is 34-10,000ths of Manchuria, a country whose entire area measures 382,630 square miles. The South Manchuria Railway operates 698 miles of lines, and owns about 50 square miles of lands scattered along them. That is all the lands held by the Japanese. These lands are of course thrown open to the economic activities of all nationals. Outside of these small areas the Japanese, either governmentally or privately, enjoy no privilege that cannot be equally enjoyed by other nationals.

Compare those Japanese holdings with those of Russia in Northern Manchuria. The Russian railways total 1,075 miles, while the lands appurtenant thereto have an aggregate area of 513 square miles. Moreover, Russia has the exclusive right to navigate the rivers in North Manchuria.

Under the Russian regime the Kwantung leased territory was purely a military zone, covered with fortifications and bristling with arms. Port Arthur, a military and naval port, was closed to merchant ships. Even the port of Dairen was half devoted to the exclusive use of the navy. This condition has been completely changed by Japan. Soon after the Russian war Port Arthur was thrown open to commerce. Japan has not spent a single cent on the fortifications mostly destroyed during the war of 1904. In fact Port Arthur, including the fortifications, has been converted into a sort of recreation ground. As for Dairen, it has become a commercial port, pure and simple.

The one outstanding economic and civilizing factor in Manchuria is the Southern Manchuria Railway Company. This company was organized in 1906 in accordance with the commercial law of Japan. Its authorized capital was \$100,000,000, shares of which were equally divided between the

general public and the Japanese government. The Chinese government was invited to subscribe to the shares allotted to the Japanese government, but the invitation was declined on the ground that China had no substantial fund available for the purpose. The Company operates 437 miles of the main line from Chang-Chun to Dairen, together with six branch lines totaling 261 miles. In addition, it undertakes mining, iron works, marine transportation, management of lands and building in the railway zone, public works, sanitation and education in the same zone. In a word, the administration of the railway zone, except policing and judiciary functions, is entrusted to the Company.

These railway lands, though but specks in the vast area of Manchuria, have become centres from which the influence of modern civilization radiates into the country yet under the influence of mediaevalism. The South Manchuria Railway Company has provided these lands with modern schools, hospitals, water works, sewerage, electric lighting and telephone systems, and well paved roads. The cities and towns that have sprung upon along the railways are more sanitary and better planned than perhaps any city in Japan. Especially impressive is the city of Dairen, the commercial metropolis of South Manchuria. Its streets are adorned with beautiful trees and lined with modern buildings, some of them quite imposing. It has up-to-date electric tramways and all other modern conveniences. Its hospital, its technical college, its normal school and public schools would do credit to any modern city.

At all the leading stations the South Manchuria Company has established schools both for Chinese and Japanese children. In Mukden an admirable college has been inaugurated, training both Japanese and Chinese for medical practice. In Port Arthur a school of technology has been organized for the benefit of Chinese and Japanese students. In 1917 the hospitals maintained by the company treated about 1,388,000

patients, most of whom were Chinese. The traffic department of the company employs 7,800 Japanese and 3,000 Chinese in various official capacities, as well as 19,400 Chinese coolies for menial labor.

I have said that outside the leased territory and the railway lands the Japanese citizens enjoy no special rights or prerogatives. True, the treaty of 1915, resulting from the twenty-one demands, permits the Japanese to travel and reside, as well as to lease land for farming and commercial purposes, in all parts of South Manchuria. But this privilege is by no means exclusive to the Japanese. By reason of the "most-favored nation clause," provided in China's treaties of commerce and amity with American and European countries, the above privilege can be participated in by all Americans and Europeans. If they do not take advantage of that provision, that is simply because they see no necessity or wisdom in going into the interior of that distant country to engage in farming or manufacturing enterprises.

In one sense, however, Japan may be said to have special position, if not special rights, in that part of South Manchuria contiguous to Korea. This special position, created by Japan's need of national defense, seems to be recognized by the leading powers. The reason for it is strategical rather than economic. It implies no special commercial privileges for the Japanese. This point has been made clear in the documents exchanged between Japan on the one hand, and England and America on the other, at the time of the organization of the international financial consortium initiated by Mr. Thomas E. Lamont.

The consortium was inaugurated in May, 1919, for the purpose of pooling foreign loans for economic enterprises in China, including railways. When the Japanese government was invited to join this organization, it feared that the new project might undermine Japan's "special position" in Manchuria. For that reason the Tokyo government asked the

other interested governments to endorse the following formula for Japan's self-protection:

"In matters relating to loan affecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia which, in their (Japanese government's) opinion, are calculated to create a serious impediment to the security of the economic life and national defense of Japan, the Japanese government reserve the right to take the necessary steps to guarantee such security."

Mr. Lamont, the promoter of the consortium, commenting upon the above formula in a letter addressed to the Japanese banking group, said that Japan's "special interests have, in our opinion, never had to do with economic matters." Thus Mr. Lamont intimated that Japan's special interests may be recognized for reasons other than economic. On the other hand the British government, in a note addressed to Japan May 19, 1920, was willing to "recognize the legitimate desire of the Japanese nation to be assured of the supplies of food and raw material necessary to her economic life and her justifiable wish strategically to protect and maintain the Korean frontier." The British government did not think it feasible to accept the Japanese formula, because it would create a Japanese sphere of interests wider than required by Japan's needs of national defense or economic existence. Nevertheless it was "prepared to subscribe to a written assurance to the effect that the Japanese government need have no reason to apprehend that the consortium would direct any activities affecting the security of the economic life and national defence of Japan." It also assured that the Japanese government could "firmly rely upon the good faith of the powers concerned to refuse to countenance any operations inimical to such interests" of Japan.

The American government, in a note addressed to Japan, on March 16, 1920, expressed much the same opinion. It stated that there was "no occasion to apprehend on the part

of the consortium any activities directed against the economic life or national defence of Japan." The note further said that the "recognition of the principle (set forth in the Japanese formula) is implied in the terms of the notes exchanged between Secretary Lansing and Viscount Ishii on November 2, 1917," and that the same principle had undoubtedly been recognized by other nations participating in the consortium. "It is therefore felt," the note concluded, "that Japan could with entire assurance rely upon the good faith of the other two powers associated in the consortium to refuse their countenance to any action inimical to the vital interests of Japan."

Relying upon these assurances from the British and American governments, Japan withdrew her formula. She was satisfied that these assurances, coupled with the provision of Article I of the Inter-group agreement of May 11, 1919, sufficiently protected her safety. That article provides that agreements and options relating to industrial undertakings in China, including railways, upon which substantial progress has been made, need not be pooled in the consortium. Thus the scope of the consortium is definitely limited to the financing of future undertakings in China, and, to use Lord Curzon's language, "was never meant to extend to established industrial enterprises."

Applying the above principle, and in accordance with the assurances given to the Japanese government by England and America, the final agreement reached in May, 1920, disposed of Japanese railways and railway enterprises in South Manchuria as follows:

- I. Not to be pooled in the consortium:
 - (a) South Manchuria railway and its branches, 698 miles. Owned and operated by Japanese.
 - (b) Projected line from Kirin to Huining, on the Korean boundary, about 277 miles. To be built and owned by the Chinese Government, financed by Japanese capitalists.
 - (c) Projected Kirin-Kaiyuan line about 230 miles, running through

- territory contiguous to Korea. To be built and owned by the Chinese Government, financed by Japanese capitalists.
- (d) Kirin-Changchun line 79 miles. Owned and operated by Chinese Government, financed by Japanese capitalists.
 - (e) Projected Changchun-Taonanfu line, about 180 miles. To be built and owned by the Chinese Government, financed by Japanese capitalists.
 - (f) Shinminfu-Mukden line, 36 miles. Owned and operated by the Chinese Government, financed by Japanese capitalists.
 - (g) Supingkai-Taonanfu line, 190 miles, partly in operation, partly under construction. Owned by the Chinese Government, financed by Japanese capitalists.
- II. To be pooled in the consortium:
- (a) Projected Taonanfu-Jehol line, 470 miles. To be financed by Consortium for Chinese Government.
 - (b) Projected line from a point on the above line to a seaport, about 200 miles. To be financed by Consortium for Chinese Government.

With the exception of the South Manchuria Railway and its branches, all railways enumerated in the above list, now in operation, under construction, or projected, are owned or to be owned by the Chinese government, but are or are to be financed by Japanese bankers.

The principle adopted by the consortium that its scope does not extend to the railways which are already built, or on which work has been started, raises a question which is exceedingly significant. The Chinese delegation at Washington has desired the abrogation of the agreements resulting from twenty-one demands. Has it ever occurred to the Chinese that the abrogation of those agreements means that China must purchase the property now owned by the Japanese in Manchuria? The property of the South Manchuria Railway Company alone, including mines, is valued at almost a billion dollars. If we take into account the loss which will be suffered by the company from the forced cancellation of the lease at this time, the sum which must be paid by China will reach enormous figures. Add to this the value of the various great improvements made by the Japanese administra-

tion of the leased territory and the Japanese municipality of Dairen, and the figures will reach several billions. With the International Consortium closed to her, where is China going to get such an enormous fund to meet the bill? Moreover, Japan, for reasons of national defense and the special position recognized by the leading powers, has the right to veto any loan contract mortgaging to a third power the railways and other important properties which China wants Japan to surrender. As a practical question, therefore, the immediate abrogation of the lease of the South Manchuria railway and the Kwantung territory is not worth considering.

President Hayakawa, of the South Manchuria Railway Company, in a recent statement defines the policy of the company in these words:

"Toward all nationalities, we must observe loyally the principle of equal opportunity and be guided by the spirit of harmony and cooperation, and should demonstrate to the world the open and fair attitude of the Japanese people. Free competition is what we do expect and welcome heartily. We shall meet any and every competitor like a sportsman and should hope to win by merit only."

Under the Russian regime American trade in Manchuria was not great. The appearance of the Japanese after the Russian war changed this condition in favor of American commerce. In the fifteen years from 1904 to 1919 the South Manchuria Railway Company alone bought American materials to the extent of \$93,790,000 gold. In addition American machinery and materials to the sum of \$60,000,000 gold were imported to Manchuria in the same period by the leading business firms of Japan. In 1920, the South Manchuria Railway Company expended almost \$20,000,000 for American materials. The Company has just adopted a gigantic improvement program which will call for an expenditure of \$200,-

000,000 in the following five years. At least half of this sum will go to American manufacturers.

Under the Russian regime the Manchurian railways were essentially military roads and were practically exclusively devoted to military purposes. The advent of the Japanese completely changed that condition, making the railways purely commercial. This is undoubtedly chiefly responsible for the rapid strides made by the trade of Manchuria. In 1908 the import and export trade of the country amounted to some 95,800,000 taels (\$71,850,000). In 1919 this increased to 377,000,000 taels (\$282,750,000). In other words, Manchurian trade increased almost fourfold in eleven years. In this phenomenal progress Dairen, Manchuria's commercial metropolis built by the Japanese, has played a great role. In 1908 this city, in respect of trade occupied the fifth place among Chinese ports and was preceded by Shanghai, Hankow, Canton and Tientsin in the order named. Today it ranks second, preceded only by Shanghai.

The rapid commercial advance of Manchuria is largely due to the enormous bean industry, also created by the Japanese. Before the appearance of the Japanese, the natives of Manchuria barely eked out a living by planting small areas to beans. The demand for the pulse was restricted to their own localities, and the price very low. Then came the Chino-Japanese war, and the Japanese, having, during their occupation of the Liao-tung Peninsula, realized the value of the Manchurian product, became its most liberal purchaser. So rapidly had Japanese purchases of the pulse and bean-cake multiplied that by 1899 they exceeded the total export to Southern China. The Japanese knew how to utilize beans and bean-cake. The white, red, and small green beans—for there are six varieties of beans—they manufactured into various food stuffs; from yellow, black and large green beans they made bean-cake and bean-oil. The bean-cake they

used as fertilizer and animal feed, and the bean-oil for culinary and other purposes. They found out that Manchuria beans could be laid down in Japan at less than it cost to produce the same varieties in their own country. Why not buy them from Manchuria rather than raise them at home?

The Russo-Japanese war proved a golden opportunity for Japanese traders to establish direct business relations with the native producers of beans or native dealers in the commodity, thus doing away with the medium of foreign merchants in Newchwang.

Not content with developing the bean trade in the Far East, the Japanese in 1908 began to export the Manchurian product to Europe. To quote from a report of the Maritime Customs of China:

"It was in November 1908 that Messrs. Mitsui & Co. made the first considerable trial shipment to England. The result was so satisfactory that an order for a large consignment followed, and in March 1909 the first large cargo—5,200 tons—was landed in Hull. Contracts were at once made, as the suitability of the new oil seeds for many purposes became known and the good condition in which they arrived. During the season 400,000 tons were exported, almost all to England, and many of the large oil crushing mills set their entire plant to work on the crushing of the beans, to the exclusion of cotton seed, linseed, and other oleaginous seeds. The supposed shortage of the flax and cotton crops in the United States and the anticipated shortage of linseed in the Argentine, with the resultant scarcity of cotton and linseed products, found the English market comparatively unperturbed, for the reason that soya oil and cake can supply most of the requirements as well."

Twenty years ago the export of Manchuria beans and their by products, bean-cake and bean-oil, was practically nil. Thanks to Japanese enterprise, this export from South Manchuria alone has grown by 1920 to some 95,000,000 taels (\$71,250,000) in value.

The great significance of the part played by Japan in the development of the bean industry and trade of Manchuria

was clearly foreseen by an American critic ten years ago when he said:

"It is a far cry from high diplomacy to the humble soya beans, yet we hold to the belief that the past and present commercial situation and ultimate solution of the vexatious Manchurian question is bound up in the control of this one product."

The rapid increase of Japan's exports to Manchuria is due, more than anything else, to the fact that of all countries she is the most liberal purchaser of the important Manchurian product consisting of beans, bean-cake and bean-oil. In the last ten years or so 70 to 85 per cent of Manchuria's total exports have been to Japan. It is but natural that Japan should also sell to Manchuria more goods than other countries. The real basis of Japan's commercial success in that country, then, is nothing but the operation of the fundamental economic law that the country consuming the major portion of the exports of another country holds the most advantageous position in supplying its necessary imports. Moreover, the vessels bound for Manchurian ports from Japan to carry back beans and bean-cake on their return trip, would naturally seek to fill their hatches on their outward trip, thus facilitating the reduction of freight charges for goods from Japan to those ports to an extent impossible under other circumstances.

The above advantage has been mainly responsible for the rapid advance of Japan's export trade to Manchuria. Fifteen years ago the cotton goods trade of Manchuria was practically monopolized by England and America. England held the leading place in shirtings and yarns, while America was preponderant in sheetings, drills and jeans. After the Manchurian war, however, Japanese cotton goods entered the field, and have so successfully competed with their rivals that

today most cotton goods used in Manchuria, except the finest kinds, are supplied by Japan. In 1917 Manchuria's total imports of cotton piece goods and yarns amounted to 38,825,603 taels (\$29,119,202). These were followed by iron, steel, railway materials, and machinery supplied mostly by America.

Because of the decline of the British and American cotton trade in Manchuria, there has been suspicion abroad that Japan has been enjoying the special and exclusive privilege of a low tariff for her goods entering Manchuria through the Korean border. She has also been suspected of discriminating against foreign goods in the matter of railway freight charges.

As to the first charge, it is true that goods imported into or exported from Manchuria through the Korean border enjoy a reduction of one-third of the regular Chinese tariff. But this applies to goods of any and all origin, and is not restricted to Japanese goods. This arrangement originated in the Russo-Chinese convention of 1907, which provided that "for the goods transported from Manchuria to Russia and from Russia to Manchuria via the Chinese Eastern Railway (Russian line) rates will be reduced by one-third as compared with the conventional tariff agreed upon by treaties." Nor was Russia the only country to secure this privilege from China. France enjoys the same privilege in Yunnan, and England in Tibet. Japan, from the necessity of meeting Russian competition, obtained in 1913 a similar privilege for goods entering Manchuria through the Korean border.

When this question was discussed at the Washington Conference, France at first vigorously opposed the abolition of the present preferential arrangement, because the abolition would affect her trade between Indo-China and Yunnan. Japan, on the other hand, was favorably inclined towards the abolition. Although Japanese trade between Korea and Manchuria is considerable, the Japanese delegation did not

insist upon the maintenance of the present preferential tariff on the Korean border. After full discussion, the Conference adopted the following provision looking toward the abolition of the present system:

"The principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China is hereby recognized."

To put the above named principle into effect, the special conference, which is to meet at Shanghai this spring for the purpose of revising the tariff schedule for China, will make arrangements for the abolition of the special tariff now in effect at various land frontiers of China.

The second charge concerning railway freightage is equally groundless. In March, 1914, the Japanese Railway Bureau, in conference with the Korean Railway and the South Manchuria Railway, adopted a measure by which all goods, Japanese and foreign, entering Manchuria via Antung-Mukden line, were to be carried at rates thirty per cent less than the regular rates. The underlying motive was to make the Korean and the Antung-Mukden railways the main artery of trade and communication between Japan and Manchuria, and thus bring the two countries into closer touch. When this schedule for the Antung-Mukden route became applicable, American cotton merchants complained a great deal, not because the new rates were not applicable to their goods, but because American goods, on account of more convenient steamship service, were accustomed to enter Manchuria through the port of Dairen, and not through Korea and thence by the Antung-Mukden Railway. The Japanese railway authorities argued that the new schedule did not discriminate against American merchandise, and that it was through no fault of theirs that the Americans could not avail themselves of the advantages equally offered to all traders. Yet the Americans continued to protest, urging that the South Manchuria Railway should adopt the same low rates for

goods imported into Manchuria through the port of Dairen or Newchwang via foreign ships, so that such foreign goods should not have to compete at a disadvantage with goods entering Manchuria from the Korean side. In March, 1915, the American merchants won the point. Since then there has been no occasion for complaint on the part of foreign trading interests.

THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC

By C. H. SMITH

The Far Eastern Republic was organized because the Siberian people demanded a government of their own selection. They wanted a government of service, not an Autocracy; they wanted the will of the people to be supreme, not the will of a dictatorship. The Siberian is a democrat and understands democracy. He has been taught by the exiles of the old Russian government, and these politicals who were sent to Siberia were in most cases the foremost thinkers of Russia. These men only wanted to see Russia lifted from the depths where Autocracy had plunged her, and the Siberian absorbed and nurtured their ideas until he became determined to have a government of his own construction.

Both the Bolsheviks and the Allies have endeavored at different times to foist upon him governments in the making of which he was not a party. He revolted and took to the hills to become a partisan; which merely meant that he was determined to fight only for a government in which he could have a voice. The Bolsheviks soon ascertained in 1918 that the Siberian was not to be imposed upon, but must be heard. Later the Allied intervention destroyed the Ufa Directorate, which was gaining the support of the Siberians, and made Admiral Kolchak the Supreme Ruler. Nothing could have

been more distasteful to the Siberians than the appellation "Supreme Ruler." Not even the word Tsar could have been more offensive to them. Hence the Siberian became a partisan and Kolchak fell.

In the wake of the retreat of the Omsk remnants of power came the Bolsheviki, but they halted at Lake Baikal. They knew that Japan was calling for a buffer state, a Japanized buffer state. They likewise knew that Eastern Siberia wanted to establish its own government in its own way. The task of the Bolsheviki was plain—they were to permit the Far East to establish its own government and they were merely to see that it should be purely Russian and not under the control of Japan or any other foreign power. Consequently they sent their advisers only to Verkhne Udinsk, where the first real organization was effected.

At the head of the Verkhne Udinsk local government, which was in fact a revival of the local zemstvo, was placed Krasnoschiokoff, a former lawyer of Chicago and a communist, who is an excellent organizer and a man of ability and activity. He at once opened relations with the other local zemstvo governments, which had been established immediately after the fall of the local Kolchak regimes. These regional governments were at Vladivostok, Habarovsk, Blagoveschensk, and Chita. However, it was useless to discuss the matter with Chita, for it was not like the rest under the control of the local zemstvo governments. This district from Chita east along the railway to the Manchurian border was still under the control of Semionoff, who was supported by the Japanese with about twenty thousand troops in the district, guarding the railway. Nothing could be accomplished here until after the evacuation of the Japanese troops, because the partisans did not wish to provoke trouble with the Japanese. Without the support of the latter Semionoff could have been driven out at any time by the partisans.

The Japanese evacuation from the Chita district in September 1920 permitted the Russian people to rid themselves of Semionoff very quickly. The moment he was removed the way was opened at once for a unification of the local governments in the various provinces. Krasnoschiokoff and his assistants went to Chita to meet representatives from the other local governments, and it was decided to issue a call for the various governments to elect representatives to a Constitutional Convention to be held in Chita in December 1920.

The various zemstvo governments authorized the elections and held them. All parties were permitted to put tickets in the field, each ticket receiving the requisite number of votes being entitled to at least one representative, with the result that every party from the communist to the old regimist was represented. All the elected members attended the Convention except a few from Vladivostok, who feigned to fear arrest, but who really kept away because they had not been the leaders in the new movement and were consequently unwilling to make an honest endeavor to place their country once more on its feet. They placed party above national patriotism. They were not Siberians and had no sympathy for the new movement.

At the Convention the peasant members constituted two-thirds of the entire membership. These peasants were all earnestly endeavoring to uplift their country and would voice the sentiments of no particular party unless its aim was to establish a real democracy; they had waited on party politics too long and were determined to do some constructive work. They were tired of the petty bickerings of theoretical politicians and wanted to establish a government which would give them the opportunity to live in peace and quiet without having to abide by any theory or accept any cult. They only wanted some reasonable form of democracy by which the interests of all the people would be properly protected.

The result of their steadfastness of purpose was that a constitution was adopted which guaranteed them the three principal ideas for which the Russian peasantry has been contending for many years. They at last received the right to own and enjoy property, the right of free speech, and the right of representative government—all recognized and embodied in a constitution, the first ever drawn in any part of Russia. When the peasant is offered similar opportunities in other parts of Russia the results will be the same. The peasant is the backbone of Russia and the future Russia will be of his making.

The governmental structure finally evolved by the Convention consists of the customary legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Instead of a single executive there is a Committee of seven men, subordinate to which is a Ministry corresponding to our Cabinet, with the addition of a Prime Minister. The Ministry is more closely associated with the legislative assembly than our Cabinet is with Congress. The system approaches more nearly to that of England. The Ministers may be called at any time to answer questions and must account for their acts both to the Assembly and to the Executive Committee.

In one respect the Committee of seven is unique. During any period when the Assembly is not in session, this Committee has the power to issue an order which has the effect of a law, until it has been passed upon by the next session of the Assembly which may either ratify or reject it. If ratified, it becomes a law; if rejected, it at once ceases to be valid. In this manner the executive body can originate legislation. In all cases the majority rules in the decisions of the Executive Committee.

Only the members of the Assembly, or the legislative branch of the government, are elected by the people. Both the Executive Committee and the Ministry are chosen by the

Assembly. These men may or may not be members of the Assembly, but generally the members of the Executive Committee are not members thereof. In making its selections for the Committee and the Ministry since the government began to function in April 1921 the Assembly has paid but little attention to political preference, but has made earnest endeavors to select the men best fitted for the different posts regardless of political affiliations. In fact the present Ministry represents all shades of political opinion except those of the Tsarists, who would have but little chance of selection.

The manner of electing representatives to the Assembly is by a direct, secret, and universal ballot for all citizens over eighteen years of age. The party receiving the majority in a province does not elect all the members as would be the case in America. In each province there is a certain number of assembly representatives to be chosen, the representation being based on population. Each party may present a full list of candidates for the entire district. The elector votes for each candidate separately. Each party ticket receiving the requisite votes entitling it to representation has one or more representatives in proportion to its vote. In this manner all parties may be represented, the only requirement being a minimum number of votes. Every shade of political opinion is in fact represented in the Assembly. This plan has given excellent results in Siberia and deserves the attention and study of other countries to see if it is really an improvement over the majority system.

After many obstacles had been thrown in the path of the new democracy by the Semionovites and their backers, the Japanese, the Assembly completed its task and organized the government which commenced operation in April 1921. The difficulties were great and they still exist. There are two of them now preventing the onward march of the new democracy. One is the weak financial position of the govern-

ment which has not had sufficient time to right itself; the second is the heritage left the Siberians by the Allied intervention—the Japanese.

The Republic has adopted the gold standard and has issued no currency at all. The theoretical gold rouble, worth about fifty cents, is the standard unit of value. The actual money in circulation consists of the old Romanoff silver coined under the Tsar, of Chinese dollars, and of some Japanese yen. Most of the trade is by barter since the government has held it to be unwise to issue paper money which can not as yet be backed by a gold reserve.

The government is beginning to collect taxes from the people, who are paying willingly. The authorities feel that they cannot burden the people very heavily with taxes at present, because they are still suffering much from the effects of the world war and the internal strife in which many of their resources were entirely destroyed. Moreover, the people suffered heavily at the hands of the Semionoff bandits in the pay of the Japanese. The bright side is that the people support the government and are willing to endure hardships for its sake. In fact the people all live in hope of brighter days when the government will be in better financial circumstances.

Naturally many things are left undone because there are no finances with which to carry them forward. The government employees and the railwaymen can only expect to receive enough to obtain the bare living necessities with which the government manages to supply them, though it cannot pay their salaries. The complaints are very few, because the employees understand the financial position of the government and are willing to work and wait for better times.

What little money the government does possess after obtaining the bare necessities of life for its employees is spent

for the advancement of education. There is an overwhelming desire on the part of all Russians to receive education and the government is bending every effort to meet in a small way this general wish of its citizens. This cry for education among all classes makes the position of the government easier, for the employees are willing to undergo hardships when they see money being disbursed for the education of their children.

The unfortunate feature of the entire situation is that the government is forced to maintain an army far beyond its normal requirements. It lives constantly under the menace of the Japanese, who continually incite certain Russian elements to turmoil and strife. The Japanese military do not want to leave Russian soil. The Japanese government has told the other powers that its army will evacuate when order is restored; but since the Japanese are the real creators of disorder and can at any time cause trouble through their Russian hirelings there is but little hope that evacuation will occur very soon. The Japanese intend to remain in Siberia and gradually force the Russians out until they have most of the industry in their own hands. Then they will annex the Maritime Province of Siberia to Japan.

The leaders of the Far Eastern Republic are fully aware of the intention of the Japanese and are doing all that they can to avert it. For that reason they are compelled to maintain an army to defend their people. This burden is certainly a very heavy one, and the leaders would gladly disband the army if the Japanese incubus could be removed. But they have neither the man power nor the financial means with which to fight the Japanese. All that is left for them to do is to appeal to foreign Powers as they have done at the Washington Disarmament Conference, where they were denied a hearing.

If only the Japanese burden could be removed the new

Republic would be free from an outside menace and could devote all its attention to the restoration and development of its natural resources, which are very extensive but are in the raw state and require capital to bring them to the productive stage. If the Japanese were to leave all disorder would at once disappear and development would proceed rapidly. The army could be very materially reduced and the money and the man power turned into productive channels for the benefit both of the citizens of the Republic and of the world generally. But the Japanese army is still there and intends to stay unless something is done to make the Japanese see that they are earning the hatred of the Russian people and losing the respect of all nations.

If left alone by the Japanese and given assistance from the other Powers through the opening of trade relations, the Far Eastern Republic will soon begin to flourish, for it has the support of at least ninety per cent of the population of Eastern Siberia. The only people who do not support it at the present time are the remnants of the Semionoff and Kappel troops and the officer class who are in the pay of the Japanese.

The resources of the new Republic are exceptionally rich and are almost entirely untouched. There are great bodies of timber awaiting the mill. Every bit of this timber would find a ready market in Japan, China, and Australia. There are many varieties including oak, pine, spruce, larch, linden, cedar, and ash. The entire coast from Vladivostok north to the mouth of the Amoor River is well covered with timber. Along the Amoor River and its tributaries there are vast tracts of virgin forests which belong almost entirely to the State. Only about one-tenth of it is owned by the peasants. The new government is ready to give concessions for many of the tracts from which an excellent profit could be made.

Along the entire coast there is excellent fishing, and this industry could be developed enormously. The Amoor River and its tributaries are teeming with salmon during the season. All the well known species such as king, sockeye, red and chinook are to be met with in great abundance. The Russians had established some canning and curing plants on the Amoor and along the shores of the Okhotsk Sea, but the Japanese have preempted them for the moment. When the final adjustment comes they will be returned to the Russian owners.

The fur industry is of very great importance and will be quite profitable. Several firms are trading in a small way with the natives along the Okhotsk Sea and on Kamchatka and the neighboring islands. Many sables, squirrel, beaver, martin, ermine and other fur bearing animals add considerable wealth to the domain of the Far Eastern Republic.

The mineral wealth of the country is very great and Americans should be thinking about the opportunities offered there in that line. Sakhalin Island has large quantities of excellent coal, the very best grade on the Pacific Ocean. There are undoubtedly good oil deposits on the island and Americans have been considering that particular feature. Of course the entire island is in the hands of the Japanese at present, but they have recently announced at the Washington Conference that they intend to maintain the open door and that all nationals are welcome.

Along the coast there are several large iron deposits and an abundance of coal. Near Vladivostok are the government owned Suchan coal mines which are almost untouched. The coal is only twenty miles from tidewater, and tests of it which have been made by the United States Navy have shown it to be excellent for steaming. Farther to the west near Chita there are fine coal deposits of a fair grade of coal.

Placer gold is found in many of the streams flowing into

the Okhotsk Sea and on the tributaries of the Amoor River. At present only two dredging companies are at work. In the Trans-Baikal country there are large deposits of lead, zinc, silver and copper. Perhaps this entire country is richer in minerals than any other country in the world at the present time. I certainly know of no richer district. American energy should direct itself in that direction.

The Far Eastern Republic cannot remain long in financial despair; her natural wealth is too great and the world needs it too much to leave it idle. The Russians have done their part; they have given a democratic government where the rights of all will be respected and observed. They have restored order wherever they have been given the opportunity. There is absolutely no danger to the foreigner in the territory under their control.

All that the United States has ever asked of Russia has been complied with by the Far Eastern Republic. The Russians know this as well as we do and they cannot but wonder why some form of recognition is not accorded them. The most that they have asked is that a trade agreement be made with them. The Pacific coast needs the opportunity to open trade with the Far Eastern Republic and our country should see that the chance is given to our industries of the west as soon as possible. We should go even further and recognize the new Republic even though it be deemed inadvisable to establish relations with the remainder of Russia. The Russians are our friends and the sooner we meet them on common terms the better it will be for the peace and prosperity of the entire world.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RESEARCH MAGNIFICENT

A Young Girl's Diary. Prefaced with a Letter by Sigmund Freud.
Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Thomas Seltzer.

"A mother never knows what children are talking about." (The Diary, p. 204).

In his brief foreword to this book, which purports to be the diary of a young Austrian girl, daughter of a judge in the upper courts, Sigmund Freud calls it ". . . . a description at once so charming, so serious, and so artless, that it cannot fail to be of supreme interest to educationists and psychologists." Taken in good faith as the actual record of a girl between the ages of twelve and fourteen it will indeed prove both interesting and amusing, and to teachers and others who have never been children no doubt horribly instructive.

The incidents that small Gretel, the heroine, records are in general prosaic enough. Sister Dora finds a little chicken in her supper egg; Professor Welke has a fine red beard and parts his coat-tails admirably when he seats himself; Frau Richter remarks that the weather is abnormal; The Herr Doktor finds that Dora studies too much; Brother Oswald is expelled from the Gymnasium, and Father is furious; Frau Doktor M. marries; a student tries to hold Gretel's hand; Frau Steiner's goloshes are stolen; Aunt Anna scandalizes the children by appearing in a travelling dress so high that when she walks one can see her brown stockings; the rolls at Gastein are so small that one has to eat three for breakfast, at five *kreuzer* each.

Barren and conventional as these facts seem, they constitute in reality only the facade behind which is enacted a drama of epic proportions, for through many a chink and crevice one can discern the eternal struggle of intelligent and eager-minded children to understand and explain the mysterious life about them. On the one side are the elders upholding automatically and unthinkingly their tribal *tabus* and entering into a gigantic and purely reflex conspiracy of silence. As Gretel depicts them these adults are in no sense human beings; they affect one with the same impression of spinal automatism that one feels in the presence of the pithed frog. But they are large, impressive, authoritative; and above all they have always dominated the child's

world. To the children pitted against them this world is a wonderful place—there are so many interesting things to learn. Gretel and her playmates meet the mechanical opposition of their elders to their enlightenment just as they meet the wind that they must breast on their walk to school; it is all a part of the nature of things, to be accepted as it is found. That their interests should be balked, that their curiosity should be tantalized by hints and glimpses of vastly entertaining situations, that their inquiries must never be addressed to those who possess the information—all these things are taken as being as much a part of the world order as the fact that pineapples have spines. In their later years the children even come to accept the view of their elders that there is something shameful in the first five chapters of biology. But mostly we find them quite artless and unspoiled, resolved simply to find out things, and bending all their energies to that end. If, as some assert, the great epic is that of man's advance upon the citadel of ignorance, then these early cantos, in which as a child he grapples cleanly and honestly with false shame, whispering modestly, and simpering silence, are the bravest and most affecting.

Gretel and her little friends play their part admirably. No scientist ever laboured more diligently than they—patiently piecing out scattered phrases of their elders, cautiously discussing obscure points with other little workers in the same field, asking leading questions of servant-maids (a corrupt and treacherous race), searching heavy volumes for the meaning of such words as “segsual” (at twelve we find Gretel dredging the encyclopaedia), inventing new words for ill-defined processes for which they have no names. It is truly a research magnificent.

What is to be explained is never quite clear to them. At first merely something new and interesting, it develops, as the investigation proceeds, into something terrible—an awful, mysterious It. It fills their conversations; It colours their most casual school-day occurrences; It appears (in Freud's polite symbolism) in their dreams. They fall ill over It (the medical diagnosis is “overstudy”); they fail in school because of It; they write about It, and spend days in torment when their carefully prepared clinical notes are mislaid. It is all an admirable but withal a needless struggle.

For one is tempted to speculate on how little time would have been required to give these nice little girls an elementary medical and sociological discussion of various Its and Horrible Things that would

have put a permanent end to their feverish researches and liberated their rather startling energies for other pursuits. But even the wisest of Frau Doktors, with the thickest glasses and the deepest wrinkles seems not to realize that when little girls are devoting their attention primarily to research in biology they are not at all likely to do themselves credit in *Naturwissenschaft* and composition. It is true, as Gretel at the age of thirteen observes, "One can learn in spite of those things, one can't always be talking about them." But "those things" do take time, and little girls who find lessons a nuisance when there is *The Power of Women* to be covertly read may quite well not do themselves justice in spelling.

One cannot really think of Gretel and her little friends as morbid or vicious. Apart from their inconvenient interest in what does not concern them they are altogether desirable children; they are obedient, they love their parents, they strive to please their teachers, they violate none of the commandments. They are even more modest and sensitive than most adults would believe necessary—if only they would not insist on knowing about the world in which they live.

One closes this tale of an amazing conflict wondering whether the victory is with us elders or with the child. On the one side, we have managed to keep from her the true and unexciting explanation of things, and have encouraged with success the growth of a monstrous accumulation of preposterous beliefs from which she will never wholly free herself. We have succeeded in wasting her time, diverting her energies, and in giving her nightmares. On her side, she has artfully lulled us into the belief that she is quite unaware of any conflict. Confident of our ability to deceive, we have fondly believed that she knew and cared no more for It and the Awful Things than for astro-physics, while she has been conducting her daring observations and brilliantly imaginative speculations under our very eyes, treasuring our every casual remark as a possible clue to mysteries, and fitting our chance acts into a fantastic scheme of things. Is it not possible that the victory of either side is a bit tainted?

"Why do mothers not want us to know? I suppose they are ashamed," Gretel observes. This, of course, is not the reason. Let the elders speak for themselves in the language of the charming parent who discovered the speculations of her own child, "Gracious goodness, such little brats to talk about such things!"

WILLIAM R. WILSON.

SAND-FLAUBERT LETTERS

The George Sand-Gustave Flaubert Letters. Translated by Aimee L. McKenzie. Introduction by Stuart P. Sherman. Boni & Liveright.

The great writers of the nineteenth century invariably present a baffling interplay of the main tendencies of the age. The careers of Flaubert and George Sand serve as remarkable illustrations of this dictum.

A few years ago M. Seillière, after a laborious search among unpublished documents, laid bare the great struggle within Flaubert's soul between the two intellectual and artistic movements of his age, between romantic emotionalism and scientific naturalism. It seems that in his early twenties this conflict forced itself upon him; and it haunted him throughout life. We find Flaubert on reaching manhood indulging in romantic, emotional dreaming, a sentimentalist, the author of the unpublished *Novembre*, a work to be classed with Chateaubriand's *René* or Goethe's *Werther*. But the son of the well-known Rouen physician could not escape absorbing some of the enthusiasm of triumphing science in the middle of the century. Soon a crisis sets in, coinciding with a severe mental and physical disturbance, possibly provoking an hereditary ailment: epilepsy. He turns against his romantic, sentimental education. He deliberately sets out on a regime of self-discipline. He forsakes his wanderings in the emotional, romantic arcadia and begins to project his personal asceticism into his conception of art, manifesting a "monkish consecration" to his craft, developing the "artistic conscience," becoming "the martyr of literary style."

From his disillusionment in romanticism he seeks refuge in the rising movement of scientific thought: "I believe great art must be scientific." M. Martino in his remarkable book on the influence of science on the modern French novel, has worked out this important phase in the development of Flaubert. Accurate, scientific observation ("We must observe men as if they were mastodons or crocodiles"), a scientific method of gathering his material, interest in the theory of environment which he claimed to have so faithfully applied to his *Bovary* and *Salammbô*, his fatalistic determinism—all these are so many elements in his work to be traced to the scientific spirit of the nineteenth century.

But at heart Flaubert remained a romantic, though his intellect urged

him to sacrifice emotional romanticism for the sake of the scientific interpretation of life. Flaubert was the victim of this struggle which raged within him, this struggle between the head and the heart, between truth and beauty, between science and imagination, between realism and romanticism. MM. Brunetière and Faguet have long since interpreted *Madame Bovary* as the literary expression of this struggle. "I am Madame Bovary!" exclaims Flaubert, and her fate came near being his fate. The *l'Education Sentimentale* is another attack of his realistic half on his romantic half. *Salammbô* is in a sense a triumph of his scientific self over his romantic self.

The two main streams in the intellectual and artistic life of the last century converge in Flaubert. And the net result is disillusion. Says Prof. Babbitt: "He portrays satirically the real and at the same time mocks at the ideal that he craves emotionally and imaginatively He oscillates rapidly between the pole of realism as he conceives it, and the pole of romance, and is left suspended in the void." The tragic failure to arrive at a satisfactory reconciliation of these two forces withing him produces, as he matures, the note of utter despair, of gloomiest pessimism. It also accounts for the inconsistent blending of so much we like to term romantic in Rousseau and Chateaubriand with much that we are apt to call realism or naturalism in Balzac, Zola and De Maupassant. To summarize: the struggle between the romantic and the realistic Flaubert produces more or less the following result: the note of poignant despair, pessimism, an ascetic strain, fatalism, and an apparently inconsistent blending of various literary tendencies of the century.

How differently George Sand reacts to some of the tendencies of her time! And how at times, she fails to react at all! George Sand starts out a wild-eyed romantic. Her first novels illustrate in particular the romantic conception and treatment of love; the idea of a love without restraint, overcoming all social obstacles, realizing the romantic dream of a "love beyond all loves." After the disillusionment of her liaison with De Musset, she loses herself in the stream of rising socialism and humanitarianism; she substitutes for the religion of love the romantic religion of human brotherhood. Then, like so many other dreamers, she suffers a violent disillusion in the Revolution of 1848; and she enters upon the third and last stage in her development, with a more sober attitude toward mankind, with a full recognition of the existence of the evil in the world. Yet the mature George Sand,

as we see her for example, in this correspondence with Flaubert between 1863 and 1876, retains much of her earlier faith and serenity. Her novels and her correspondence move in an atmosphere of calm confidence in the triumph of the good, of resignation at times, of optimism frequently, of delightful, soothing charm always. In passing, it should be noted that the whole scientific current in the intellectual life of her time seems to have made but little impression upon her.

That such diverse characters as the mature Flaubert and the mature George Sand should actually have taken a liking to one another seems almost paradoxical. That friendly criticism should mingle with expressions of mutual admiration is only natural. She several times takes him to task for his bitter pessimism, his deterministic fatalism, his ascetic attitude toward art.

Admirers of the author of *Bovary* will gain a new, first hand insight into, and a more sympathetic understanding of, the soul of the great man. The pulse of the literary life of the second half of the last century is beating in these letters.

Finally, we should add that the translation keeps closely to the original and that the introduction by Mr. Stuart P. Sherman is well worth reading.

LOUIS P. DE VRIES.

ADAMS LETTERS

A Cycle of Adams Letters. Letters of Charles Francis Adams, Charles Francis Adams Jr., and Henry Adams, 1861-1865. 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Co.

This is a collection of intimate letters from a family which has meant much to America, written at a time which was of utmost importance to our country. We see the fine old diplomat Charles Francis Adams, Minister of a portion of America to England, surrounded by prejudice abroad and poorly backed by unstable and warring factions at home, fighting through one of the most stupendous international crises which America has ever faced. We see his young secretary and son, Henry Adams, a spectator looking on at the short-sighted policies of the British Government with cynical amusement. We see Charles Francis Adams, Jr., enlisting in the Northern Army in order to "get rid of the war."

There is a strong reserve and dignity maintained between these three which would seem to be cold if it were not that occasionally

there breaks through it a real glow of affection. The exchange of brotherly frankness is affecting. Charles writes to his brother begging him to throw his soul into the writing he does for the press: "You always affect in writing too much calmness and quaint philosophy. That will come to you in time, but you do it now at the price of that fresh enthusiasm which is the charm of young writers. If you write now, write as if you were pleading a cause and too much interested to be affected. Throw your soul into your work and say what you feel. If you don't check it, your mannerism will ruin your style in less than five years." (I.34) And Henry gives his brother a real scolding for permitting himself to be discouraged at the management of affairs. (I.58-60)

There is something titanic in the attitude which they all assume towards politics. Politicians are self-seeking time-servers, for personal ends even betraying their country; the land is full of them and is filled with corruption; more than once in the letters we read Jefferson's stern statement: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." Yet they are never tired of reiterating their faith in America and in Americans, and of demanding of the nation that sensitiveness to right and wrong which we demand of individuals. Charles Francis Adams enunciates a theory of statemanship which alone will lead to peace among nations and which we need so sorely today, when he says: "The first and greatest qualification of a statesman in my estimation, is the mastery of the whole theory of morals which makes the foundation of all human society. The great and everlasting question of the right and wrong of every act whether of individual men or collective bodies. The next is the application of the knowledge thus gained to the events of his time in a continuous and systematic way. It is in this last particular that the greatest number of failures are observed to occur. Many men never acquire sufficient certainty of purpose to be able to guide their steps at all. They then become the mere sport of fortune. Today they shine because they have caught at a good opportunity. Tomorrow, the light goes out, and they are found mired at the bottom of a ditch. These are men of temporary celebrity. . . Every civilized nation is full of them. Other men, more favored by nature or education, prove their capacity to direct their course, at the expense of their fidelity to their convictions. They sacrifice their consistency for the sake of power, and surrender their future fame in exchange for the applause of their own day. The number of these is Legion.

They crowd the records of all governments. The feebleness of perception and the deliberate abandonment of moral principle in action are the two prevailing characteristics of public men." (I.68-69)

It is this fearless candor which strikes us most forcibly, a candor which causes Charles Francis Adams to announce that his father was the greatest statesman he had ever known, and which causes Charles Francis Jr., to tell his changed opinion of the hardships of slavery—to announce his abandonment of the idea that the negroes had been downtrodden, for the idea that slavery was a patriarchal institution, in which cruelty was fairly rare. (II.215) We are interested in hearing of the bickerings amongst the army leaders when the war was at its most critical pass, and we chuckle over the picture of General Pleasanton behind a bank reading a newspaper while his men were out in the open, fighting. (II.8)

A great deal is not pleasant reading for us, the profiteering, the lack of discipline of the soldiery, and the ugly presidential election while the war was still in progress, but we must confess that we are reading the honest, unimpassioned talk of men who are behind the scenes, and whose love of country could stand the acid test.

Several very clever portraits of famous men occur here and there in the letters. Henry Adams shows us Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli, Cobden, and John Stuart Mill. Of Bulwer Lytton, he says: "Sir Edward is one of the ugliest men it has been my good luck to meet. He is tall and slouchy, careless in his habits, deaf as a cidevant, mild in manner, and quiet and philosophic in talk. Browning is neat, lively, impetuous, full of animation, and very un-English in all his opinions and appearance. Here, in London Society, famous as he is, half his entertainers actually take him to be an American. He told us some amusing stories about this one evening when he dined here." (II.10)

The letters are undoubtedly a mine of interest and of value. The editor, Mr. Worthington Chauncey Ford, has made us his debtors. The volumes must take high rank in the estimation of those who care too much for their country to read garbled accounts of its history.

ROBERT MAX GARRETT

VICTORIAN PORTRAITS

Memoirs and Notes of Persons and Places. By Sidney Colvin. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Lovers of *belles-lettres* must feel a very real sense of gratitude to

Sir Sidney and the Scribners for the fine series of prose portraits of eminent 19th century men and women which comprises this volume. Although oncoming age forced the venerable biographer to forego some of his cherished literary plans, there is little suggestion of failing workmanship in these clear and intimate sketches. The subjects embrace Ruskin, Burne-Jones, Rossetti, Browning, Watts, Stevenson, Fleeming and Anne Jenkins, Meredith, Gladstone, Sir Charles Newton, Trelawny, Hugo and Gambetta. The sketches combine anecdote with pen pictures and character interpretations that are friendly and yet judicial. It is indeed this rare combination of sympathetic insight into other peoples' lives and cool honesty of observation that has made Colvin a biographer *par excellence*. The most precious and intimate of the sketches is naturally that of Stevenson, with whom Colvin enjoyed a friendship peculiarly of the heart from their first meeting in 1873. Not the least considerable of the pleasures which this volume affords is the more intimate acquaintance with the writer himself; one can quite understand why Colvin has enjoyed the enduring friendship of so many of the choicer spirits of his day.

Included in the volume are a chapter of boyhood reminiscences of East Suffolk and two descriptive sketches, "On Some Aspects of Athens," written in 1875, and "At the Land's End of France," written in 1876. The sketch of Athens has something of the splendor of Ruskin's descriptive style, and is worthy of association with that classical picture of Athens and its environs with which Cardinal Newman introduces his *University Sketches*.

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD.

TWO BOOKS ON RELATIVITY

The Reign of Relativity. By Viscount Haldane. Yale University Press.
An Introduction to the Theory of Relativity. By L. Bolton, M. A.
E. P. Dutton & Co.,

At page 33 of Haldane's book we read: "The principle of relativity, if its beginning is sought for, will be found to date back to the days of ancient Greece. Plato and Aristotle were aware of it and its far-reaching importance What seems to be needed in our own day is not merely its statement in a form adapted to our times, but its rescue from obscurity arising from unconscious assumptions and distorting metaphors." To say that Plato or Aristotle was ac-

quainted with the principle of relativity is to distort a metaphor out of all semblance to the truth. According to Haldane, "The precise standards and the exact reasoning of the most modern mathematicians and physicists are throwing a new light on the significance of the principle." They are doing nothing of the kind: neither mathematicians nor physicists, even the most advanced, are in the least concerned with the obscurely metaphorical relativity of Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus and Kant. They are endeavoring only to verify or refute certain explicit physical hypotheses formulated by the school of Einstein since the year 1914. It is true, and in the present connection it also is trivial, that the ancients and not a few of the moderns have diffused endless verbiage in dialectical futilities over a mystical and wholly unscientific relativity. But in this year 1922 "relativity," as used in the bulk of the literature on the subject, means the physical-mathematical principle due to Einstein. By Haldane's method we might easily prove that Demokritos was the father of electrons and quanta, and that Antipho (B. C. about 420) invented the absolute differential calculus of relativity. Yet neither of these propositions is true. Perhaps, however, from the standpoint of the relativity of human and divine knowledge, which seems to be Haldane's topic, they are only relatively false.

The metaphysical device of giving a new thing an old name and then insisting that by virtue of its label the new is but a special aspect of the old, is itself as ancient as philosophy. It therefore is regrettable that Einstein called his system relativity. His carelessness in this respect has induced a lurid confusion in the mind of at least one Hegelian, and this is nothing short of a tragedy. Let us grant with Haldane that for twenty centuries philosophy has labored. What has it brought forth? Not even a mechanical mouse so far as scientific relativity is concerned, nothing, the physicist will probably say, but vast quantities of discordant wind. So much has philosophic relativity accomplished in two thousand years, and we read in Haldane's treatise on the subject that "it has at last penetrated into the domain of science." God forbid.

The Reign of Relativity may be heartily recommended to all those who wish to cultivate a rich confusion as to what precisely Einstein has accomplished and what he means when he says "relativity."

Mr. Bolton is well known to American readers through his prize essay on relativity published last year in the *Scientific American*. By the rules of the contest the length of the essay was limited to 3000 words, so it was not possible, even for a writer of Mr. Bolton's clear-

ness, to say all about the subject that the layman would wish to know. The deficiency is remedied in this "Introduction." The book is precisely what it purports to be, an introduction to the entire subject of Einsteinian relativity. It is written with the same admirable lucidity that distinguished the prize essay above its competitors. From preface to index every page is clear and interesting. The book is about evenly divided between the special theory of relativity and the general, the former giving a natural introduction to the latter. At the outset the general principle is stated plainly and concisely, so that even a hurried reader cannot fail to appreciate its simplicity and importance. An excellent feature of the book is the inclusion of short summaries at the end of each chapter recapitulating the more important conclusions. The author expresses here and there an independent opinion on unsettled points, and this adds interest to the discussion. It seems inconceivable that any reader of average intelligence should read Mr. Bolton's "Introduction" without understanding and intellectual profit.

ERIC TEMPLE BELL

THREE MODERNS

Three Soldiers. By John Dos Passos. George H. Doran Co.

Dangerous Ages. By Rose Macaulay. Boni & Liveright.

The Briary Bush. By Floyd Dell. Alfred A. Knopf.

Militarists and the men who were in the Y.M.C.A. war service probably will find in *Three Soldiers* little but radical propaganda. For John Dos Passos is so relentless in his criticism of the "Y" that the badge of its service becomes in his book scarcely more than a symbol of conventionalized hypocrisy; and the army is viewed not as a machine for making war, for whatever purpose, but as a machine for remodelling men into patterns which have in them as little as possible of the outlines of humanity.

But to those who do not bear the brunt of this attack any more than all of us must bear it, it will appear that the game of war as it is described in this book is but an intensification of the game of life as it is played in an age of accelerating mechanicalization. Whatever efficiencies may be the outcome of this process, whatever ends may be accomplishable only by this means are of no moment to one whose hopes lie in life and personality rather than in machinery and death. *Three*

Soldiers is not an indictment of the makers of war, nor does it question a single war aim; it is merely the impassioned disbelief that life lived on these terms can have any aim whatever. And this disbelief, though clearly impassioned, is only implied; for there is not a generalization in the book.

It may be argued that Fuselli and Chrisfield, though typical hard-shelled Americans, are made to suffer an untypical ill-luck; or that John Andrews has nerve exposures that would make even the ordinary tests of life too much for him. But even the acceptance of such arguments—and Dos Passos's picture is too living to make their acceptance easy—does not reconcile one with an institution so callous in its accidents or so little in need of nervous sensibilities. But then, who that matters is reconciled to war? And who that matters should take offense at this novel, which is fundamentally a story of tragedy and not of protest?

John Dos Passos tells his story with that largeness of outline which is happily becoming characteristic of much of our better American fiction. Its evolution is not *per saltum* but is fluid and continuous, though its procedure is by a series of vignettes with a total omission of *ands* and *buts*. The dialogue is right; the colors are abounding, almost bewildering; Genevieve Rod, the French woman who is for a moment John Andrews's faint star of hope, refuses to change from a conception into a person, but for the most part the characters are living. *Three Soldiers* will probably remain America's most significant contribution to the literature of the war.

As if she had in *Potterism* relieved herself of the burden of proving that she is the cleverest writer of the day Miss Macaulay in *Dangerous Ages* writes for all of us and will be read with satisfaction by many for whom the earlier novel was far too heavy a draught. For she is a person of sympathies after all, and here these suppressed sympathies, for the Potterites as for the rest, emerge and blend with the cool light of her satire. *Dangerous Ages* is not merely an intellectual novel, for it deals with tragic materials which, though not actually permitted their tragic implications, are made deftly suggestive of all the ironies of time's flight.

Grandmama (she is Great-grandmama indeed), to whom "time could do little more hurt," is almost alone in her serenity; for Mrs. Hilary, her daughter, empty, muddle-minded, and shrill is bitten by "the murderous hatred of time" that consumes her; and Neville, of

the third generation, at forty-three finds herself with "everything made comfortable for her and her brain gone to pot and her work in the world done"; and Nan, her sister, has put her suitor off too long, not realizing that for a woman in her thirties life has begun to run away; and Gerda, great-grandchild, is too triumphant in her youth not to be on the brink of dangerous changes. "As to that," reads the sentence now familiar from the publisher's advertisement, "we may say that all ages are dangerous to all people in this dangerous life we live."

But the book is not simply an embodied idea. There is narrative in it, some of it swift and dramatic, with scenes that have the cadence of reality; and the talk has the ring of familiar speech, as much of the talk in *Potterism* hasn't. No one character, it is true, is given the run of the book; so that if you are to become intense over it you must be capable of becoming intense over life in general rather than life in particular. But the theme is realized in personality nevertheless, and there is nothing didactic in, for example, our farewell to Neville, to whom has come at last a gleam of salvation: "Dimly discerning through the thicket the steep path that climbed to such liberty as she sought, seeing far off the place towards which her trembling feet were set, where life should be lived with alert readiness and response, oblivious of its personal achievements, its personal claims and spoils, Neville the spoilt, vain, ambitious, disappointed egoist, strained her eyes into the distance and half smiled. It might be a dream, that liberty, but it was a dream worth a fight. . . ."

Mr. Floyd Dell offers his readers every encouragement to take him seriously: he writes entirely too well and searches life too intently for beauty to fail to be arresting. The adventures of the Moon-Calf with "modern marriage" are too disturbing, his pursuit of himself and of the actual in the relationship of himself with others too wistful to be disregarded.

But strangely and despite all this the threads of reality that run through *The Briary-Bush* are slender threads. Surely so much purpose and so great a weaving of serious materials should have produced a firmer stuff. The alluring blend of sophistication and naivete which characterizes the people in Mr. Dell's novels is baffling in the end. Are our young intellectuals really as innocent of the common intuitions of the race as are Felix Fay and Rose-Ann? Is it possible for young people so to charm themselves out of actualities brute and human as to believe that they can not merely play but really live in this rarified at-

mosphere of metaphysicized idea and feeling? It is true that Felix consciously or unconsciously repudiates it from the first; and that is why Felix remains, as he does also in *Moon-Calf*, the only character in whom the reader feels any inwardness. Rose-Ann is a creation; the writer does not know her. It is Rose-Ann who conjures up the ideal of a marriage without responsibilities, who finds alluring what Felix names "this mad, mystical peace that is like death," the peace of "freedom." It is Rose-Ann who thinks she knows what Felix wants, "coffee and cigarettes and talk and poetry—not the solid food of life." But Felix too often falls in with this nonsense; and all that is needed is the parallelling of the theme in the kindred sophistications of Clive and Phyllis to shatter what remains of a willing suspension of disbelief. The last-page discovery of the commonplace whose acceptance is necessary to the achievement of beauty comes too late to convince us that Rose-Ann is of the flesh that could make her a mother.

The Briary-Bush is nevertheless an enticing book. There is unbelievable talk in it, there are many hollow and many tinkling sounds in it, there are deliberate purples in it everywhere; but there is eloquence in it too. And here and there is penetration and a quickly smothered flash of drama or of characterization. There is for example that glimpse of Felix studying a portrait of himself: "Painted with an exquisite and mordant irony—with stick and cigarette, uncertainly halting, as if in front of life, the head tilted with a quirk of inquiry, the face curious and evasive, with something that was almost boldness in the eyes, something that was almost courage in the chin—Felix Fay, observant, indecisive, inadequate, against a rose-coloured background."

JOSEPH B. HARRISON.

TWO REALISTS

A Daughter of the Middle Border. By Hamlin Garland. Macmillan Co.
The Triumph of the Egg. By Sherwood Anderson. B. W. Huebsch.

If one finds the sequel to *A Son of the Middle Border* a little less heroic in setting, a little less grand and inspiring in theme, even a little more complacent and a little less vigorous in development than its most admirable forerunner, he need not lay the blame at the door of Mr. Garland's art. As the author acknowledges in the foreword addressed to readers of the first volume, "Its theme is more personal. Its scenes are less epic." It is no longer the study of the glories and hardships of

prairie conquest, of settlements and migrations, but of the middle life and work of an American writer; it is an attempt to follow up the frontier and to carry forward the history of some of its actors into a later phase of American life. If the first volume seems more epic and more heroic than the second, it is because that earlier period of which it treats was a more epic and a more heroic one than the later period when the pioneer was seeking what ease he might claim in the older settled communities and had given up his preeminence on the Middle Border to the banker, the merchant and the manufacturer; when the vigor, the hope, and enthusiasm of early settlement on the unconquered, broad-stretching prairies where free land gave the hope of economic independence to the industrious and the strong had given way to the narrowness and dulness of the Middle Western small town and the inevitable corollaries of competitive industrial life.

But however personal this volume may be, one cannot escape seeing in it an intimate glimpse of one phase at least of two interesting decades of American Life, the last of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth centuries. True in the main to his own theories of realism, Mr. Garland reaches the universal through the particular. One of his contributions is the light he throws upon the human side of American literary history. The subtle and not too salutary influences which do not appear upon the surface but which bear extremely hard upon the writer are quite frankly revealed. Almost innocent and naive, it seems, are the revelations wherein the publishing house and yet further the influences behind it are intimated to have been powerful "incentives" in American literature. And apparently with no motive other than that of giving a faithful narrative, Mr. Garland displays the conflicts of a literary man in a fashion which in part corroborates the conclusions of Van Wyck Brooks in his keenly analytic study, *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*. Namely: industrial America is hostile to art, and the ideal of success with all its attendant conditions is subversive to the free expression of the artistic genius and tends to pervert or furnish anesthetic to a writer's rebellious ideas. Some of those subtle influences are seen at work when Mr. Garland is taken to dine with men of wealth and power; when he is heckled on his populist views by Roosevelt and Henry Adams at Senator Lodge's house. If he did not succumb, it was because he was more than ordinarily conscious of the forces at work. Another conflict which shows itself frequently is one that every writer must face sooner or later: divided allegiance between art and obligations to family and friends.

But nowhere does Mr. Garland speak complainingly. He draws the picture without unnecessary comment; let each take from it what he can or will. He doesn't say that those conflicts are often fatal to art; he merely shows what the effect was upon his own work. To the crudely militant propagandist it may seem that he does not enough insist that the influences brought to bear upon the artist by industrial America are unnecessarily evil and degrading; that he has settled into the complacency and satisfaction which comes with security: e. g., he displays his own domestic felicity at great length.

It is true that when he wrote *A Son of the Middle Border* his mind was aglow with memories of the frontier, its tragic as well as its epic aspects. He has now quieted somewhat that insistent *J'accuse*, whether for better or for worse let each determine. But no one will question Mr. Garland's artistry; if anything, he has grown in smoothness and easy rotundity of diction. One might, however, quarrel with the relative space given to his contacts with the literary world: a chapter to the building of a fireplace for his daughter; scarcely more than a sentence to his meetings with Frank Norris or Howells or Burroughs. One might well wish that he had capitalized his intimate acquaintanceship with such men a little more fully.

It is already hackneyed to say that *The Triumph of the Egg* is a *Spoon River Anthology* in prose tales; yet that is perhaps the truest thing that can be said about it. Most people will call it a "queer" book. Some, accustomed only to romantic fiction and not realizing upon what dangerous ground they are treading, will say, as was said of *Spoon River*, that it is "over-sexed." One might ask, "Doesn't the romanticist use sex as his central motive, sex impossibilized and grown stale in the continual wash of conventional settings?" Isn't this about the average combination of life after all? It is a safe hazard that few indeed are the readers who have faced the facts of life and sex, battled between the fires of nature, instinct, desire, on the one hand, and convention on the other and escaped at least a singeing however inadmissible to themselves. In these Freudian beset days let each beware.

It would be grossly unfair to Mr. Anderson, certainly, to imply that he is obsessed with sex more than the ordinary person. It will seem so only to those whose training in the social taboos compels them to deny facts for the sake of respectability. In this comedy of futilities, which is really more tragic than comic, Sherwood Anderson is principally concerned with recording what he sees in the life about him as the result of vanishing hopes and frustrated desires. His is a sensitive

spirit which feels keenly the possibilities of a varied and a richer life and chafes almost despairingly under the well-nigh intolerable sameness and dulness that everywhere is the picture of American life. Men and women, he seems to say, are not living in the fulness of life, largely because of the repressions and frustrations imposed upon them by institutions and habits of thought. "The lives of people are like young trees in a forest. They are being choked by climbing vines. The vines are old thoughts and beliefs planted by dead men. I am myself covered by crawling creeping vines that choke me." His is the accusation of realism which in a sense is more real than life itself because it gives an objective view, tears away the curtains, and rudely smashes the colored spectacles through which people insist upon looking at the world.

No honest reader can leave this book without a conviction of the reality of the pictures presented. Occasional lines contain dry, irrefutable acerbities that sting like acid, as for instance in the longest sketch, "Out of Nowhere into Nothing": "Perhaps the woman like her mother would be making gooseberry jam. He would grunt as her father did when at evening he came home from the little hot office by the railroad siding. 'Hello,' he would say, flatly, indifferently, stupidly. Life was like that." Often there is an undercurrent of irony finer and subtler than the same thing in *Winesburg, Ohio*; but always with it is a yet deeper current of sympathy which saves the writer from cynicism. A half-poetic tinge surges up in several of the tales.

One may read into this book, if he chooses, an attack upon strangling social institutions; or he may refuse to look for more than the plain record of life which is apparent on its pages. There is frequently a suggestion of things more fundamental than institutions can greatly affect. In "Seeds" the psychoanalyst speaks: "To be sure she is a grotesque, but all the people in the world are grotesques. . . . The disease she had is, you see, universal. We all want to be loved and the world has no plan for creating our lovers.'"

That eagerness with which he is seeking expression promises greater things yet from the pen of Sherwood Anderson. The verse which serves as a frontispiece is significant of his struggle.

"I am a helpless man—my hands tremble.

I feel in the darkness but cannot find the doorknob.

I look out at a window.

Many tales are dying in the street before the house of my mind."

LESLIE A. MARCHAND.

LABOR AND THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The Labor Movement. By Frank Tannenbaum. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

In discussing the labor movement the English are better realists than we are; they do not so easily lose their perspectives or their temper. But here is an American book that does neither. It is cheerful, almost buoyant in tone, and it draws its materials from economic history and psychology. Mr. Tannenbaum does not bog down in a mass of details, nor does he spin theories; he is a social historian who brings wide reading and an intimate knowledge of existing fact, to the problem of explaining the labor movement in the light of social evolution. In so far as the book is a defense of the labor movement it rests on the thesis that critics too often mistake effect for cause. Organized labor is revolutionary in all the implications of its programme, not because of any consciously revolutionary purpose, but because it is "the organized embodiment of what must be described as a comprehensive social transformation." It follows, therefore, that there "is no labor problem—broadly speaking—there is only a process of rapid transformation from one type of social organization to another."

This comprehensive social transformation—of which the labor movement is a lively symptom—has resulted from the working out of the Industrial Revolution. The machine instead of the land has become the center of social gravity. Division of labor based on the machine creates the economic group, cooperative in its functions. Management, on the other hand, emphasizes the individual, and is competitive in spirit. In the long struggle between these antagonistic interests, the labor group has been driven by economic insecurity to organize. The labor movement is an organic growth around the machine, "the blind and unplanned readjustment of men to a new economic center of gravity." And the end towards which it is driving, is the control of the machine for cooperative production rather than for competitive profits. A struggle is inevitable, for the obvious reason that the material well-being and economic security of the labor group are incompatible with the spirit of modern business. "This division of interests—the need of security on the part of the worker and the need for freedom from restraint which security implies on the part of the employer—tends to make the struggle of the worker and employer an inevitable one until either the worker is reduced to an impotent tool or the profit motive in industry has been displaced."

If it be true that the labor movement is only a symptom of a pro-

found social revolution, then the distinction which many Americans are fond of drawing between the conservative and radical labor groups, loses much of its point. Both are revolutionary, but the latter is conscious of the end and drives more directly towards it. Both are conservative as well, according to Mr. Tannenbaum, in that they wish to create the new order within the shell of the old, and thereby avoid the waste and suffering that must result from violent adjustments. "The real struggle is for organization and not for the program after organization is completed. . . . Its program is achieved if it has complete or nearly complete organization."

Other implications of the labor movement Mr. Tannenbaum points out; its steady pressure upon economic equality; its "recognition of the group as the basic element of society"; its proposed transformation of the political state, based on the individual citizen, into the industrial state, representing producing groups. The discussion is temperate and profoundly suggestive. Whatever may be one's social philosophy the book is too stimulating and thoughtful—and too pleasantly written—to be overlooked. America has produced too little serious literature on the labor movement; here is a notable contribution.

VERNON L. PARRINGTON.

REVOLUTION

Revolution from 1789 to 1906. Edited by R. W. Postgate. Houghton Mifflin Co.

Mr. Postgate's collection of documents is a valuable one for any student of social economics, for in this one volume he has included speeches, posters, and articles of most of the revolutionary movements of Europe from 1789 to 1906. These comprise the French Revolutions of 1789, of 1830, of 1848, and of the Commune of Paris of 1871; the Irish movement in 1786, in 1797 and in 1848; the revolutionary British working class development from 1832 to 1854; the Hungarian, Italian, and German revolutions of 1848; and finally the Russian Revolution of 1905. As it is an impossible task to give all the documents, the editor has selected those that showed "what the revolution was all about." In addition to making accessible to the student many documents, he has edited them in a scholarly manner.

Aside from the worth of the volume as a documentary source book, the reader will find in the author's introduction to each movement, an

interpretation of revolutionary development that is illuminating. In the first place, in the arrangement of the contents, not by documents alone, but by chapters, Mr. Postgate reveals a distinct point of view. To illustrate: Chapter IV is called "The Revolutions of 1848." The chapter is then divided as follows:

Prologue: The Communist Manifesto

Section I: The French Revolution, 1848-1851

Section II: The Hungarian Revolution, 1848-1849

Section III: The Italian Revolution, 1848-1849

Section IV: The German Revolution, 1848-1849

Section V: The Irish Revolutionaries of 1848

Epilogue: The Republican Manifesto of Kossuth, Mazzini, and Ledru-Rollin, of 1855.

It is evident that the author sees in these different movements some connecting line of development. This attitude is made clear in his introductions. He is Marxian and sees all the revolutions as steps in an "age-long revolution which is leading us to Socialism." He attributes many of the revolutionary defeats to the victory of the Liberal forces whose members ultimately favored political liberties but were oblivious to the problems of the proletariat. The year 1848 is the crucial one for western Europe; and the year 1907 for Russia, when the industrial capitalists and the rising proletariat were definitely separated. "It was now certain," Mr. Postgate writes of the Russians, "that when the Revolution came it would be a Socialist and not a Liberal Revolution." It is the class-war that Mr. Postgate is interested in, and he traces the development of class consciousness as expressed by the leaders of revolution throughout these years. This point of view is reflected in the selection of documents. It explains, for example, why he gives space to Babeuf's career in the French Revolution of 1789, not for its importance in that movement, which was slight, but for its influence on later developments. Whether as a source book, or as a commentary on revolution, the serious student will find this book a valuable addition to his library.

EBBA DAHLIN.

LOMBARD STREET TODAY

Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market. By Walter Bagehot. New Edition with an Introduction by Hartley Withers. E. P. Dutton & Co.

Though first published nearly fifty years ago, *Lombard Street* may still be regarded as one of the leading books on certain aspects of the London money market. It is concerned primarily with the Bank of England, about which the whole English banking system centers, though some account is given of the joint stock banks, the private banks, and the bill brokers. The present edition is the fourteenth. Many changes have taken place since Bagehot wrote, but the book is still one with which every student of the subject should be familiar. There are many footnotes, some of which are taken from previous editions, which supplement the text with more recent information. The introduction, entitled "Lombard Street To-Day," was written by Mr. Hartley Withers, editor of the *London Economist*. It deals with changes in the English banking system which could not well be discussed in the footnotes, calling special attention to the growth in importance of the joint stock banks, and the effect which this growth has had on the Bank of England. Neither the introduction nor the footnotes, however, deal with the way in which the banking system has been affected by the Great War. This, however, can hardly be regarded as a serious defect by one who wishes to understand that system as it was under the most recent normal conditions.

VANDERVEER CUSTIS.

A NEW JUNGLE BOOK

Edge of the Jungle. By William Beebe. Henry Holt & Co.

Wearied by the heavier books of the season we turn to the *Edge of the Jungle* and with the first page are in the wilds of British Guiana. There the puzzling problems of the world no longer engage our thoughts, and with William Beebe we break through the dense underbrush, observe the gorgeous flowers and swaying palms, and bask in the splendors of that paradise. For this author, far from being a mere scientist, is gifted both with keen observation and power to tell others what he sees. Who, reading of his experiences in a hammock amid the darkness of the jungle, can ever forget the charm of this luxuriant garden?

We are reminded of the friendliness Fabre had for his insects when we see Beebe watching the army ants forming a living hive of their own bodies, and we recognize him as a philosopher when he looks toward the stars and declares that life is good. He comprehends the universe, from the tiny living thing which imbeds itself in the outer coating of a leaf, to the faint reflection of the farthest luminary.

There is not an uninteresting chapter in the book, and one opens the volume at any page to become immediately lost in wonder and beauty. There is the description of the many things to be seen about the laboratory, "Marvelous moths which slipped into the bungalow like shadows; pet tarantulas; golden eyed gongasocka geckos; automatic, house cleaning ants; opossums large and small; tiny lizards who had tongues in place of eyelids; wasps who had doorsteps and watched the passing from their windows . . ."

He wanders down the beach and comes upon a fallen tree, among whose upturned roots he climbs. "When I chanced upon an easy perch, and a stray idea came to mind, I squatted or sat or sprawled, and wrote, and strange things often happened to me. Once, while writing rapidly on a small sheet of paper, I found my lines growing closer and closer together until my fingers cramped, and the consciousness of the change overlaid the thoughts that were driving hand and pen. I then realized that, without thinking, I had been following a succession of faint lines, cross-ruled on my white paper, and looking up, I saw that a leaf-filtered opening had reflected strands of a spider-web just above my head, and I had been adapting my lines to the narrow spaces, my chirography controlled by cobweb shadows."

There is the wonderfully minute description of the doings of the Attas, the ants who are farmers, raising their crops, caring for them and harvesting them. He speaks of the queen ant: "One wonders whether, throughout the long hours, weeks and months, in darkness which renders her eyes a mockery, there ever comes to her dull ganglion a flash of memory of The Day, of the rushing wind, the escape from pursuing puffbirds, the jungle stretching away for miles beneath, her mate, the cool tap of drops from a passing shower, the volplane to earth, and the obliteration of all save labor. Did she once look behind her, did she turn aside for a second, just to feel the cool silk of petals?"

With him we hear the sounds of the jungle at night. "In the darkness, I have at times heard the tramping of many feet; in a land traversed only by Indian trails I have listened to an overloaded freight train toiling up a steep grade; I have heard the noise of distant battle and the cries of the victor and the vanquished. Hard by, among the trees, I have heard a woman seized, have heard her crying, pleading for mercy, have heard her choking and sobbing till the end came in a terrible, gasping sigh; and then, in the sudden silence, there was a movement and thrashing about in the topmost branches, and the flutter

and whirr of great wings moving swiftly away from me into the heart of the jungle—the only clue to the author of this vocal tragedy.”

Such deep horror and mystery as this continually assails the reader—the ravagings of death, the mysteries of the short but glorious jungle life, the End towards which the whole drama tends. Thus through the book the reader goes, tense, insatiate, until he comes to the end. Then he longs for another such volume, and while waiting for the next one (for there will be one, surely), he will read this one over again.

VICTOR CHRISTIANSON.

THE STORY OF MARCO POLO AS IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN

Messer Marco Polo. By Donn Byrne. The Century Co.

Forget about “the jerry-built bungalows; the lines of uncomely linen; the blatant advertising boards—all the unbeauty of it”—and “cluster around the fire” with “Randall, the poet; and the two blonde Danish girls, with their hair like flax; Frazer, the golfer, just over from Prestwick; and a young writer, with his spurs yet to win; and this one and that one,” and listen to old Malachi tell the story of young Marco Polo—Malachi of the Long Glen—“a very strange old man, hardy as a blackthorn, immense, bowed shoulders, the face of some old hawk of the mountains, hair white and plentiful as some old cardinal’s A strange old figure who knew Greek and Latin as well as most professors, and who had never forgotten his Gaelic” Forget that “there’s been a power of books written about Marco Polo.” “Let you be listening now, and let also the scholars be listening. But whether the scholars do or not, I’m not caring.

All the stories of Malachi “had the unreal, shimmering quality of that mirage that is seen from Portrush Cliffs, a glittering city in a golden desert, surrounded by a strange sea mist.” And then he tells how young Marco throws down his pen in the counting-house and wanders forth in old Venice and comes to a wineshop; how he meets there a Chinese sea captain, who tells him of little Tao Tuen (Golden Bells), the daughter of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China, “a little brown slip of a girl in green coat and trousers, with a flower in her dark hair,” who “sits in her garden, playing her lute, and singing the song of the

'Willow Branches,' which is the saddest love song in the world"; how he is sent by The Pope of Rome to explain the mysteries of the Christian religion to Kublai and his subjects; how he traverses many lands, meeting the "Old Man of the Mountain," and wandering through the desert of Lop, where he would have perished at the hands of the warlocks, had it not been for little Golden Bells: and how finally he comes to Kublai and delivers his message. Alas! his only convert is little Golden Bells:

"'Tis true, though. I have nothing, nobody to show."

"You have me. Amn't I converted? Amn't I a Christian? Marco Polo, let me tell you something. I said to my father I wanted to marry you, and I asked him if he would give you a province to govern, and he said, 'Sure and welcome.'"

They are married and Golden Bells dies three years later. Fourteen years pass, and Kublai tells Marco he must return to Venice. "Venice! it's only a sound to me. I'll be an exile in the city of my birth. But what's the use of complaining? If it's go, it's go! But it'll be funny," says he. "My body will be there, but my heart and mind will be in China. There'll be a gray eye always turning to China, and it will never see China Queer! All the voices and all the instruments of St. Mark's, and in my ears the little drums of China."

A charming story. No lesson, no propaganda; just sheer romance.

MILLETT HENSHAW.

IF WINTER COMES

If Winter Comes. By A. S. M. Hutchinson. Little, Brown & Co.

The first of the four parts of this book is hardly open to criticism, though its promise is in the latter parts not entirely fulfilled. Mark Sabre, "Old Puzzlehead," as they called him at college, the sober, serious-minded, humanitarian, conscientious, liberal middle-class Englishman around whom the story centers, is certainly, in the early portions of the book, one of the most interesting and delightful characters created in modern fiction. His ordinary affiliations with his wife, Mabel, who is as prosaic as an adding machine, with his mundane and underhanded business associates, the Reverend Sebastain Fortune and the glib, oily Twyning, and with the more every-day characters which help to discover Sabre's inner-self, feature him most sympathetically and convincingly. In fact, the author is at his best when depicting simple,

personal relations; he fails only when he is dependent upon the subtleties of plot.

What word-pictures are given of the matter-of-fact, unintellectual Mabel, whose vacuous warbles work nausea upon the creative, sensitive soul of Mark Sabre. "Enthusiasms and sympathies in other people made her laugh with a characteristic burst of sudden laughter." "If she saw a door she saw merely a piece of wood with a handle and a key-hole." "A person or a creature in pain was to Mabel a person or a creature 'laid up.' Laid up—out of action—not working properly; like a pencil without a point." When Sabre would delight in telling her about his history of England (a cherished hobby of his), she would bluntly reply, "Oh, that lesson book. I wish you'd write a novel." She cannot talk of the things that interest him; but he might, he tries to reason, come down to the little gossiping things that interest her. And as the breach widens between them, he doubts his own manner of justice and hunts about for a plane of reconciliation. All of this is beautifully done, with a sound realism. It is when the knot unwinds that crudities appear.

In the first place, Sabre's relations with Nona (a love of his youth, who also is unhappily married) are marred by hackneyed makeshifts. These relations are never real to us: Nona seems merely a mechanical device. And this is likewise true of the war episode, where Nona's heroic husband—in himself a wonderful portrayal—is conveniently killed, and of the suicide and the trial for murder, with which the author attempts to sanctify Sabre's character in preparation for his entry into Platonic bliss. These things are all too sharp; they grind the lyricism of the story into a conglomerate rat's nest.

If Winter Comes is the first novel published by Mr. Hutchinson since 1914. It is an extraordinarily good novel in spite of its faults. We have reason, however, to expect other novels from this author which stick more closely to the little whimsical mannerisms of life, and leave the storms to those more suited to tempestuous art. As we follow his characters about Penny Green, we must acknowledge the author to be a potential master of the novel of manners.

RICHARD F. SULLIVAN.

BRIEFER MENTION

Washington Close-Ups. By Edward G. Lowry. Houghton Mifflin Co.

A series of portraits of our Senators and Representatives and Cabinet Members, who are "individually always so awe-inspiring to their fellow countrymen, while collectively it has always been the fashion to disparage them." Mr. Lowry's characterizations of Mr. Harding, "the great emollient," of Mr. Coolidge, "silent upon a peak in Darien," of Mr. Bryan who in office "is a caged bird and can't sing," but who out of office is still peerless and "a troubadour," of Mr. Johnson the fighter, "a bold forthright, questioning man," about whom there is only one anecdote in existence, of Major-General Wood whose candidacy for the presidency was "an open process openly arrived at"—all these and many others are presented in a style that has abundant kick in it but that somehow kicks with a padded hoof. It is Mr. Lowry's humor, doubtless, that enables him thus to dismember his public men in their public personalities while leaving them privately unassaulted, without internal injuries, and possibly not unwilling to shake his hand when next they meet him. This book is too entertaining to be missed by those who seek entertainment, and true enough to be worth the reading of those who don't.

The Glass of Fashion. By A Gentleman With a Duster. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Is this a gentleman with a dust coat or one with a dust cloth? We take it the latter, for he flourishes it most unmercifully over the heads of Colonel Repington and Margot Asquith and fashion's world as represented by them. He seeks to counteract the influence of their books both in England and America and to convince his readers that there is nobleness yet to be found in English society. He would wipe away the bad manners, selfishness, self-seeking, and irreligion of their world. He would have fashion constructive rather than destructive. He rubs his glass and shows us his pictures of the best in English society—of Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, for example, as they walk up the hill a mile in the freshness of the morning, winter or summer, storm or sunshine, to worship in Hawarden Church: pictures of men and women whose time and strength he finds devoted to the betterment of humanity and to the good of their country. He seeks the attention of Americans by reminding us that we too have our Rep-

ingtons and Margots, as well as those who strive "to stem the monstrous flood of modern animalism."

Masterpieces of Modern Spanish Drama. Stewart Kidd Co. A reprint of three Spanish plays published by Duffield and Co. in 1917. Three of the best Spanish dramatists of the generation just past are represented in the collection: Echegaray, by his masterpiece, *El Gran Galeoto*; Pérez Galdós, by one of his earlier plays, *The Duchess of San Quentin* (*La de San Quentin*); Angel Guimerá, the Catalan dramatist, by *Daniela* (*La Pecadora*). The three translators are competent and conscientious in their handling of the original plays; the preface and introductory comments of the editor, although hardly adequate, are not without value. Two of the plays, *El Gran Galeoto* and *La Pecadora*, were already accessible in translation; all three, contained in this single volume, are a welcome addition to the rapidly growing list of Spanish plays now available in English.

Tudor Ideals. By Lewis Einstein. Harcourt, Brace & Co. This book is not, as its subtitle states, "a history of the political, social and literary ideals of sixteenth century England." A history of Tudor ideals would trace their evolution as influenced and moulded by forces from within and without, against an adequate background of fourteenth and fifteenth century life. Rather, Mr. Einstein devotes his 340 pages to forty-seven short chapters, dealing in summary fashion with as many phases of Tudor life. The author has drawn upon a vast body of source material, some of it quite fresh, and the chapters are heavily freighted. His conclusions are independent, often at variance with conventional notions, and one keeps running upon seemingly chance observations that are yet pregnant with suggestion. The volume will undoubtedly be of great service as a book of reference. It is not, however, what scholars had hoped it would be, a philosophical and organic treatment of a most significant chapter in English cultural history. Furthermore the book is singularly deficient in style, disregarding the most ordinary principles of composition, and at times is actually ungrammatical.

The Tree of Light. By James A. B. Sherer. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. A British king, Caradoc, is captured by the Romans and taken to Rome, where he is converted to Christianity by the Apostle Paul.

By renouncing his throne, he gains an opportunity to return to England, where he does away with the heathen rites of the Druids and sets up the first Christmas tree. The book is simply a story—a fairly accurate, fairly entertaining account of how Christmas came to England. It is unfortunate, however, that an atmosphere of the time five hundred years before King Arthur cannot be reproduced by a collection of archaic words. For when the author instead of "a May morning" says, "a beautiful dawning of May," or for "these two" says "the twain of them," we are not immediately transported to the forests of early England. We do not feel that the sacred oak looms above us. The author, in attempting to take us back several centuries, has only put several centuries between his characters and our sympathies. The tale of Imogen, for instance, does not seem the tale of a living girl. A creature who has tresses instead of hair, and who lingers on the strand instead of on the beach, can never arouse our sympathies. And so throughout the book we feel that Caradoc would be really interesting if he would only hit someone instead of smiting him, while we are tempted to stop when the tide comes up around the people on the "strand" and they stand "laving their feet" in the water.

The Glorious Hope. By Jane Burr. Thomas Seltzer. Evelyn Kerwin is an energetic and strongly sexed Wisconsin girl who thinks she wants a "great career." What she really wants is plenty of "work and babies and peace." She ultimately finds this out, but only after a feverish and meteoric career in New York during which she forces marriage upon Stanley Bird, an over-sensitive artist whose productivity is paralyzed by her energy, deserts him that he may find himself, experiences abject poverty and sudden affluence, enjoys unconventional friendships with a variety of men, and at last finds her cravings satisfied in the firm arms of Bob Casey, dog fancier, a blue eyed, placid Irishman, who wishes a houseful of fluffy and beribboned little girls with a sprinkling of boys. Although the story stops short of this point, the reader is led to expect that the heroine will abundantly supply these requirements. Evelyn Kerwin's misfortune was in not having studied behaviouristic psychology. With this equipment she would doubtless have analyzed herself correctly, and would have been aware from the first that her desire to take over Stanley Bird was merely dictated by "mother love," the impulse to help a forlorn and needy

"male." Jane Burr rides on the crest of the wave of the generation which seeks to shock. We prophesy a heavy sale for *The Glorious Hope*.

The Beginning of Wisdom. By Stephen Vincent Benét. Henry Holt & Co. This is the first novel from the pen of a young writer who has already won distinction as a poet. The story of Philip Sellaby, poet and idealist, at preparatory school, at Yale, in the employ of an American mining company, in Los Angeles playing for the movies, in the army, and in the ultimate role of gentleman-farmer and poet, is told with a penetrating realism that shows how completely Benét understands the spirit of the younger generation. If that spirit is restless and if it shifts the ethical and spiritual emphases in a way to disquiet the older generation, it is yet intensely idealistic and nobly sincere. The diction is highly poetical and very beautiful, daring and dazzling metaphors on every page. Indeed it is a question if the normal movement of the narrative is not unduly retarded at times by this wealth of fresh and splendid imagery. If again the author has crowded into this first novel his ideas on most of the burning questions of modern life, this is but another expression of the intensity and prodigality of youth. It is reasonable to expect that Benét will take a prominent place among American writers of fiction. He is a romantic realist or a realistic romanticist, whichever you choose.

The Quimby Manuscripts. Horatio W. Dresser, Editor. Thomas Y. Crowell. Strangely withheld for two score years while controversy raged in press and court as to who was the authentic originator of the first of the many modes of mental healing now prevalent, these documents, which have seemed obviously to hold the key to the settlement, have at last been released to the public. Edited by a leader in one of these modes, the book is nevertheless not essentially partisan; Dr. Quimby's writings, his letters to his patients and their letters to him, including a series from Mary Baker Eddy during the three years of her association with him, may present directly their bearing on the question free even from consideration of the editor's bracketed explanations, if the punctilious reader so desires. Of primary interest to many is the series of Questions and Answers propounded by Dr. Quimby, claimed by his son and others to contain fundamentally the principle of

Christian Science, and to be embodied in its textbook in the chapter called Recapitulation. Footnotes and appendix give useful references to periodical literature having a bearing on the controversy since its beginning.

Lincoln, The World Emancipator. By John Drinkwater. Houghton Mifflin Co. The ten short essays that comprise this volume aim to bind together the English-speaking race through loyalty to those common ideals which Lincoln illustrated and exalted. If the book lacks the distinction that Mr. Drinkwater's great drama of Lincoln might have led us to expect, it is yet thoughtful. The real gem of the volume is a mischievous Epilogue unrelated to the rest of the book, in which the shades of Lincoln and Shakespeare are chatting, and which ends as follows:

"LINCOLN. By the way, I see that one of your fellows has made a play about me.

SHAKESPEARE. Indeed! He had an eye for a theme, at least.

LINCOLN. Don't tell anyone, but I got a copy sent across here. It'll well enough—in fact, I should like to see it. But he plays the devil with one or two of my best speeches.

SHAKESPEARE. Don't worry, Abraham. They do that with all of mine."

Democracy and the Will to Power. By James N. Wood, with an introduction by H. L. Mencken. The Free Lance Books, Number V. Alfred A. Knopf. An attempt to explain the democratic experiment in the light of Nietzscheanism. History is interpreted as a ceaseless struggle between aspiring wills, with the consequent hoodwinking of the great mass of mediocrity; and sovereignty is no more than the will of the minority, which for the moment, wields the machinery of the state. The book is suggestive, but it crackles and sputters like short-circuited wires. The introduction contains the usual proportion of Mr. Mencken's brisk inaccuracies.

The States of South America, with illustrations and maps. By Charles Domville-Fife. Macmillan Co. This is a survey, primarily for British investors and settlers. Mr. Domville-Fife is the author of several other books on South America which he nominates the "land of opportunity"; so he has made this more than a mere commercial guidebook, giving place to descriptions of geographical, economic, and social phases of his subject.

The Mirrors of Washington. Anonymous. G. P. Putnam's Sons. This writer of further Washington portraits speaks if not with acerbity at any rate with a more deadly purpose and less mellifluous tongue than Mr. Lowry. He is wonderfully sure of his judgments and awaits no issues. He casts his light into the deep well of motives but finds nothing very strange there. He has no supersubtleties; discovers no startling secrets of personality; but he makes a hard, cool analysis which shows how and why his characters are for the most part what they seem to be. His style is crisp to the crackling point but has a fiber that holds. He is neither gossipy nor discoverably partisan. His portraits of fourteen great or prominent Americans are probably as nearly adequate as any that we have at present; for sketches of a subtler light and shade we must wait a later pen.

Lost Ships and Lonely Seas. By Ralph D. Paine. The Century Co. This is a book that will be recognized at a glance as their book by all those who know that truth is often stranger and more alluring than fiction. There are no true tales more romantic, none more terrible or heroic than the tales of the "great hearts in little ships" who "lived the stuff that made fiction after they were gone." Mr. Paine deals in authenticated materials; he has ransacked old chronicles and old diaries, and has lived with his subject till the tang of salt and adventure is thoroughly in him. He writes with an effectiveness that is without flourish; with a style that can rise to the mood of mystery or death and yet remain simple; with the narrative grip that gets sheer physical reactions from his readers at a crisis. Any reader who can begin one of these tales and put the book down before he has finished is a person of a sort to be avoided.

The Evolution of World Peace. Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. Oxford University Press. This small volume presents in compact form a history of efforts and experiments in world unity from the time of Alexander to the League of Nations. Those who have read Mr. Marvin's *The Living Past* will expect a work that is both scholarly and imaginative even before they have found among those whose lectures are included in the book such names as Professor Arnold Toynbee, Sir Paul Vinogradoff, H. W. C. Davis, and H. G. Wells. The lectures comprise a course "delivered at

the fourth of the Unity Schools at Woodbroke in August 1920. The course was arranged in conjunction with the League of Nations Union and forms a sort of historical introduction to the league."

The Public Refuses to Pay. By F. Lauriston Bullard. Marshall Jones Co. A little book made up of the writer's editorials in the *Boston Herald* on the railroad and building situation. Mr. Bullard wishes to show, with reference to labor in these two employments, why it is that "the public no longer tends spontaneously to take the labor side in any time of industrial trouble." He finds the answer in the fact that the union members have "enmeshed themselves in the rules and regulations their leaders have woven together into a fabric that tends to become a straitjacket . . . , leveling all down to the level of the least competent." He makes his arguments by means of statistics and special cases which he believes to be sufficient.

Plays of Old Japan. Translated by Leo Duran. Thomas Seltzer. This very attractive little book includes new English versions of five old plays selected from the mass of classical dramatic material accumulated during several centuries in the theatres of Japan. The translator has chosen specimens which seem to him representative of the most violent and extraordinarily exciting episodes occurring in the traditional dramas, and he has taken the liberty of re-arranging and combining these episodes in ways designed to interest and thrill Occidental readers. He does not make clear what portions of the plays are taken from the *No*, and what from the *Kabuki*, nor does he suggest in his Introduction what distinctions should be made between the various types of Japanese theatre and drama. The book is interesting, however, and will no doubt stimulate further consideration of a field of dramatic literature which is rapidly being exploited.

Through The Torii. By Yone Noguchi. The Four Seas Co. This, the latest volume to come from the hand of that prolific and versatile poet-teacher, Yone Noguchi, is a collection of personal essays on diverse subjects ranging from Japanese music to Oscar Wilde, and back to cherry-blossoms. Nearly all the essays are impressionistic, touched with quaint humor, and filled with poetic delicacies. Mr. Noguchi, having lived at times in America and Europe, is vitally interested in drawing comparisons between Japanese and Occidental tastes, manners, habits of thought, and methods of art expression.

His essays on Wilde, Yeats, Rossetti, and Whistler illustrate one phase of this interest. Throughout the entire book one finds vividly stated opinions of a poet who is sensitive to foreign influences, and who often resents the passing of noble and picturesque Japanese characteristics before the onslaught of Western commercialism.

The New World. By G. Murray Atkin. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. In this novel we have another example of the failure on the part of a woman writer to fathom and chart the emotional and intellectual life of a masculine character. Miss Atkin believes firmly in the superiority of character to action in fiction. She therefore constructs a narrative which depends for its interest upon the careful delineation of the character of Dante Ricci, a boy who is "different" and a dreamer. From school days to maturity she follows him, to Oxford, through the Great War, and finally to a seat in Parliament. He is given a hopeless passion for a woman, and it is this tragedy which preserves his idealism through everything. At the end of the novel Dante is planning to set the world by the ears with a theory of international law which makes the League of Nations look sorry indeed. With this ideal burning in his breast, we leave Dante to the fate of the future.

Devil Stories. Selected and edited by Maximillian J. Rudwin. Alfred A. Knopf. Mr. Rudwin's earlier studies, *The Devil Scenes in the Religious Drama of the German Middle Ages*, and *The Devil in the Religious Plays of the Middle Ages and the Reformation* have given him excellent preparation for his present task and made the work of selection easy. *Devil Stories* embraces stories, translated or edited, dating all the way from the Middle Ages to John Masefield and covering every phase of Satan's life save his origin. One is surprised, however, at finding no story from the 16th Century after Machiavelli and nothing from the 17th Century or from the 18th—nothing, even, from the *Faust Buch*. The introduction seems the result of a very successful attempt to avoid scholarly precision and secure "literary" quality. The notes, though often interesting, are not always accurate: the word "Foules," for example, in Chaucer's (?) title, *The Parlement of Foules*, does not mean "fools," but very obviously "fowls"; and one could wish for some evidence for the statement that the mother or grandmother of Grendel, "became Satan's mother or grandmother by adoption." It is to be hoped that errors and oversights will be amended in a second edition, for the book will be useful in many connections.

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